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Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams

Edited by
Werner Sundermann, Almut Hintze
and François de Blois

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Nicholas Sims-Williams

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Acknowledgements

On 11 April 2009 Nicholas Sims-Williams is celebrating his sixtieth birthday. This festschrift, presented to him by some of his friends and colleagues, is a token of their deep admiration and high esteem for him and his work.

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Berlin and Cambridge, December 2008 The Editors

Nicholas Sims-Williams

Nicholas John Sims-Williams was born on 11 April 1949 in Chatham, the son of Rev. Michael V. S. Sims-Williams and Kathleen née Wenborn, one of a pair of twins and the youngest of five children. After developing an interest in ancient languages and cultures while at Borden Grammar School in Sittingbourne, he was admitted to Trinity Hall, Cambridge to read Oriental Studies. His first interest was in Sanskrit, which was taught by Professor John Brough, but students were expected to take a second option and he chose Iranian, which was taught by Dr Ilya Gershevitch. So inspiring was the latter's teaching that he soon found that Iranian had become his main concern. The only other student in Gershevitch's class was Ursula Seton-Watson, and Nicholas and Ursula got married in 1972, at the end of their course together. After graduating with first class honours, he was awarded a research studentship at Trinity Hall from 1972 to 1975, followed by a Research Fellowship at Gonville and Caius College in 1975. However, he resigned the latter in 1976 to take up a position as lecturer in Iranian Languages at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He became Reader in 1989, Professor of Iranian and Central Asian Languages in 1994 and, after taking early retirement, Research Professor in 2004.

As a student of Walter B. Henning, Ilya Gershevitch had been profoundly moulded by the study of the Iranian Turfan texts. It was he who enthused Nicholas for this wide, diverse and largely unexplored field. While reading Olaf Hansen's 1954 edition of the Christian Sogdian manuscript C2 with his teacher, Nicholas noticed many inaccuracies, misreadings and unsolved problems. So much so, that the need for a new and, in contrast to Hansen's, complete edition became evident, together with a fresh collation of all its extant fragments. Between 1972 and 1976 Nicholas carried out most of the work on this new edition, for which he was awarded not only a Ph.D. by the University of Cambridge in 1978 but also the Prix Ghirshman of the Institut de France in 1988.

At the time, the surviving fragments of the MS C2 were in the custody of archives located in what were East and West Berlin: the then Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR and the Museum für Indische Kunst of the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin (Dahlem). Thus Dr Gershevitch's young, boyish-looking PhD-student became involved in the problems of a city that was divided between the "free" and the "socialist" worlds. He lived in West Berlin, but in order to carry out his work in East Berlin, had to cross the border daily and endure the security checks and interrogations of the DDR border

control officers at Berlin Friedrichstraße. In addition, his archival work also met with obstacles. The West Berlin fragments were secreted in the Museum für Indische Kunst, but were discovered by chance by Werner Sundermann. When he told Nicholas, the Museum was upset that their secret was out. After the reunification of Germany, however, these fragments were returned to the Academy. The East Berlin texts had been reserved, after the death of W. B. Henning, to be published by the Academy's own specialist, Werner Sundermann. The latter, however, quickly recognized that the young iranist was a truly remarkable scholar. Even if he did not always speak them fluently, his understanding of foreign languages was striking. Moreover, in linguistic discussions he combined sound common sense with deep insight into the essence of a problem, and unpretentious modesty with ingenuity. Consequently the Academy made an exception to its rule that unpublished texts are reserved for publication by in-house specialists by giving permission for unpublished fragments associated with published ones (and for already published texts) to be put at the disposal of its visiting scholar. They were even more ready to do this since Sims-Williams agreed to publish his text edition in the Academy's own series of *Berliner Turfantexte*. It became vol. XII and appeared in 1985 as *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*. His text edition is unsurpassed and has completely replaced that of Hansen. Not only that, but Sims-Williams included a "Morphological analysis of C2", and this represents a significant step towards the Grammar of Christian Sogdian that still remains to be written.

By the time his edition of C2 appeared, Sims-Williams had already published more than forty articles and reviews. They include editions of smaller Sogdian texts, in particular those in the British Library (see below, fn. 20), and, moreover, numerous important articles on Sogdian palaeography, grammar, and lexicon. One would not detract from Sims-Williams' other excellent achievements during this early phase of his scholarship by stating that his contributions to Sogdian palaeography and grammar were perhaps the most important ones. They significantly correct and enrich our understanding of the Sogdian language.

Sogdian palaeography and grammar

In his very first publication in 1972, Sims-Williams argued that the Buddhist Sogdian preposition which previously had been read *rm* should instead be read 'M. The latter renders Aramaic *'am* 'with' and is thus heterographic for Sogdian *ôn(n)* 'with'.[1] In other articles he pointed out misleading and unjustifiable inaccuracies that had become customary in the transliteration of Sogdian texts written in Sogdian script. Once put forward, his corrections were so obvious

1 "A Sogdian ideogram." In: BSOAS 35.3 (1972), pp. 614–615.

that one can only be astonished that no one else had suggested them before. For instance, he demonstrated that in word-final position the letter *gimel* (γ) is almost always distinct from *cheth* (x) in the Mug documents and Buddhist manuscripts,[2] and that in addition initial and medial γ and x are also systematically distinguished in a Manichaean Sogdian manuscript.[3] This seemingly trifling observation entirely changed the transliteration system of Sogdian by putting an end to the indiscriminate use of either γ or x for both γ and x. Spellings like γw for xw or mz'yγ for mz'yx are no longer acceptable.

In a sophisticated sketch of the representation of the Sogdian sound-system by means of the Sogdian script, he showed that the voiced plosives [b, d, g] are represented by the same letters *pe*, *tau* and *caph* as their voiceless counterparts [p, t, k], but that they normally only occur either in foreign words or as allophones of [p, t, k] after the vocalic nasal [m̀]. By contrast, the letters *beth*, *lamed* and *gimel* are reserved for the voiced fricatives [β, δ, γ], which had developed from the OIr. voiced stops, while use of the letter *daleth* is confined to the ideogram 'D 'to'. Furthermore, he deduced the phonemic status of vowel quantity from the effects of the Rhythmic Law.[4]

In one of his most important contributions to Sogdian grammar, Sims-Williams established the phonological basis of the Sogdian Rhythmic Law,[5] that determining and all-pervading principle of Sogdian phonology and morphology discovered by P. Tedesco and further elaborated by W. B. Henning and I. Gershevitch. Tedesco had noted the morphological effects of the Rhythmic Law, whereby light stems retain a vocalic ending which is lost in heavy stems, while Gershevitch had observed that the position of the stress determines whether word-final syllables are kept or drop off. However, it was not clear as to what made a stem light or heavy. Sims-Williams argued against Gershevitch's claim that all light stems were monosyllabic and that there were heavy stems consisting of two short syllables. Moreover, he showed in detail and conclusively (p. 213):

> that those heavy syllables previously regarded as containing a short vowel "in positione" before a consonant cluster *(xw, rC, mb, nC)* in fact contain a long vowel or diphthong. A heavy syllable may therefore be defined very simply as a syllable which contains a long vowel or diphthong.

2 "Notes on Sogdian palaeography." In: BSOAS 38.1 (1975), pp. 132–139.

3 "Remarks on the Sogdian letters γ and x (with special reference to the orthography of the Sogdian version of the Manichean church-history)." In: W. Sundermann: *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*. Berlin 1981 (BTT XI), pp. 194–198.

4 "The Sogdian Sound-System and the Origins of the Uighur Script." In: JA 219 (1981), pp. 347–360.

5 "The Sogdian 'Rhythmic Law'." In: W. Skalmowski/A. van Tongerloo (eds.): *Middle Iranian Studies. Proceedings of the International Symposium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of May 1982*. Leuven 1984 (OLA 16), pp. 203–215.

He thus significantly simplified GERSHEVITCH's complicated and inconsistent description of a heavy syllable by including sequences of short vowel plus *ə*^{r} or *m* into his own definition of long vowels and diphthongs. Having established the phonological basis for the origins of the morphological categories of 'light' (stems which have no long vowel) and 'heavy' stems (those which do have a long vowel or diphthong), he introduced the consequent use of a final hyphen to distinguish light stems (e.g. wn- 'to do') from heavy ones (e.g. wyn 'to see').[6]

In other articles he examined the far-reaching effects of the Rhythmic Law in the history of Sogdian syntax and inflectional and derivational morphology. For instance, in an investigation of the processes which led to the double system of light and heavy stems in nominal morphology, he argued against the likelihood of TEDESCO and GERSHEVITCH's explanation, according to which the oblique suffix *-ī* was borrowed from the gen.sg. of light stems, because in some Christian Sogdian manuscripts the pointing indicates the vowel-quality *-ī́* for the oblique suffix, but *-ḗ* for the gen.sg. He proposed instead that the oblique marker results from the regular phonetic development of unstressed *-ya* in the loc.sg.m. (< **-ayā*), loc.sg.f. (< **-āyā*) and gen./abl.sg.f. (< **-āyāh*), and supported his explanation with an analysis of the syntactic function of the relevant forms in folios 30–120 of the MS C2,

> a source which is not to be regarded as typical but rather as outstanding for the exceptional clarity and internal consistency of its grammatical system.

His study demonstrates that the oblique suffix *-ī* (< **-ya*) is "well entrenched" in all those syntactic functions where the equivalent light stem ending is *-ya* (< **-yá*.), i.e. in the loc.sg. of masc. nouns, the gen.-loc.-abl.sg. of fem. nouns and the gen.-loc.-abl. pl. of masc. and fem. nouns.[7] Moreover, he surveyed the development of OIr. *-a-*, *-aka-* and *-ā-*, *-ā̆kā-*stems in both Khotanese and Sogdian. Accepting TEDESCO's theory of the loss of intervocalic *-k-*, he proposed a convincing explanation of the origins of the inflection of Sogdian contracted stems.[8] He noticed that old dual forms had come to be used not only after 'two' but also after higher numbers, and he therefore adopted the term "numerative" for this grammatical category, which exists alongside the singular and plural. In the same article he also put forward an explanation for the plur. suffix *-yšt* which is attached to certain masculine light-stem nouns denoting animals or persons. According to him, the plur. suffix *-yšt* was already formed in OIr. times and is made up of the nom.sg. in **-īš* to which the collective-abstract suffix **-tā-* was attached. Moreover, by comparing Sogd. wyrqyšt 'wolves' < **wr̥kīš-tā-* directly

6 CLI, p. 181f.
7 "The double system of nominal inflexion in Sogdian." In: TPS 1982, pp. 67–76.
8 "Chotano-Sogdica II: aspects of the development of nominal morphology in Khotanese and Sogdian." In: GH. GNOLI/A. PANAINO (eds.): *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies held in Turin, September 7th–11th, 1987 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea*. Vol. I. Rome 1990 [1991], pp. 275–296.

with Ved. *vr̥kī́ḥ*, he retrieved an equivalent for the sigmatic nom.sg. of the Ved. *vr̥kī́-* declension not certainly attested elsewhere in Iranian.[9] In an investigation of some suffixes in the light of the Rhythmic Law, he established the phonological basis for the distribution both of the abstract nominal suffixes *°yāk* and *°yā* (< *°*yā́kā* after light and *°*yākā* after heavy stems respectively) and of *°yā* and *°ī* (both < *°*yā*).[10]

In the Sogdian pronominal system, SIMS-WILLIAMS identified a suppletive system of the 'second person' demonstrative pronoun *š-/t-* 'iste', which he derives from OIr. **aiša-/ta-*. This system is in addition to that of the 'first person' *y-/m-* 'hic', *š-/t-* 'iste', and 'third person' *x-/w-* 'ille'. He thus demonstrated that Sogdian expresses a three-way deictic contrast involving pronominal stems inherited from Old Iranian and continued in modern East Iranian languages.[11]

SIMS-WILLIAMS surveyed new formations in the Sogdian verbal system (forms in *-āz*, the middle of the imperfect, the precative, and the irreal) in the abstract of a congress paper.[12] In one of his more recent studies he presented a new theory of the origin of the Sogdian potentialis in three separate constructions and of its use to express anteriority. Moreover, he proposed a new and convincing etymology for the ending *-ta* in the intransitive and passive potential (both formed with suffix *-ta* and the auxiliary *βw-* 'to become') by deriving it from the nom.sg. of the agent noun in *-tar-*, an explanation he strongly supports with evidence for the same construction in Vedic and Avestan, where agent nouns with suffix *-tar-* are likewise combined with the copula *bhū* and often express or imply potentiality.[13] His contributions to Sogdian syntax include the discovery that the imperfect tense is not negated, except in late texts. He established the rule, previously observed only in Choresmian, that in negative clauses the present indicative or injunctive is used, with or without the enclitic particle -β(y), instead of the imperfect.[14]

His chapter "Sogdian" in CLI offers the most up-to-date and comprehensive account of Sogdian grammar.[15] Moreover, he has significantly contributed to the corpus of Sogdian electronic texts on JOST GIPPERT's TITUS homepage (Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien). In all his articles , only some of which are summarized above, SIMS-WILLIAMS has made important

9 "On the Plural and Dual in Sogdian." In: BSOAS 42 (1979), pp. 337–346.
10 "Some Sogdian denominal abstract suffixes." In: AcOr 42 (1981 [1982]), pp. 11–19.
11 "The triple system of deixis in Sogdian." In: TPS 92/1 (1994), pp. 41–53.
12 "The development of the Sogdian verbal system." In: A. WEZLER/E. HAMMERSCHMIDT (eds.): *Proceedings of the XXXII International Congress for Asian and North African Studies, Hamburg, 25th–30th August 1986*. Stuttgart 1992, p. 205.
13 "The Sogdian potentialis." In: M. MACUCH/M. MAGGI/W. SUNDERMANN (eds.): *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan. Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*. Wiesbaden 2007 (Iranica 13), pp. 377–386.
14 "On the Historic Present and Injunctive in Sogdian and Choresmian." In: MSS 56 (1996), pp. 173–189.
15 "Sogdian." In: CLI, pp. 173–192.

contributions to a general Sogdian grammar which is yet to be written. For this and other reasons it would be valuable to republish his *opera minora* in a thematic order.

Works on other Iranian languages

Alongside these studies of Sogdian, Nicholas Sims-Williams has contributed to the investigation of other Middle Iranian idioms (especially Khotanese), Old Persian, Avestan and non-Iranian Near-Eastern languages. For instance, he clarified a well-known but corrupt passage in the Avestan Yima-story in Vīdēvdād, chapter 2, by restoring the verb **aiβisuua-* as a thematic aorist, and linking it to the nasal-infixed present **sumb(a)-* which is continued in Sogd. swmb/swβt- 'to pierce, bore'.[16] Other examples are his explanations both of the fossilized Manichaean Middle Persian inflectional endings of relationship nouns and of the linking vowels that occur when enclitic pronouns and adverbs are attached to their hosts.[17] Shortly afterwards, Skjærvø's article "Case in inscriptional Middle Persian, inscriptional Parthian and in the Pahlavi Psalter"[18] showed that the two scholars' independent researches complemented and confirmed one another in numerous ways.

Many of Nicholas Sims-Williams' linguistic discoveries are relevant not only to Iranian but also to Indo-Iranian, indeed Indo-European philology. Examples include the Iranian evidence he retrieved for the sigmatic nom.sg. of the IE *vṛḱíḥ*-declension, see above, and his suggestion that the 2sg. imperative form *tršˀ* (alongside the 3pl. *tršˀnt*) in the Rustam fragment points to a heavy stem (< **tarša-*) rather than the light one of the inchoative present (IE **tṛs-ské/ó-*), which is unattested in Sogdian.[19] The meaning 'to flee', which he posits on the basis of the context of P 13.1–2, agrees not only with the evidence of other Iranian languages but also with Greek τρέω 'to flee from fear, flee away', e.g. Iliad 11.745 ἔτρεσαν ἄλλυδις ἄλλος 'they fled one hither, another thither'.

Other Text editions

An outstanding example of his smaller Sogdian text editions is the *editio princeps* of eighteen Sogdian fragments in the British Library.[20] This heterogeneous

16 "Avestan suβrā-, Turkish süvre." In: L. Bazin/P. Zieme (eds.): *De Dunhuang a Istanbul. Hommage à James Russell Hamilton*. Turnhout 2001 (Silk Road Studies 5), pp. 329–338.
17 "Notes on Manichaean Middle Persian Morphology." In: StIr 10 (1981 [1982]), pp. 165–176.
18 StIr 12 (1983), pp. 47–62 and 151–181.
19 IIJ 18 (1976), p. 58.
20 IIJ 18 (1976), pp. 43–83.

collection includes both the famous epic Rustam fragment (no. 13) and the Zarathustra fragment (no. 4) containing two lines of the Avestan *Aṣəm vohū* prayer in early Sogdian language. His long-standing work on the Sogdian Ancient Letters led to the translation or complete edition of letters 1, 2, 3, and 5.[21] Of particular historical importance is letter 2, which became the subject of a detailed study by Sims-Williams and Frantz Grenet, confirming Henning's dating of the letters to shortly after AD 311.[22]

Sims-Williams produced the complete and definitive decipherment of the Middle Iranian (mainly Sogdian) inscriptions of the upper Indus valley,[23] contributed decisively to the understanding of the Sogdian fragments from Leningrad (St. Petersburg),[24] edited the Middle Iranian fragments in Helsinki[25] and, jointly with James Hamilton, eight Sogdian documents from Dunhuang.[26] He also provided reliable and illuminating help to Sundermann and many other colleagues in their editions of various Turfan texts and other works. More could be said, but special prominence should be given to his collaboration with Frantz Grenet on the very old Sogdian inscriptions from Kultobe.[27]

21 "The Sogdian Ancient Letters", internet publication under: http://depts.washington.edu//silkroad/texts/sogdlet.html. Cf. N. Sims-Williams: "Towards a new edition of the Sogdian Ancient Letters: Ancient Letter 1." In: É. de la Vaissière/É. Trombert (eds.): *Les Sogdiens en Chine*. Paris 2005, pp. 181–193; "The Sogdian Ancient Letter II." In: M.G. Schmidt/W. Bisang (eds.): *Philologica et Linguistica. Historia, Pluralitas, Universitas. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Dezember 2001*. Trier 2001, pp. 267–280; "Sogdian Ancient Letter II." In: A.L. Juliano/J.A. Lerner: *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China: Gansu and Ningxia, 4th-7th century*. New York 2001, pp. 47–49; (with F. Grenet and É. de la Vaissière): "The Sogdian Ancient Letter V." In: *Alexander's Legacy in the East: Studies in honor of Paul Bernard*. Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, 1998 [2001] (BAI n.s. 12), pp. 91–104.
22 F. Grenet/N. Sims-Williams: "The Historical Context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters." In: *Transition Periods in Iranian Ancient History. Actes du symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau (22–24 mai 1985)*. Leuven 1987, pp. 101–122.
23 *Sogdian and other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus*. I and II. London 1989 and 1992 (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, Vol. III Sogdian).
24 "The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad." In: BSOAS 44 (1981), pp. 231–240; "The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad II: Mani at the court of the Shahanshah." In: BAI n.s. 4 (1990), pp. 281–288; "The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad III: fragments of the Xwāstwānīft." In: A. van Tongerloo/S. Giversen (eds.): *Manichaica Selecta. Studies presented to Professor Julian Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*. Louvain 1991, pp. 323–328.
25 N. Sims-Williams/H. Halén: *The Middle Iranian fragments in Sogdian script from the Mannerheim collection*. Helsinki 1980 (StOr 51.13).
26 N. Sims-Williams/J. Hanilton: *Documents turco-sogdiens du IXe–Xe siècle de Touenhouang*. London 1990.
27 N. Sims-Williams/F. Grenet: "The Sogdian inscriptions of Kultobe." In: *Shygys* 1 (2006), pp. 95–111; and (with F. Grenet and A. Podushkin): "Les plus anciens monuments de la langue sogdienne: les inscriptions de Kultobe au Kazakhstan." In: CRAI 2007 [2009].

Bactrian

The most exciting development in Iranian studies during the last two decades was doubtless the rediscovery of the language and literature of ancient Bactria, a fortunate bye-product of the tragic events in Afghanistan. During the 1990s a number of leather documents with Bactrian writing began to appear in smugglers' markets in Pakistan and soon the trickle became a stream. The largest portion of these were acquired by the London art collector David Khalili and it was at the suggestion of Professor David Bivar that the owner showed them to Nicholas Sims-Williams and eventually entrusted him with their publication.

Prior to the new discoveries, the only really substantial Bactrian texts known to scholars were the inscription from Surkh Khotal, discovered in the 1960s, and the unique Bactrian text in Manichaean script from Turfan. The latter has to this day still not been published (an edition and translation by Sims-Williams is forthcoming in the festschrift for Werner Sundermann), but it had been studied by Ilya Gershevitch, with whom Sims-Williams read it while a student. Already in 1989 Sims-Williams published a brief sketch of Bactrian in the *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, largely on the basis of the Manichaean text, but also taking into account all the other then available texts, meagre though they were. The new documents from Afghanistan brought with them an enormous increase in the materials for the study of the language and history of Bactria, but at the same time they threw up a huge number of new problems. To begin with, they are written in a Greek-based cursive script that was, to be sure, already partially known from a handful of documents, but which had still not been entirely deciphered. Having first unlocked the secret of the script, Sims-Williams set out to unravel the language. A preliminary report on the new documents was published in 1997 in his inaugural lecture at SOAS.[28] At about the same time as the leather documents, the important Bactrian inscription of Rabatak from the reign of Kanishka came to light. Jointly with his colleague Joe Cribb of the British Museum he was awarded the Hirayama prize in 1997 for their work on the decipherment and interpretation of this inscription.[29] A first volume of the leather documents was published in 2001[30] and a second volume

28 *New light on ancient Afghanistan: the decipherment of Bactrian*. London 1997.

29 N. Sims-Williams/J.Cribb: "A new Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great." In: SRAA 4 (1996), pp. 75–142; N. Sims-Williams: "Further notes on the Bactrian inscription of Rabatak, with an Appendix on the names of Kujula Kadphises and Vima Taktu in Chinese." In: N. Sims-Williams (ed.): *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies*. Part 1: *Old and Middle Iranian Studies*. Wiesbaden 1998 (Beiträge zur Iranistik 17), pp. 79–92.

30 *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan I: Legal and Economic Documents*. Oxford 2000 [2001] (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part II: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. III).

in 2007.[31] Both volumes contain a detailed grammatical sketch of Bactrian and a complete glossary of all the then published documents (in the narrower sense of the word, that is: without the inscriptions and coin legends), with etymologies and comparative material. The grammar and vocabulary in the second (2007) volume incorporate and expand upon those in the first (2001) volume and give thus an up-to-date overview of the language. In February 2009 the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran awarded Nicholas Sims-Williams the International Book of the Year Prize for his *Bactrian Documents*. As a result of his work Bactrian has now become not only one of the most important Middle Iranian languages, but also one of the best studied and most expertly described of all the pre-modern Iranian languages. Students of Iranian linguistics will henceforth ignore it at their peril.

The significance of the new documents for the history and geography of ancient and early mediaeval Afghanistan has only just begun to be studied, but Sims-Williams has already made ground-breaking observations on these matters as well. A study of the month-names and the day-names in the Bactrian documents by Sims-Williams, in conjunction with that of the month-names of 'the people of *Tukharistan' in one of the tables added to al-Biruni's *Chronology* by de Blois, has made possible the reconstruction of the Bactrian calendar[32], while an examination of the Bactrian documents edited by Sims-Williams gave the impetus to a solution of the problem of the Bactrian era by de Blois[33] and thus to a reliable chronological framework for the Bactrian documents and inscriptions. But this is just the beginning of a new epoch in the study of the history of ancient Afghanistan.

Nicholas Sims-Williams as a teacher

Although Nicholas Sims Williams' teaching activities at SOAS officially ended in 2004, there are numerous students and colleagues who have been and, metaphorically speaking, still are sitting at his feet in London, Cambridge and many other places throughout the world in order to learn from his immense knowledge of and deep insight into things Iranian and Central Asian, and to benefit from his clear and precise presentation of their subject matter. We could

31 *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan II: Letters and Buddhist Texts*. London 2007 (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part II: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. III).

32 N. Sims-Williams/F. de Blois: "The Bactrian calendar." In: BAI X (1996 [1998]), pp. 149–165; *eidem*: "The Bactrian calendar: new material and new suggestions." In: D. Weber (ed.): *Languages of Iran: Past and Present. Iranian studies in memoriam David Neil MacKenzie*. Wiesbaden 2005 (Iranica 8), pp. 185–196.

33 F. de Blois: "Du nouveau sur la chronologie bactrienne post-hellénistique: l'ère de 223/224 ap. J.-C." In: CRAI 2006 [2008], fasc. II, pp. 991–997.

do no better than quote the words of his distinguished pupil, Professor YUTAKA YOSHIDA of Kyoto, who expresses the indebtedness and gratitude he owes to his teacher in the following words:

> The oldest letter I have from Nicholas is dated 26th July 1979, when he sent me his comments on my master's thesis, which I had posted on 20th July, just one week before. The type-written letter (these were the good old days!) comprises five full pages containing his comments on every detail of my not very long paper on the Sogdian infinitives. At that time he was 30 and I was 25. In my letter accompanying the thesis I asked him about the possibility of studying Sogdian at SOAS and his letter ended with "It would give me great pleasure if you were able to come to study in London". It took me two years to finally find a scholarship to study with him.
>
> I learned Sogdian, Khotanese, Old Persian, and Western Middle Iranian from him within no more than two terms during 1981–82. I still remember very well how in the SOAS library he first gave me the photographs of Sogdian manuscripts, subsequently published by Werner Sundermann in his "Kirchengeschichte", and told me to prepare the text and translation. The Sogdian lesson, which lasted a whole afternoon, was given in the library of his house on 38 Parolles Road. As a foreigner I found then and still find it difficult to follow English spoken by mother-tongue speakers, but I could understand his English without difficulty. When I indicated that to him, he was very pleased and told me that he tried very hard to speak English in such a way that I could follow him.
>
> Among the Sogdian texts I read with him were old photographs of two relatively large fragments, which were suspected to belong to the same manuscript. I had discovered them in one of the store houses of Kyoto University and brought them to England so that I might read the difficult text with Nicholas. The provenance of the photographs and the location of the original fragments were unknown. Just before I left England I spent a week in Germany to see more photographs of Sogdian manuscripts preserved in Hamburg. I was also hoping to find out whether the originals of the photographs from Kyoto University were preserved in the Berlin collection. When I shared my plan with Nicholas, he insisted that I should not only search for them but should also pay careful attention to discovering whether there were any additional fragments which could be joined to them.
>
> A few days later I was most excited to find out that the manuscript of the so-called "Job Story" once published by Henning precedes the Kyoto fragments without a gap. I had always suspected that Nicholas, who had also examined the Hamburg photographs, had pretended not to know the fact so that I might be the first to discover it. When reading fragments Nicholas always required me to infer what was lost in the missing part; otherwise one would not be able to piece them together to make larger texts and eventually discover many interesting facts. His edition of C2 is full of such insights and is a masterpiece of Sogdian philology, which no one else could have produced. I also admired him when I found out that all his joinings of the Leningrad fragments published by Ragoza were borne out by the Chinese texts on their reverse which I had a chance to examine; he was not even misled by Ragoza's wrong measurements of the fragments.

> It is not possible to fully explain how much I owe him. Even today I send him e-mails from time to time always asking him for help in matters of Sogdian philology. His answers are something like a learned article which I can only cite in my paper. One recent instance is my question about the contents of an unpublished Sogdian fragment belonging to the Otani collection and currently housed in the Lushun Museum. It is a wonderful piece containing the names of Rustam, Senmurgh, Godarz, etc. who are mentioned in sentences like "May you be a brave rider just like brave Rustam!". On the very same day I received his answer in which he drew my attention to the Vishtasp Yasht. I am very lucky to be of similar age, because I can learn from my teacher even when I become very old!

It is perhaps not out of place to mention here the generous help that Nicholas has often given to so many of his students and colleagues, whether by devising creative schemes to get them employment, or by reading and advising on drafts of their articles and books. His work, for example, in editing the volumes of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, far exceeded what is normally required.

General appraisal

Scholarly activity of this intensity is uncommon, and more so since it has gone along with other academic obligations in universities, academies and other scholarly bodies as well as with various private and social engagements. To contribute to the progress of the humanities with such a wealth of publications is due to more than exceptional intellectual capacity. It is also the result of a critical restriction of effort to the essentials and of the patient acquisition of the latter by studying, learning and reflecting.

NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1988, Corresponding Member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in 1990 and Associé Étranger of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 2002. He was Visiting Professor at the Collège de France in 1998–1999, at the University of Rome 'La Sapienza' in 2001 and, in 1998–2000, at Macquarie University, Sydney, where he was also Adjunct Professor in 2004–2006. He gave the Ehsan Yarshater Distinguished Lectures on Iranian Studies, in which he surveyed the newly discovered Bactrian documents, at Harvard University in 2000. He raised ca. £ 900,000 in total of Government funding for two major research pojects (Manichaean Dictionary and Bactrian Chronology) both of which he directed between 2000 and 2007. He is Member of the Kommission "Turfanforschung" of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, vice-president of the Philological Society of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (president 2003–2007), for many years Secretary and from 2002 Chairman of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Chairman of the Linguistics and Philology section of the British Academy (from 2004), British Academy representative to the

Union Académique Internationale (from 2004), Treasurer of the Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge, editor of *Beiträge zur Iranistik* (Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden) and associate editor of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, to which he has contributed numerous articles. He has also been or is serving on the editorial board of several Journals, including the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, *Studia Iranica* and the *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*.

On December 14, 2001 a group of iranists from several countries benefited from another of Sims-Williams' many talents. It was the day of a commemoration ceremony in honour of the late Ronald E. Emmerick in Hamburg. The musical part of the ceremony was written by Nicholas Sims-Williams as a composition for violin, viola and cello, the three instruments representing the three eminent iranists that we had lost in that particular year: Ronald E. Emmerick, D. Neil MacKenzie and Ilya Gershevitch. The work was later published in *East and West*.[34] Those who know Nick well will be aware that music is his favourite leisure time occupation. He enjoys listening to it and his knowledge is immense. He plays the piano and performs in concerts on the French horn, often with Ursula, herself an accomplished oboist, and has written many compositions himself. In addition to "In Memoriam", his published works include a Partita for oboe, cor anglais and bassoon (1993) and a Serenade for ten wind instruments (1997).

It is not the rule that scholars meriting a festschrift receive one at the still youthful age of sixty. We trust, however, that many more colleagues than those who have contributed to this volume agree that it is more than justified to offer these articles to Nicholas Sims-Williams, the sexagenarian. We regard the fact that so many of Nicholas' colleagues and ex-students consider him worthy of a festschrift at such a young age to be a promising sign that he will continue to enrich our knowledge of philological, linguistic and religious matters in and beyond Iran in numerous ways and for many years to come.

Werner Sundermann, Almut Hintze and François de Blois

34 "In Memoriam." In: EW 51 (2001), pp. 423–425.

Publications of Nicholas Sims-Williams[1]

1972

(A) "A Sogdian ideogram." In: BSOAS 35.3 (1972), pp. 614–615.

1973

(A) "A note on Bactrian syntax." In: IF 78 (1973 [1975]), pp. 95–99.
(A) "A Sogdian fragment of a work of Dadišoʿ Qaṭraya." In: AM N.S. 18/1 (1973), pp. 88–105.

1975

(A) "Notes on Sogdian palaeography." In: BSOAS 38.1 (1975), pp. 132–139.

1976

(A) "The Sogdian fragments of the British Library." In: IIJ 18.1–2 (1976 [1977]), pp. 43–82.

1977

(R) G.D. Davary/H. Humbach: *Die baktrische Inschrift IDN 1 von Dasht-e Nāwūr (Afghanistan)*. Mainz 1976. In: ZDMG 127.2 (1977), p. 460.
(R) I.M. Diakonoff/V.A. Livshits: *Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum*. Pt. II: *Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*. Vol. II: *Parthian*. Portfolio I: *Parthian economic documents from Nisa. Plates I*. Ed. by D.N. MacKenzie. London 1976. In: BSOAS 40.1 (1977), p. 217.
(R) A.L. Gryunberg/I.M. Steblin-Kamenskiy: *Yazyki vostochnogo Gindukusha. Vakhanskiy yazyk: teksty, slovar', grammatichskiy ocherk*. Moscow 1976. In: BSOAS 40.3 (1977), p. 635.
(R) S. Zimmer: *Die Satzstellung des finiten Verbs im Tocharischen*. The Hague/Paris 1976; S. Zimmer: *Tocharische Bibliographie 1959–1975, mit Nachträgen für den vorhergehenden Zeitraum*. Heidelberg 1976. In: BSOAS 40.2 (1977), pp. 446–447.

1978

(R) I.M. Diakonoff/V.A. Livshits: *Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum*. Pt. II: *Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*. Vol. II: *Parthian*. Portfolio I: *Parthian economic documents from Nisa. Texts I [Fasc. 1] and Plates II*. Ed. by D.N. MacKenzie. London 1976. In: BSOAS 41.1 (1978), pp. 164–165.

1 (A) = Article, (B) = Book, (E) = Edited book, (R) = Review, (O) Other. For abbreviations of periodicals see pp. XXXVII–XL.

(R) D.N. MacKenzie: *The Buddhist Sogdian texts of the British Library.* Téhéran/Liège/Leiden (AcIr 10). In: IIJ 20.3–4 (1978), pp. 256–260.
(R) M. Mayrhofer: *Onomastica persepolitana. Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen.* Wien 1973 (SÖAW 286). In: IIJ 20.1–2 (1978), pp. 95–99.
(R) *W.B. Henning. Selected papers.* Téhéran/Liège/Leiden 1977 (AcIr 14–15). In: BSOAS 41.1 (1978), pp. 165–166.

1979

(A) "On the plural and dual in Sogdian." In: BSOAS 42.2 (1979), pp. 337–346.
(A) "A Parthian sound-change." In: BSOAS 42.1 (1979), pp. 133–136.
(R) C.J. Brunner: *A syntax of Western Middle Iranian.* Delmar, N.Y. 1977. In: BSOAS 42.3 (1979), pp. 570–571.
(R) *Études mithraïques.* Téhéran/Liège/Leiden 1978 (AcIr 17). In: BSOAS 42.1 (1979), p. 190.
(R) M. Mayrhofer: *Iranisches Personennamenbuch.* Bd. I: *Die altiranischen Namen.* Fasz. 1: *Die avestischen Namen.* Wien 1977. In: BSOAS 42.1 (1979), pp. 189–190.
(R) R. Schmitt: *Die Iranier-Namen bei Aischylos. Iranica Graeca Vetustiora, I.* Wien 1978 (SÖAW 337); M. Mayrhofer: *Supplement zur Sammlung der altpersischen Inschriften.* Wien 1978 (SÖAW 338). In: BSOAS 42.3 (1979), p. 574.

1980

(B) (with H. Halén) *The Middle Iranian fragments in Sogdian script from the Mannerheim collection.* Helsinki 1980 (StOr 51.13), 11 pp., 4 pl.

1981

(A) "The final paragraph of the tomb-inscription of Darius I (DNb, 50–60): the Old Persian text in the light of an Aramaic version." In: BSOAS 44.1 (1981), pp. 1–7.
(A) "Notes on Manichaean Middle Persian morphology." In: StIr 10.2 (1981 [1982]), pp. 165–176.
(A) "Remarks on the Sogdian letters γ and x (with special reference to the orthography of the Sogdian version of the Manichean church-history)." Appendix to: W. Sundermann: *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts.* Berlin 1981 (BTT XI), pp. 194–198.
(A) "The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad." In: BSOAS 44.2 (1981), pp. 231–240.
(A) "Sogdian manuscript collections: a brief report." In: JA 269 (1981), pp. 31–33.
(A) "The Sogdian sound-system and the origins of the Uyghur script." In: JA 269 (1981), pp. 347–360.
(A) "Some Sogdian denominal abstract suffixes." In: AcOr 42 (1981 [1982]), pp. 11–19.
(A) "Syro-sogdica I: an anonymous homily on the three periods of the solitary life." In: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47.2 (1981), pp. 441–446.
(R) R.E. Emmerick: *A guide to the literature of Khotan.* Tokyo 1979. In: JRAS 1981, p. 85.
(R) J. Harmatta (ed.): *Prolegomena to the sources on the history of pre-Islamic Central Asia.* Budapest 1979; J. Harmatta (ed.): *Studies in the sources on the history of pre-Islamic Central Asia.* Budapest 1979. In: BSOAS 44.1 (1981), pp. 217–218.

(R) N. Safa-Isfehani: *Rivāyat-i Hēmīt-i Ašawahistān* [sic]. *A study in Zoroastrian law. Edition, transcription and translation.* Cambridge, Mass. 1980 (Harvard Iranian series 2). In: JRAS 1981, p. 214.

1982

(A) "Abbā Isaiah." In: EIr I, 1982, p. 70.
(A) "The double system of nominal inflexion in Sogdian." In: TPS 1982, pp. 67–76.
(A) "Syro-sogdica II: a metrical homily by Bābay bar Nṣibnāye 'On the final evil hour'." In: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48.1 (1982), pp. 171–176.

1983

(A) "Chotano-Sogdica [I]." In: BSOAS 46.1 (1983), pp. 40–51.
(A) "Indian elements in Parthian and Sogdian." In: K. Röhrborn/W. Veenker (eds.): *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien. Vorträge des Hamburger Symposiums vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981.* Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 132–141.
(A) (with U. Sims-Williams and others) "Languages [of Iran]." In: L.P. Elwell-Sutton (ed.): *Bibliographical guide to Iran. The Middle East Library Committee guide.* Sussex 1983, pp. 230–267.
(R) H.W. Bailey: *Khotanese Buddhist texts.* Revised edition. Cambridge 1981. In: BSOAS 46.2 (1983), pp. 359–360.
(R) R.E. Emmerick/P.O. Skjærvø: *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese I.* Wien 1982 (SÖAW 401). In: BSOAS 46.2 (1983), pp. 358–359.

1984

(A) "The Sogdian 'Rhythmic Law'." In: W. Skalmowski/A. van Tongerloo (eds.): *Middle Iranian Studies. Proceedings of the International Symposium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of May 1982.* Leuven 1984 (OLA 16), pp. 203–215.

1985

(B) *The Christian Sogdian manuscript C2.* Berlin 1985 (BTT XII), 251 pp., 95 pl.
(A) "Ancient Letters." In: EIr II/1, 1985, pp. 7–9.
(A) "The Manichean commandments: a survey of the sources." In: *Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce II.* Leiden 1985 (AcIr 25), pp. 573–582, Pl. XXXV [Persian translation in: *Farhang* 9.1 (1996), pp. 335–347].
(A) "A note on Bactrian phonology." In: BSOAS 48.1 (1985), pp. 111–116.
(R) G. Hazai/P. Zieme (eds.): *Faksimiles zu den Text-Editionen von Albert August von Le Coq* [and five others]. Berlin (Opuscula III: *Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung.* Bd. 4). In: BSOAS 48.3 (1985), p. 619.
(E) I. Gershevitch: *Philologia Iranica.* Selected and edited by N. Sims-Williams. Wiesbaden 1985 (Beiträge zur Iranistik 12), xv, 303 pp., 1 pl.

1986

(A) "Apophthegmata Patrum." In: EIr II/2, 1986, p. 161.
(A) "Apostolic Canons." In: EIr II/2, 1986, p. 162.

(A) "Sogdian *''ōprm* and its cognates." In: R. Schmitt/P. O. Skjærvø (eds.): *Studia grammatica iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach.* München 1986 (MSS, Beiheft 13, N.F.), pp. 407–424.
(A) "Sogdian *kw* and Slavonic *kŭ*." In: *Peredneaziatskij Shornik* 4 (1986 [1987]), pp. 116–121, (Russian summary) pp. 245–246.
(R) M. Boyce: *A Persian stronghold of Zoroastrianism, based on the Ratanbai Katrak lectures, 1975.* Oxford 1977. In: IIJ 29.2 (1986), pp. 128–129.
(R) J. Harmatta (ed.): *From Hecataeus to al-Ḫuwārizmī. Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Persian, Sanskrit, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Greek and Latin sources for the history of Pre-Islamic Central Asia.* Budapest 1984. In: BSOAS 49.3 (1986), p. 588.
(R) *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne.* Liège/Leiden 1981, 1982 (AcIr 21–22). In: BSOAS 49.2 (1986), p. 432.
(R) Z. Taraf: *Der Awesta-Text Niyāyiš mit Pahlavi- und Sanskritübersetzung.* München 1981 (MSS, Beiheft 10, N.F.). In: *Kratylos* 31 (1986), pp. 190–191.

1987

(A) (with F. Grenet) "The historical context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters." In: *Transition periods in Iranian history. Actes du symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau (22–24 Mai 1985).* Paris/Leuven 1987 (StIr, Cahier 5), pp. 101–122. [Chinese translation: "粟特語古信的歷史背景" Suteyu guxin de lishi beijing. In: 《敦煌研究》 *Dunhuang yanjiu*, No. 1 (1999), pp. 110–119.]
(A) "[Khotanese] *nā, nu, ne, ni* 'them, their', enclitic." In: R.E. Emmerick/P.O. Skjærvø: *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese II.* Wien 1987 (SÖAW 458), pp. 74–75.

1988

(A) "Baat in Iranian sources." In: EIr III/3, 1988, p. 277.
(A) "Bābay of Nisibis." In: EIr III/3, 1988, p. 309.
(A) "Bactrian language." In: EIr III/4, 1988, pp. 344–349.
(A) "Baga in Old and Middle Iranian." In: EIr III/4, 1988, pp. 404–405.
(A) "Syro-Sogdica III: Syriac elements in Sogdian." In: *A green leaf. Papers in honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen.* Leiden 1988 (AcIr 28), pp. 145–156.

1989

(B) *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum.* Part II: *Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia.* Vol. III: *Sogdian.* II: *Sogdian and other Iranian inscriptions of the Upper Indus I.* London 1989, 36 pp., 170 pl.
(A) "Additional notes on the reading and interpretation of [the Sogdian documents] V-17 and A-14." In: *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard.* Reunies par C.-H. Fouchecour et Ph. Gignoux. Paris 1989 (StIr, Cahier 7), p. 184.
(A) "Bactrian." In: CLI, pp. 230–235. [Persian translation in: *Rāhnamāye zabānhāye Irāni*, vol. I, Tehran 1382 (2003), pp. 358–366.]
(A) "Baršabbā." In: EIr III/8, 1989, p. 823.
(A) "Bible, v. Sogdian translations of the Bible." In: EIr IV/2, 1989, p. 207.
(A) "Bulayīq." In: EIr IV/5, 1989, p. 545.

(A) "Eastern Middle Iranian." In: CLI, pp. 165–172. [Persian translation in: *Rāhnamāye zabānhāye Irāni*, vol. I, Tehran 1382 (2003), pp. 261–271.]
(A) "A new fragment from the Parthian hymn-cycle *Huyadagmān*." In: *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard.* Reunies par C.-H. Fouchecour et Ph. Gignoux. Paris 1989 (StIr, Cahier 7), pp. 321–331.
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(A) "Sogdian." In: CLI, pp. 173–192. [Persian translation in: *Rāhnamāye zabānhāye Irāni*, vol. I, Tehran 1382 (2003), pp. 272–302.]
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(R) R.E. Emmerick/P.O. Skjærvø: *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese II.* Wien 1987 (SÖAW 458). In: IIJ 32.1 (1989), pp. 47–49.

1990

(B) (with J. Hamilton) *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum.* Part II: *Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia.* Vol. III: *Sogdian.* III: *Documents turco-sogdiens du IX^e–X^e siècle de Touen-houang.* London 1990, 94 pp., 47 pl.
(A) "Chotano-Sogdica II: aspects of the development of nominal morphology in Khotanese and Sogdian." In: Gh. Gnoli/A. Panaino (eds.): *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies held in Turin, September 7^th–11^th, 1987 by the Societas Iranologica Europæa.* Pt. I: *Old and Middle Iranian Studies.* Rome 1990 (SOR 67.1), pp. 275–296.
(A) "Note on the inscription [on a Sasanian silver-gilt plate]." In: D. von Bothmer (ed.): *Glories of the past: ancient art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy collection.* New York 1990, p. 59.
(A) "Old Persian *patišuvarna* 'cup'." In: *Iranica Varia. Papers in honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater.* Leiden 1990 (AcIr 30), pp. 240–243. [Persian translation in: *Mirāth-e Farhangi* 17 (1997), pp. 46–48.]
(A) "Persian *bahmān* 'so-and-so': an ancient survival?" In: JRAS 1990, pp. 10–12. [Persian translation in: *Āyandeh* 17.1–4 (1990 [1991]), pp. 22–26.]
(A) "The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad II: Mani at the Court of the Shahanshah." In: BAI 4 (1990 [1992]) [= *In honor of Richard Nelson Frye. Aspects of Iranian Culture*], pp. 281–288.
(O) [A note on variants of Old Iranian **xšaθra-*.] In: M. Boyce: "Mithra Khšathrapati and His Brother Ahusa." In: BAI 4 (1990 [1992]), pp. 3–9 (note pp. 7–8).
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Abbreviations of Periodicals, Series and Books

AcIr	Acta Iranica
AcOr	Acta Orientalia
ADAW	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Berlin 1831–1945
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AKBAW	Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Philologische Klasse. München
AKPAW	Abhandlungen der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
AM	Asia Major
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
AÖAW	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Wien
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
AOH	Acta Orientalia Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
ASIAR	Archæological Survey of India. Annual Reports
BAI	Bulletin of the Asia Institute
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique Paris
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
BTT	Berliner Turfantexte
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum
CLI	*Compendium linguarum iranicarum*. Ed. by R. Schmitt. Wiesbaden 1989
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Paris 1858–
EIr	*Encyclopædia Iranica*. Ed. by E. Yarshater. London/New York
EW	East and West
GIrPh	*Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*. Ed. by W. Geiger/E. Kuhn. Straßburg 1895–1904
HdO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik*. Ed. by B. Spuler. Leiden/Köln
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IPNB	Iranisches Personennamenbuch
IrAnt	Iranica Antiqua
JA	Journal Asiatique

JAOS	The Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCOI	Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSAI	Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
KZ	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
NGWG	Nachrichten von der (königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse
NTS	Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Oslo
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven
OS	Orientalia Suecana
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
SKBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
SOR	Serie Orientale Roma
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SRAA	Silk Road Art and Archaeology
StII	Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik
StIr	Studia Iranica
StOr	Studia Orientalia
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society
UAJb	Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii
VOHD	Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZII	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

The Rukhkh, Giant Eagle of the Southern Seas

A.D.H. Bivar, London

The historical civilizations, both of the Classical world and of medieval Islam, long continued to believe in the existence of a giant avian predator, capable of capturing and preying on large mammals, and variously known as the Griffon (Gr. Gryps), the 'Anqā', or the Rukhkh. The first was localized either in Central Asia[1], in Ethiopia[2], or in India (Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, III, 48); the second and third in southern Arabia, East Africa or in the China Seas. These last two also became identified with the Simurgh, the giant eagle of the Iranian national legend, and were credited with the ability, attributed to the last seemingly by epic hyperbole, of capturing and carrying off an elephant, let alone a human. Better knowledge of the extinct giant eagle of New Zealand now enables us to separate the kernel of fact, by no means inconsiderable, underlying this legend, from the fog of hearsay and exaggeration. It also suggests that maritime exploration, both in antiquity, and in Islam, reached further afield than is nowadays commonly credited. I offer this trifle as my tribute to Nicholas Sims-Williams, in acknowledgement of his striking recent contributions to Iranian Studies, and notably to the decipherment of Bactrian.

The giant eagle *Harpagornis moorei*, also known as Haast's Eagle, was identified from fossil remains in New Zealand as long ago as 1871. The most recent and comprehensive account is that by Worthy and Holdaway.[3] This formidable predator fed on various species of the flightless bird, the Moa, including the huge *Dinornis giganteus*, and seems to have survived as recently as the 15th century AD, and even perhaps later. By this date the destruction of its food supply, the Moas, by the incoming Maoris had no doubt accelerated its extinction. The discovery in about 1989, at the site called the Honeycomb Hill Cave

1 A plausible explanation of the Central Asian griffons is suggested by Adrienne Mayor and Michael Heaney in "Griffins and Arimaspians" in: *Folklore* 1993, pp. 40–66. They attribute the legend to the finding of skeletons and nests of the dinosaur Protoceratops in the Gobi. This case is also made in several earlier publications of the first author. I am obliged to Dr. D. Naish for this, and several other additions to my bibliography.

2 Pliny: *Natural History* X, p. 136: "Pegasos equino capite volucres et gryphos auritos et dira aduncitate rostri fabulosos reor, illos in Scythia, hos in Aethiopia." This appears to locate the griffons in Ethiopia. However, in *Natural History* XXXIII, p. 66, he explicitly places the griffons in Scythia.

3 T.H. Worthy/R.N. Holdaway: *The lost world of the Moa: prehistoric life of New Zealand*. Bloomington, Ind. 2002, pp. 246–335.

near Nelson, in the South Island of New Zealand,[4] of more fossil bones of this eagle, together with an almost complete skeleton of a large female near the top of Mount Owen not far away,[5] made possible a clearer picture of its character and appearance. The female bird, which, as with many raptorial birds, was the larger, has been estimated to have weighed 18 kg, and to have had a wingspan of 3 m. The fuller picture now available leads one to view in a clearer light accounts of the giant eagle in Classical, and especially Islamic sources.

In particular, the descriptions by Abū Ḥāmid Gharnaṭī, and by the celebrated Arab traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, of encounters with the Rukhkh – though the last, in particular, was not necessarily first hand – are, if certainly exaggerated, no longer to be regarded as entirely divorced from fact. They do, at any rate, make clear that such encounters were said to take place somewhere in the "China Seas", "at islands of the Encircling Ocean which man had not yet reached", and to be reported by sailors blown for long distances off course. The distance cited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 42 days sail eastwards of Tawālisī (apparently Sulawesi), seems compatible with a landfall in New Zealand. Such voyages were apparently conducted, in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's case at any rate, by large Sumatran, and other S.E. Asian ships with Muslim crews. Nor is it, of course, out of the question that Chinese ships should have made such involuntary journeys. Thus Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description is not to be dismissed as fantasy.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account shows that sailors were much frightened of the Rukhkh, and there is every likelihood they were reluctant to stay on the island, owing perhaps to the bird's aggressive and territorial behaviour. This may have been a factor in the lack of colonization of New Zealand by Asian seafarers. However, until such evidence can be produced as the finding of medieval anchors, or even complete wrecks, off the western coast of the South Island, the credibility of such landfalls cannot be finally established. Such investigations would call for an extension of the work by Honor Frost, who has shown the importance of discarded anchors for maritime history.[6]

Islamic no less than Classical sources, as we shall see, also locate a large avian predator in East Africa or in Madagascar. However these reports are likely to have been inspired by the fossil eggs of the large flightless bird *Aepyornis maximus*[7] (formerly called *Aepyornis titan*) which were available in Madagascar during the Middle Ages, and may still be occasionally found today. It was until recently believed that no medieval visitor could have seen a living Aepyornis, since they were believed to have been exterminated by the Malagasy in about

4 T.H. Worthy: *Fossils of Honeycomb Hill*, Wellington (NZ) 1993.
5 Worthy/Holdaway 2002, p. 283.
6 As communicated in her lecture at the Royal Asiatic Society "Evidence for giant ships in Medieval Islam" on 12th February 1998.
7 Cf. W.E. Swinton: *Fossil birds*. London ²1965, p. 38.

400 BC. According to recent accounts,[8] however, living specimens of Aepyornis are reported to have been seen by the earliest European visitors to Madagascar, having been protected by a taboo that prevented the Malagasy using them for food. A large eagle, *Stephanoaetus mahery*, is known to have existed in Madagascar, but so far as its size can be estimated from the bone specimens reported, it seems to have been only moderately larger than its relative the Crowned Hawk-Eagle, *Stephanoaetus coronatus*, of West Africa. This predator is said to have been capable of "attacking and killing animals a good deal larger than itself", including "pigs, lambs, geese and buck", while "a klipspringer makes a favourite meal". However, the *Stephanoaetus mahery* does not seem to have attained the huge dimensions reached by the *Harpagornis*, let alone those attributed to the Rukhkh. Thus the localization of this giant predator in Madagascar probably results from a misapprehension.

In the Muslim tradition, stories of the giant eagle called 'Anqā' gained credibility from an indirect allusion in the Qur'ān (Sūra 25:38, and especially 50:12), where there is reference to a community designated *Aṣḥāb al-Rass* "The People of the Well". This community were classed with other ancient nations of Arabia whose civilization had been destroyed as punishment for misdoings: the tribes of Noah, Thamūd, 'Ād, Farā'ūn, and the bretheren of Lot. However, in the case of the "People of the Well", the sacred writ gives no indication of their location, nor how or why they met their end. For explanation, we have to turn to the commentators.

Mas'ūdī (*Murūj al-dhahab* IV, 19, written ca. 332/943), reports a Ḥadīth, attributed to Ibn 'Abbās, which provides a fuller explanation of the matter. At the same time it must be acknowledged that this Ḥadīth is not included in the collection of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* ("the True Traditions").[9] Its content suggests that it is, like many others, ultimately a legend of Jewish origin:

> Ibn 'Abbās reported that the Prophet said: Allāh created a bird at the beginning of time, one of the noblest of the birds, and He endowed it in truth with every virtue, and He created its face like the face of humans, and on its wings were feathers of every fine colour,[10] and He endowed it with four wings on each side, and He provided it with two talons equipped with claws, and it possessed a beak similar to the beak of the eagle, thick at its base. Then He created for it a mate of the same appearance, and named the pair of them 'Anqā'. And Allāh revealed to

8 Revisiting the old claim of Etienne de Flacourt, first French governor in Madagascar, to this effect.
9 A.J. Weinsinck and J.P. Mensing (*Concordances et Indices de la Tradition musulmanes*, Leiden 1962) do not appear to list the word 'Anqā' as the subject of an authentic Ḥadīth.
10 Emphasis on the bright colours of the bird, re-appearing in Islamic paintings of the 'Anqā', suggests that the tradition is here contaminated by elements from the legend of the phoenix, which could have originated with early imports of the peacock into Egypt. The traditions of the 'Anqā' seem originally to reflect an entirely separate origin.

> Moses the son of 'Imrān (the following): "Verily I have created a wondrous bird, and I have created both male and female, and I have ordained its nourishment from the wild game belonging to the Sacred Temple [at Jerusalem], and I have entrusted you with them both, so that they should be a source of pride to the Children of Israel." So they (the eagles) did not cease to reproduce themselves until their progeny became numerous.
>
> Then Moses and the Children of Israel entered into wilderness, and they remained there for forty years, until Moses and Aaron died in the wilderness, with all those of the Children of Israel who had been with Moses, to the number of 600,000, and their progeny succeeded them in the wilderness. Then Allāh brought them out of the wilderness with Joshua the son of Nūn, a pupil of Moses and his legatee. Then that bird migrated, and settled in Nejd, and the Hijāz, in the land of Qais-'Aylān. It did not cease from dwelling there, and feeding on wild game, and (even) on children, and other sorts of livestock. Until there came forth a prophet from the Children of 'Abas, in the days between Jesus and Muḥammad, who was called Khālid b. Sinān. Then the people complained to him about what the 'Anqā' was doing to their children. So he prayed to Allāh against it, that He should exterminate its progeny, and Allāh did exterminate its progeny. And there remained its image, it is reported, on carpets and other things of that kind ...[11]
>
> And the majority of narrators are agreed that the popular saying *'Anqā' mughrib* in proverbs only means a strange happening, extraordinary in its occurrence, as in their saying "There has befallen to so-and-so an *'Anqā' mughrib*, and they mean that there has befallen to him an important happening."

The existence of the possible Quranic allusion, and of the Tradition reported by Mas'ūdī, together with the appearance of the topic in a well-known proverb, gave the legend of the 'Anqā' an acknowledged place in Muslim literary tradition, though many authorities still insisted that the creature was fabulous. Thus already Jāhiẓ (b. 160/776) comments (*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, VII, p. 105):

> As for the great sea-serpent *(al-tannīn)*, there is only the evidence of oaths with regard to it, and the evidence of oaths for the *'anqā' mughrib*. And I never once saw a gathering in which there arose mention of the sea-serpent, but that they contradicted the report of it, and rejected it as false.

And later (VII, p. 120):

> The majority deny that there exists in the world an animal called the rhinoceros *(karkadan)*, and they insist that this, and the *'Anqā' mughrib* are similar [i.e. non-existent], even if they used to see the image of the 'Anqā' depicted on the carpets of kings. The name of it in Persian was Sīmurgh, as if one said that it alone was thirty birds [Persian *sī murgh*].

It is clear that the tradition reported by Mas'ūdī describes representations of a creature in art, rather than an actual bird. Thus the claim that the bird had

11 For a man-carrying eagle, represented with two heads on a textile probably of Seljuk date, see G. Wiet: *Soieries persanes*, Cairo 1947 (Mémoirs presentés à l'Institut d'Egypte LII), pp. 55–63 and pls. IX–XI.

features like a human face appears to describe the representation conventionally designated a "harpy", the human-headed bird deriving largely from ancient Egyptian sources, and continuing to appear in the art of Islam.[12] Again, the claim that the creature had "four wings on each side" (probably a pleonastic phrase, implying merely that it had four wings) seems a description of the eagle-headed genii characteristic of Assyrian art, such, for example, as that designated the "griffin-demon".[13] One may also suspect that the monstrous lion-headed bird known as the Imdugud, represented in Mesopotamian art from Sumerian times,[14] sometimes in frontal representation with spread wings, and grasping two stags or two lions in its talons, may have contributed to the legend. Conceivably such representations were above ground, and still seen during the Middle Ages, since they have a close resemblance to several Islamic renderings of the theme.

Finally, the legend of the great bird carrying off children (itself a survival of the well-known Etana legend of ancient Mesopotamia[15]) was probably derived from Classical representations of the youth Ganymede, or of his female counterpart, the nymph Aegina,[16] abducted by the god Zeus in the form of an eagle. This was one of the popular cycle of subjects, "The Amours of the Gods", often represented in Greek, and especially Roman art.[17] The subject appeared on many small artefacts exported to the Roman periphery, and was no doubt there re-interpreted in the light of local mythologies and beliefs. Examples of the less well-known Aegina theme have been found in the Gandhara art of South Asia,[18] in Russia, on the Tcherdin dish[19] – where the specimen probably

12 E. Baer: *Sphynxes and harpies in medieval Islamic art: an iconographical study*, Leiden 1965, pp. 29–38. On pp. 38–42 there is an excellent summary of the information on the 'Anqā', outlining much of the ground covered here. She is not, however, concerned with the tradition of the Rukhkh.

13 J. Black/A. Green: *Gods, demons and symbols of ancient Mesopotamia: an illustrated dictionary*. London 1992, p. 101 and fig. 78.

14 *ibid.* p. 107.

15 *ibid.* p. 78.

16 For the role of Aegina in such legends, see especially Th. Panofka: *Zeus und Aegina: eine der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften am 2. Juli 1835 vorgelegte Abhandlung* (Berlin 1837); *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, s.v. Aegina; A.D.H. Bivar: "An unknown Punjab seal-collector", in: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 23 (1961), pp. 309–327, especially p. 317 and pl. VII, 7.

17 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 106, where Arachne weaves on her loom the "Amours of the gods", and the victim of the eagle is called Asterie.

18 Cf. A. Foucher: *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra: étude sur les origines de l'influence classique dans l'art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient* (Paris 1905–1922), vol. II, figs. 318–321, 398; H. Ingholt: *Gandharan art in Pakistan* (New York 1957), p. 149; Bivar 1961, p. 317.

19 K.V. Trever: *Nouveaux plats sasanides de l'Ermitage* (Moskva 1937), pl. III; K.V. Trever/V.G. Lukonin: *Sasanidskoe serebro: sobranie Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža, Chudožestvennaja kul'tura Irana III–VIII vekov* (Moskva 1987), p. 113, no. 22 (pl. 58).

originates from Iran[20] – and even in the Late Antique Nagyszentmiklos Treasure at Vienna.[21]

That small infants placed in unprotected situations may in real life have occasionally been carried away by eagles seems not improbable, though sometimes denied by ornithologists. Indeed, as far as New Zealand is concerned, a Maori legend is reported very widely of a monster called the Pouakai, which attacked children and even adults from the air, before being destroyed by a hero Te Hau o Tawera. The tale is curiously parallel to the Arab traditions concerning the 'Anqā'. It is nevertheless thought unlikely that even the recently discovered giant eagles, no doubt fully capable of killing a man, could have lifted an adult human body from the ground. So this element of the story would have arisen from knowledge of art forms rather than observations of nature. We shall however need to return later to this question of the lifting-power of eagles.

Zakarīyā b. Muḥammad Qazvīnī (600/1203 to 652/1283), in his *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* ("The Wonders of Creation"),[22] attempts to reconcile various reports concerning the 'Anqā':

> 'Anqā': the greatest of the birds in form, and the largest in body. It captures the elephant, just as the kestrel captures the mouse. In ancient times it would make captures from the houses of the people, and they suffered damage from its crimes until one day it carried off a bride adorned.[23] Then the Prophet Ḥanzala (whom Allāh bless and deliver) prayed against it. So Allāh removed it to certain islands of the Ocean beyond the Equator, and there is (there) an island which no man has reached. In it are numerous wild animals, such as the elephant, the rhinoceros, the water-buffalo, the leopard, the lion, and birds of prey *(jawāriḥ)*. Yet the *'Anqā'* does not hunt any of them, because they are under its dominion. If it obtains any quarry, it eats some of it, and the rest is eaten by the animals under its dominion. It only hunts the elephant, or the great fish, or the sea-serpent, and when it has finished, it leaves the rest to the animals. Then it goes up to its perch, and looks with pleasure at their eating of it. And when it flies, there is heard from its feathers a sound like the approach of a flood, or the noise of trees in a tempest of wind.

20 This widely-distributed subject even appears on a Sasanian seal-impression, cf. Ph. Gignoux/R. Gyselen 1987: *Bulles et sceaux sassanides de diverses collection*, Paris (StIr, Cahier 4), p. 112, no KP 20a (g). The old interpretation of Trever, that the figure represents the (Indian) eagle Garuda, and the (Iranian) deity Anāhitā, is an implausible combination.

21 N. Mavrodinov: *Le trésor protobulgare de Nagyszentmiklos*. Budapest 1943 (Archaeologia Hungarica XXIX), p. 94.

22 Ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen 1848), vol. I, p. 420; ed. Fārūq Sa'd, Beirut 1977, p. 456f.; Tunis u.d., p. 281.

23 Cf. the illustration on fol. 408a of RAS MS No. 178, reproduced by B.W. Robinson: "R.A.S. MS 178: an unrecorded Persian painter", in: JRAS (1970), 2, pp. 203–209, especially p. 208 and fig. 15; also reproduced in H.A.R. Gibb/C.F. Beckingham: *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325–1354*, translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti, vol. IV, London 1994, pl. III, following p. 882. This illustration would equally represent an episode of the romance of *al-'Anqā'*, mentioned below.

> Moreover the following is related on the authority of certain traders:
> "We strayed from our course in the Encircling Ocean, and we were in perplexity. And lo! We were overshadowed by a great darkness like a vast cloud. Then the sailors said: 'That is the 'Anqā'.' And we followed it until we had entered under that darkness. Then our tongues were loosed in prayer. And it did not cease from travelling with us until we regained our course; then it vanished from us. They relate the life-span of the 'Anqā' is one thousand seven hundred years, and it mates when it has reached the age of five hundred years."

We shall return later to the element of "the bride adorned" in the description, to artistic representations of the abduction by the eagle of a woman, and to the possibility that the giant eagle could in literal fact have lifted an adult human into the air.[24] The Arab description of the 'Anqā' is often identified by the Muslim authorities with the Iranian tradition of the Sīmurgh, another legendary giant bird, and I am inclined to believe that this identification was historically correct. The motif of the 'Anqā' capturing large mammals, and in particular the elephant, was already present in the account of the Sīmurgh given in the *Shāhnāma*:[25]

> You will see a mountain with its head in the sky, and upon its top, a bird of commanding appearance, which the expert calls the Sīmurgh. It is a bird of the mountains, eager for battle. If it sees an elephant, it carries it into the cloud. From the sea it carries away a crocodile, and from the dry land a leopard, and it has no difficulty in lifting them. Nor does it with a rhinoceros, as a sorcerer with a dice.

This reference to the capture of the elephant may have been part of an established Persian tradition, though the reference in the same context to its capture of leopards and crocodiles seems to reflect the usual traveller's tales concerning the giant bird. We should remember that, in Iran, crocodiles are found on the Makran coast, frequenting not only estuaries, but also the sea. There could, however, as we shall see, be a perfectly factual inspiration for the tradition of its hunting of elephants.

24 That impeccable scientist al-Bīrūnī (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī 1355 [1936]: *Kitāb al-jamāhir fī ma'rifat al-jawāhir*, Hyderabad [Deccan], p. 261), in his discussion of the fabulous metal *khārṣīnī* 'Chinese rock', which is sometimes (wrongly) identified with nickel or zinc, dismisses it as legendary. He likens it in this respect to the *'Anqā'*, which he thus implicitly dismisses as fabulous.

25 *Gushtasp, Dāstān-i Haft Khan-i Isfandiyār*, l. 243 (ed. J. Mohl = ed. J. Khaleghi-Motlagh V, 24):

Yakī kūh bīnī sar andar havā
bar ū bar yakī murgh-i farmānravā
kih Sīmurgh gūyad wu-rā kārjuwī
chu pārinda kūhī'st paigār juwī
Agar pīl bīnad bar-ārad ba-abr
zi dāryā nihang u zi-kushkī hizabr
nabīnad zi bar-dāshtan hīch ranj
mar ū rā chu karg ū chu jādū masanj.

Here we must notice briefly the Classical tradition of the griffon, and the manner of its representation in Greek and Roman art. Variations of this theme go back to the period of Minoan civilization, but the subject became increasingly prominent in Greek art of the 4th century BC. It is widely attested in vase painting, and a similar creature, represented as preying on a deer, appears on a mosaic floor at Pella in Greece.[26] In each case the creature has the head, beak, foreparts and wings of a huge eagle, but its hindquarters are those of a mammal, and it has the paws and hind feet of a lion. This is in fact the canonical form of the eagle-griffon in later Greek art.

There is also a curious representation of a griffon appearing in two contexts of Roman art, which conceivably have some Iranian connection. On a silver casket from the London Mithraeum, now in the Museum of London,[27] there is a hunting scene showing miscellaneous wild game. On one side is a crate, apparently brought for the transportation of captured animals. In this a huntsman has taken refuge from the attack of a huge griffon, which is attempting to tear away the crate. Above is a similar crate, again attacked by a griffon, while on the right, a man is being helped out of a crate by a companion, who shakes him by the hand, a gesture typical of Mithraic ritual.[28]

The similar theme is found in the spectacular mosaic of the Piazza Armerina in central Sicily.[29] Here we see exactly the same scene, depicted in full colour. This iconography has never been adequately explained by Classical art-historians. The first provenance suggests that the theme could have had some meaning in terms of Mithraic mythology. The ritual of Mithraic initiation is believed to have required the candidate to take a dose of narcotic, which reduced him to deathlike narcosis for a period of days. There is even evidence that he was placed in a simulated grave. The fierce griffon could well be understood as a symbol of death, which tears at the box in the effort to destroy the initiand. In the central representation, we see again the same scene; but on the right, the griffon has apparently departed, and the initiate emerges safe and sound from his crate to be greeted by his mystagogue with the characteristic Mithraic handshake, signifying his admission to the cult.

In the second case, that of the Piazza Armerina, there is no definite evidence of a Mithraic connection, though it could not be completely ruled out. The palace in question is believed to be that of the Emperor Maximian (AD 286–305),

26 Cf. Ph. Petsas: *Pella: Alexander the Great's capital* (Thessaloniki 1978), p. 20, fig. 12. Reproduced from an artist's restoration in A.D.H. Bivar: *The personalities of Mithra in archaeology and literature*, New York 1998, fig. 19.

27 J.M.C. Toynbee: *The Roman art treasures from the Temple of Mithras*. London 1986, p. 45, pl. 22.

28 Cf. the well-known relief at Eski Kahta (Arsamia on the Nymphaeus) in Turkey, showing the god Mithra welcoming Antiochus of Commagene into his cult with the gesture of a handshake (e.g. *apud* R. Ghirshman: *Iran: Parthians and Sasanians*, London 1962, p. 67).

29 A good colour reproduction can be found, e.g. in the guide book by A.M. Dragotta: *Piazza Armerina: the mosaics*, Palermo 1979, p. 31c (pages unnumbered).

one of the pagan emperors preceding the Christian ruler, Constantine the Great. The later pagan emperor Julian (AD 355–363) is known, by his own statement, to have been a Mithraist. Possibly Maximian was also of that persuasion. One might speculate, in the first case, that of iconography from a Mithraeum, that there had been preserved by the cult an ancient Iranian myth, which also survived in folklore to re-appear in a modified form in another anecdote of the *Shāhnāma*, which we shall next consider.

There is then a curious resemblance between this last rendering, and the *Shāhnāma* episode describing a feat of Isfandiyār, the Fifth Stage of his adventures, in which he encounters and overcomes a Sīmurgh.[30] To defeat the great bird, Isfandiyār provides himself with a specially-prepared box, and a chariot. When the Sīmurgh attacks, the champion takes refuge in the box, and naked swords attached to the box cut the bird to pieces as it dashes itself against the outside. The topic of the box is introduced rather abruptly into the narrative, giving the impression that a traditional legend, perhaps well-known to the pre-Islamic audience, had here been incorporated into the epic.

According to a source quoted by Franz Rosenthal,[31] there existed in the Middle Ages an Arabic popular romance entitled *al-'Anqā'*, similar to those of Anṭar, Dhu al-Himma and al-Baṭṭāl, from which traditions of the legendary bird may have become widely known. I am grateful to my colleague, Professor H.T. Norris, for the information that the romance in question seems to be that preserved at Berlin in what is called the "Reinhardt Manuscript", which has been translated into French by Aboubakr Chraibi.[32] A longer version of the romance exists in an unpublished Arabic manuscript catalogued by Ahlward. This romance relates the fortunes of a marriageable girl who is, a little surprisingly, named *al-'Anqā'*, and is abducted by a female supernatural spirit *(jinnīya)* of the same name, who has the form of a huge bird. The story is then largely concerned with the adventures of her suitor's in search for her, in an island setting reminiscent of South-East Asia. This romance explains the reference to the "bride adorned" in the account of Qazvīnī (see above). Although the extant versions of the romance of *al-'Anqā'* are both in Arabic, it is curious to notice that the only historical place-name that I have found in Chraibi's narrative is that of al-Baiẓā, the old Arab settlement on the plain of Marvdasht near Persepolis. Thus though the composer of the fable may have been an Arabic-speaker, his narrative could derive from the oral traditions of the Shiraz area.

30 *Shāhnāma*, ed. J. Mohl: *Gushtasp, The seven stages of Isfandiyār*, l. 243 [= Khaleghi-Motlagh V, 240].

31 F. Rosenthal: *A history of Muslim historiography* (Leiden ²1968), p. 47, quoting a Jewish scientist of the Maghrib writing in Arabic, al-Samaw'al b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī.

32 A. Chraibi: *Contes nouveaux des 1001 nuits: études du manuscrit Reinhardt*. Paris 1996, pp. 211–225 (reviewed in: BSOAS 61/2 [1998], pp. 337–338, but without reference to the 'Anqā').

We have considered the legends concerning the griffon, the Sīmurgh, and the 'Anqā'. The other medieval tradition concerning a giant eagle is that relating to the Rukhkh, which seems always to have been located in the China Seas. This seems to be first, and most circumstantially attested in the *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* of Abū Ḥāmid Andalūsī Gharnāṭī,[33] where, despite huge exaggerations, the narrative has a recognizable relation to the facts.

> There exists among the islands of the China Sea a bird which is known as the *rukhkh*. One of its wings is ten thousand fathoms, as Jāhiẓ relates in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* ("The Book of the Animal"). There had arrived in the Maghrib a man who had been a trader travelling by sea to China, and who resided there for some time, and he returned to his homeland of the Maghrib with great wealth. He had in his possession a feather from the wing of the *rukhkh* that would hold a jarful of water, and people were astounded at this. This man was known as 'Abd al-Raḥīm "the Chinaman". He used to talk about wonders. He related that he had been travelling on the China Sea, and a wind carried them away to a great island. The crew of the ship disembarked there to take on water and firewood. Then they saw in it a great dome, higher than a hundred cubits, and it had glitter and brilliance, and they were astonished at it. When they came close to it, behold! It was an egg of the *rukhkh*. They began to hit it with axes and sticks and stones until it revealed a chicken of the *rukhkh*, which was like a mountain. Then they caught hold of a feather of its wing, and pulled it, and it shook its wing, and this feather was left behind with my servant. Its root came away from the flesh of the wing, so that it did not attain its mature form. He related that they killed it, and carried away as much as they could of its flesh, and travelled on, and some of them cooked an amount of it on the island. They carried it with some sticks of wood, with which they cooked it. Now there were amongst them some old men whose hair became black, and it did not become white (again) after that, after they had eaten of that food. They used to relate that the sticks with which they carried it were a quantity of the Tree of Youth. But Allāh knows best.
>
> He related that when the sun rose they saw the *rukhkh* coming towards them in the air together with its huge mate, and in its talons a piece of stone, like a great house, and bigger than the ship. When it approached the ship, it threw that stone. Now the ship was enhanced in speed by the lightening of its load (?), and was moving fast, and the stone fell into the sea, and the ship survived, and Allāh saved us – mighty and glorious is He!

Despite the obvious and enormous exaggerations, this story of an encounter with the Rukhkh has circumstantial features. Its location "in the China Sea", where it could be encountered by ships blown off course, is compatible with New Zealand. That the egg seen by the disembarking sailors was as large as the dome of a mosque is of course a grotesque exaggeration, though the egg of the

33 G. Ferrand: "Le *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnātī édité d'après les MSS. 2167, 2168, 2170 de la Bibliothèque Nationale et le MS. d'Alger", in: JA 207 (1925), pp. 1–148, here p. 108. See also A. Ramos: *Abū Hāmid al-Garnāṭī (m. 565–1169), Tuhfat al-Albāb (El regalo de los espíritus)* (Madrid 1990), p. 73f.

moa was apparently large. For it seems that the egg which they could have seen was not that of the *Harpagornis* itself, which is thought to have nested under cliff overhangs, or in trees, but rather of a large species of Moa, such as *Dinornis giganteus*, the eggs of which might have been found lying on the ground. Likewise, the huge chick captured and killed for food would not have been a chick of the rare *Harpagornis*. It was more probably an adult specimen of the Moa *Dinornis giganteus*, which despite its huge size of some eight feet to the head, had fluffy plumage resembling the chicken of the domestic fowl, as represented in Maori rock drawings.[34] This could readily have been mistaken for an immature specimen of a bird of much larger size. During the Maori settlements of New Zealand, the Moa was regularly hunted and eaten, and the landing party described by Abū Ḥāmid could have included South East Asians who had participated in such hunting. However, the tale of a feather taken from its wing, which occurs repeatedly, even as late as the time of Marco Polo, is impossible for *Dinornis*, since it actually had no quill-feathers, nor indeed any wings at all.[35] This legend most probably arises from certain large bamboos in South-East Asia and China being popularly known as "the feathers of the *rukhkh*", and presented to credulous travellers as such. Finally, the episode of the two *rukhkh*s "dive-bombing" the visiting ship with huge stones must again be fantasy. That the *Harpagornis* may have swooped threateningly round a visiting ship is of course conceivable. The well-known tales of the Rukhkh included among the adventures of Sindbad in the *Alf Layla* (the Arabian Nights), and recently seen on television, correspond closely with the narrative of Abū Ḥāmid, and appear to be faithful derivatives of the same, or a parallel source.

We see therefore that certain details from the account of Abū Ḥāmid bear a recognisable relationship to established facts relating to the Moa and the *Harpagornis*. They are of course exaggerated by hearsay repetition, implying a large gap between the eye-witnesses and the Arab narrators, one of whom was as far away as Muslim Spain.

Again, the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[36] seemingly contains at least one factual element: that of the sailors having been blown off course 42 days sail eastwards of Ṭawālisī (presumably Sulawesi). This description is quite compatible with a landfall in New Zealand. The account is vague and confused, since Ibn Baṭṭūṭa does not actually claim to have seen the Rukhkh himself. It is not even certain

34 Swinton 1965, pl. 11, facing p. 50.

35 For several reasons, therefore, one is obliged to reject the story of the mariner Buzurg b. Shahriyār: *The Book of the wonders of India: Mainland, Sea and Islands* (ed. and transl. by G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, London 1981), p. 105, of an encounter with a giant eagle in the neighbourhood of Sofala. All three elements of this story, the appearance of the avian predator in East Africa, the attack by the bird on an elephant, and the huge water-carrying capacity of its quills, are details which we judge to be fabulous. This version also lacks detail which we can categorize as authentic for *Harpagornis*.

36 Gibb/Beckingham 1994, p. 911.

that his story is a first-hand one. One should note, nevertheless , that his account is wholly independent of the far longer version of Abū Ḥāmid. Also, that palaeontologists consider it quite conceivable that the *Harpagornis* was still extant in the mid-15th century AD, and even later (Worthy/Holdaway 2002, p. 333), and could thus have been seen by visitors to the South Island of New Zealand even as late as the date of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative.

Arab reports apparently of encounters with *Harpagornis*, thought to have been entirely confined to New Zealand during the medieval period, raise of course the larger question of possible visits to New Zealand by Arab, Persian, or perhaps Sumatran Muslim seafarers. My understanding is that historians of New Zealand are in general sceptical of such visits, and there is, of course, no report of any attempt by the Muslims at settlement. Possibly, as already suggested, the very presence of *Harpagornis* discouraged thoughts of more than ephemeral visits to New Zealand, since the bird was in all likelihood aggressive, and a dangerous adversary for an unarmed man. Yet Arab accounts of the Rukhkh suggest that occasional visits of this kind did take place, since only there could a veritable giant eagle have been encountered.

A Sasanian Silver Bowl

François de Blois, Cambridge

The David Aaron Gallery in London is in possession of a fine Sasanian solid silver bowl, with a diameter of 24 cm, weighing well over a kilogram (to be precise: 1190 g). The interior is adorned with a carved image of three female figures (Fig. 1). The central figure is evidently of some divinity (I shall not speculate on whether or not it is Anahita), standing on a pedestal, wearing a crown with flame-like protrusions, necklace, pendant, bracelets and anklets, and a body-length robe draped over her right shoulder, covering her back and held in place by her raised left hand. Otherwise she is naked, with prominently displayed breasts, labia and pubic hair. She holds a flower (lotus?) in her raised right hand. A pair of winged cherubs seem to be caressing her feet and a second pair of cherubs hold some sort of drape or canopy above her head. The figures to either side are draped from their shoulders to their ankles each in a gown with a ribbed pattern above the waist but transparent below the waist. Each one wears a helmet-like headdress and has what seems to be a scarf floating above her head, the two ends of which are wrapped around her arms. The lady on the left holds a raised cup in her left hand and a bird in her right, while the one on the right holds a similar bird in her left hand, and an incense burner in her right. Each of them stands cross-legged with one foot seemingly resting against the shallow ridge of the bowl.

On the back of the bowl, inside its base, there are two lines of writing in pointilated script (Fig. 2). The forms of the letters are unusual. Some of the letters resemble very much the archaic cursive script of the Middle Persian Psalter from Turfan, others are more like those of the early Sasanian inscriptions in monumental (unjoined) script, others again like those of the standard cursive script of the late Sasanian inscriptions, papyri and ostraca and of the Zoroastrian religious books (so-called Book Pahlavi). The first word ends with what is clearly the letter t, joined to the previous letter, and with a closed loop at the top (as in the Psalter and Book Pahlavi scripts), but with a baseline extending to the right (as in monumental script). Thus, it seems to represent a transitional form between monumental and Psalter script. This is preceded by two teeth, then by a prominent downwards stroke with another rightwards-extending baseline, and then by a further three teeth at the beginning of the word, all strokes being joined together in a single cursive entity. The prominent letter in the middle of the word cannot be -n-, because, both in Psalter script and in Book Pahlavi, n is not joined to the following letter, but must belong together with the last of the

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Fig. 1: Interior of the bowl

three preceding teeth to form the letter -c-. The first word of the inscription is consequently 'c't */āzād/*. Compare the word 'cšy */az-iš/* as it appears three times in the Psalter[1], where the initial ligature actually looks just like the first part of this word, and where (as here, but differently from Book Pahlavi) -c- is joined to the following letter.

The second word begins with l- and ends with -k; the latter lacks the rightwards-extending baseline that is characteristic of this letter both in monumental and in Psalter script and actually looks just like the k in late Sasanian inscriptions and papyri. This is preceded by what is most probably a y. Between l and y, and joined in both directions, is a letter which (I think) cannot be p (which is not joined with the following letter either in the Psalter or in Book Pahlavi), but can only be m. The sequence lmyk occurs, in very much the same ductus as here, as a proper name on another silver vessel, now in the Hermitage. GIGNOUX[2] reads the latter as Rāmīg, deriving it from *rām*, 'peace, happiness', but as this word seems always to be written as l'm it might be better to read the name as Ramīg and to connect it with *ram*, *ramag* 'herd, flock'. Ramīg might then mean 'herdsman', either in a literal or a figurative sense. I leave the question open as to whether Āzād-ramīg is a compound name, or whether we should read *āzād Ramīg*, 'noble Ramīg', and also of whether in this event he is the same as the Ramīg who had his name inscribed on the Hermitage bowl; in either case the first line would seem to contain a personal name, presumably that of the owner of the bowl.

In the second line we have (as in virtually all the other inscribed Sasanian silver vessels[3]) an indication of the weight and/or monetary value of the object.

1 F.C. ANDREAS: "Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen." Aus dem Nachlaß hrsg. von K. BARR. In: SPAW 1933, pp. 91–152. The three references for 'cšy are: fol. 7r 5, 8r 18, 9r 16.

2 PH. GIGNOUX: *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique*. Vienna 1986 (Iranisches Personennamenbuch II, 2), no. 792, with references to the publication of the object.

3 All of the then available inscribed silver objects were usefully republished and commented in C.J. BRUNNER: "Middle Persian Inscriptions on Sasanian Silverware." In: *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 9 (1974), pp. 109–121.

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Fig. 2: Back of the bowl

This is indicated by a group beginning with circle open at the top, which is evidently s, an abbreviation of *stēr*, that is: στατήρ, then three short right-inclining strokes, evidently three times the numeral '20', then an oblong open on the left, clearly the numeral '10', and finally, a free-standing long curved stroke that can hardly be anything other than the numeral '1'. Thus the value indicated is 20+20+20+10+1=71 staters, or 284 drachmas.

On previously published Sasanian vessels the 's+numeral' ligature either stands on its own, or is followed (or much less frequently preceded) by the word *sang* 'weight'[4], but here the word after the numeral is not sng, but clearly[5] mzd. This word, *mizd*, is well-known in the meaning 'salary, wage, payment' – that is: the wage paid to a hired labourer *(mizdwar)* – but also in the metaphorical sense of the 'reward' or 'recompense' for deeds, good or evil.[6] Linguistically there is no obstacle to translating the second line as 'a wage of 71 staters' and taking this to mean the wage paid to the craftsman who made the bowl, but the numbers involved show that this cannot be right, since for the payment made to

4 BRUNNER 1974, nos. 8, 9, 11, 12, 20, 24, 25, 26, 34, 35, 36, 37.

5 Before seriously attempting to read the inscription myself I passed a photograph of it on to NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS, who in turn showed it to P.O. SKJÆRVØ, who remarked that the last word looked to him like mzd. I am very happy to acknowledge Professor SKJÆRVØ's precedence for this reading and to thank the dedicatee of this volume for communicating it to me.

6 For etymological and semantic connections see A. Hintze: *'Lohn' im Indoiranischen*. Wiesbaden 2000, esp. pp. 141–168.

the craftsman one would expect either a sum significantly larger than the weight of the silver (if the price of the object includes that of the bullion), or else a sum significantly less than the weight (if the owner supplied the bullion and paid only for the craftsmanship). But in fact, if we divide the actual weight of the bowl (1190 g) by the figure indicated on its base (71 staters = 284 drachmas) we will get 4.19, a figure within the usual range of values for the drachma/drahm, as calculated from inscribed silver vessels or from the actual weight of Sasanian silver coins, both of which give a value of the drahm between 3.6 and 4.3 g of silver.[7] The sum indicated is thus the weight of the silver, not the fee paid to the craftsman. So, one must conclude that the two words in the second line of the inscription are syntactically separate: first the weight '72 staters', and then the word 'reward', presumably meaning that the bowl was presented to *āzād Ramīg* by the king, or another high-ranking person, as a reward for some action, military or otherwise.

Although the word *mizd* does not seem to appear on any of the previously published silver objects, it does occur, as here, immediately after an enumeration of staters, on the sarcophagus at Iqlīd dated to AD 638,[8] the last three lines of which state:

NKSY' KSP
s-200 mzd
plmwt' YHBWNt

that is: 'he ordered property *(xwāstag)* of a value *(arz)* of 200 staters to be given[9] as payment', not (I think) so much as payment to the craftsman who made the stone sarcophagus (200 staters is quite a large sum, and besides: who would permanently attach a price-tag to a tombstone?), but as payment to the priests, pall-bearers etc. who participated in the funeral rites, and perhaps also in prepayment for the ceremonies to be performed in the future, specifically during the Frawardīgān festival.

My proposed reading of the bowl is thus as follows:

'c't lmyk
s-20+20+20+10+1 mzd

"The noble Ramīg (or: Āzād-ramīg). 71 staters. A reward."

7 BRUNNER 1974, pp. 119–121.

8 See most recently F. DE BLOIS: "Middle-Persian funerary inscriptions from South-Western Iran", in W. SKALMOWSKI/A. VAN TONGERLOO (eds.): *Medioiranica*, Louvain 1993 (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 48), pp. 29–43, where the Iqlīd inscription is reedited and discussed on pp. 34–43.

9 See *ibid.*, pp. 40–41 for discussion of the grammatical and scribal problems of this passage. I would now prefer to see YHBWNt not as a scribal error for YHBWNt<n>, nor as a past participle, but as a short infinitive (Old Iranian infinitive in *-tai*).

On the History of the Middle Persian Nominal Inflection

ALBERTO CANTERA, Salamanca

In two independent studies NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS (1981) and PRODS O. SKJÆRVØ (1983) put an end to a long discussion regarding the distinction between the direct and the oblique in the nominal inflection of Middle Persian. SIMS-WILLIAMS demonstrated that in Manichaean Middle Persian the function of the *r*-forms of the kinship nouns is different from that of the *r*-less forms and that the *r*-forms play the role of an oblique singular. The same is true for inscriptional Middle Persian and for the Middle Persian of the Psalms, as shown by P. O. SKJÆRVØ. Later I argued that the same distribution is to be found in the oldest writings of Book Pahlavi, i.e. in some of the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta (CANTERA 1999).

Although the function of the *r*-forms of the kinship nouns has been established beyond all reasonable doubt, several problems remain to be solved. First, there is a formal problem: what is the protoform of the oblique in *r*? As with the personal pronouns, we would expect the oblique to continue the old genitive singular, but the form is not the expected one. Second, although the distribution between direct and oblique seems clear, their respective use as direct object is inconsistent. Third, at the time of the oldest attestations, such a functional distinction is confined to the agent nouns. However, the existence of "doublettes"[1] indicates that the same distinction had formerly also been in use for other stems. Consequently, the question arises as to which one, the direct or the oblique, is continued in the only surviving form.

In this contribution in honour of N. SIMS-WILLIAMS, I hope to answer some of these questions in the context of an analysis of Middle Persian nominal stem formation, leaving aside nominal endings which had disappeared. Special attention will be given to the doublettes which could have developed from the old forms of the direct and oblique. I hope to demonstrate that the way nouns developed from Old to Middle Persian depended strongly on their respective stems, and more precisely on the number of syllables, equal or different, of the nominative and accusative forms in each inflection. According to this distinction two different subsystems evolved in an earlier phase of Middle Persian nominal inflection. From the typological point of view, the existence of two

1 I use the term doublette for two different lexemes that historically continue different inflectional forms of the same word, e.g. Spanish *virto* < lat. *uirtus* and *virtud* < **uirtutem*.

different subsystems depending on the stem formation could be compared with the different subsystems that developed in the Sogdian nominal inflection: one for the light and another for the heavy stems.

The classification of the nouns in Middle Persian into two different flexional classes was thus based primarily on the isosyllabicity, or the lack of it, of the Old Iranian nominative and accusative. The nouns with isosyllabic nominative and accusative in Old Iranian, like

- **katakah* > ** kadagi* > *kadag*
- **katakam* > **kadagu* > *kadag*

include the thematic stems, the *ā*-stems, most of the *i*- and *u*-stems and, *per definitionem*, all neuters.[2]

Let us call "imparisyllabic" all nouns whose accusative has one syllable more than their respective nominative. To this group belong the consonant stems and the *i*-and *u*-stems with presuffixal full or long grade in the nominative and with a secondary accusative with the syllabic structure *-ă̆Ụam*[3], e.g.:

- **bṛǰant-s* > **bṛǰą* > *burz*
  **bṛǰantam* > **bulandu* > *buland*
- **ɣHu̯ā*
  **ɣHu̯ānam* > **uru̯ānu* > *urwān*
- **naćāuš*
  **naćāu̯am* > *nasāu̯u* > *nasāy*

Isosyllabic nouns

In the case of the isosyllabic nouns, the doublettes derived from the direct and oblique respectively continue two different protoforms: 1. the old genitive with a bisyllabic *-ahǰa* ending, and 2. another form with a monosyllabic ending, which theoretically could be any form of the singular except the genitive, but which is most likely the nominative or the accusative. It is not always easy to determine whether a form continues the old genitive or the old nominative-accusative, but the accent rules and the related rules of syncope allow us in certain fortunate cases to determine the actual protoform.

According to KLINGENSCHMITT (2000, p. 210), the conditions for a syncope are the following: a short unaccented paenultima is syncopated when it stands between a non-obstruent and an occlusive consonant or between two identical occlusive consonants. Consequently, forms like *zard* < **ǰáritah/-am* or *pahn* < **páθanah/-am* must be derived from the nominative-accusative and not from

2 This list is not exhaustive. Other nouns could be added, for example, *H*-stems like nom. **pantāh₂-s*, acc. *pantāh₂-m*, gen. *path₂ah*. The rule is that all nouns with isosyllabic nominative and accusative in Old Iranian belong to this group.

3 The regular form of the accusative of such stems is nevertheless **-ām* (CANTERA 2007).

the genitive, as the conditions for the syncope are not given in the latter case (**ǰarítahǰa* > ***zarid*).

When the conditions for a syncope are given, the doublettes usually have one syncopated form (the old nominative-accusative) and another unsyncopated form. For example, Phl. *nēk* <nywk>, NP *nik* "good, beautiful" has a syncope and derives from the old nominative-accusative (< **nə́hki/u* < **nə́haki/u* < **nə́'aki/u* < **náǰbakah/-am*), while the frequent Paz. *niiak, niak, nīak, niiahk* derives from the old genitive (< **nēáhkē* < **nēhákē* < *nē'ákē* < **naǰbákahǰa*). The same happens with the doublette Phl. *ēk* <'ywk> / MMP <yk>, NP *yak* "one". The former is syncopated (< **ə́hki/u* < **ə́haki/u* < **ə́'aki/u* < **áǰu̯akah/-am*), the latter is not (< **ēáhkē* < **ēhákē* < **ē'ákē* < **aǰu̯ákahǰa*).

It is also clear that the later one-case system of the thematic nouns arises from a former one with two different cases. One of them clearly goes back to the older genitive. What we do not know is which of these survived into the later one-case system. BACK (1978, p. 35) excludes the possibility of the survival of the genitive for general linguistic reasons, but personal pronouns like *man*, which obviously retain the genitive, invalidate his argument. If HUYSE's explanation that the "final *y*" goes back to the old genitive ending is correct, then the generalization of the genitive would seem most likely, since there was a time when this ending still appeared in all nouns. The distribution of this ending in the inscriptions is actually no longer functional, but merely phonetic.

In any case, only formal characteristics allowing us to distinguish between direct and oblique would answer the question. We have already mentioned one characteristic: the occurence of the syncope in all isosyllabic nouns. If the paenultima of one word is syncopated, then it continues the old nominative-accusative. However, when the requirements for a syncope are given but none occurs, then this form is likely to continue the old genitive.[4] A good number of words show the syncope. Thus the old nominative-accusative presumably survives in them. To this group belong the diminutives in *-ak*[5] like

- *rēdak* (Phl. *lytk*) <**raǰtákakah/-am*
- *andak* (IMP *'ndky*, MMP *'ndk*, Phl. *'ndk'*) < **antákakah/-am*
- *kōdak* (MMP *qwdk*, Phl. *kwtk'*) **kau̯tákakah/-am*
- *(h)ōzārak* (MMP *hwz'rk*, Phl. *'wc'lk'*)

The same explanation is required for the adjectives in *-uk*

- *tanuk* (MMP *tnwk*, Phl. *tnwk'*) < **tanúkakah/-am*
- *sabuk* (Phl. *spwk'*)< **θrapúkakah/-am*
- *nāzuk* (Phl. *n'cwk'*, NP *nāzok*[6]) < **nāčúkakah/-am*
- *cābuk* (Phl. *c'pwk'*) < **cāpúkakah/-am* (?)

4 The conditions for the syncope are not completely clear. Observe, for instance, forms like *abdom* or *fradom* that cannot be explained easily with these rules.

5 About this formation see KLINGENSCHMITT 2000.

6 A different formation is MMP *n'zwg /nāzūg/*, NP *nāzu* < **nāčáu̯akah/-am*.

Apart from the syncope, some further formal facts can help to make the distinction clear. For example, the group *-aṷá-* becomes *ō*, while *-aṷá-* remains *awa*. Therefore, we can conclude that the adjectives in *–ōg* < **-aṷaka-* go back to the nominative-accusative:
- *mēnōg* (MMP *mynwg*, Phl. *mynwk*) < **manḭaṷakah/-am*
- *garmōg* (Phl. *glmwk*) < **garmaṷakah/-am*

By contrast, see forms such as *frawardag* (IMP *prwrtky*, MMP *prwrdg*, Phl. *plwltk'*) < **fraṷartakah/-am*.

But there are many forms that appear to be exceptions and seem to go back to the old genitive. They include, for instance, the many nouns with the *–ag* suffix which have no syncope although the conditions for it are given:

ābaxtarag	*brahnag*	*gilag*	*ōšawārag*
abgānag	*brahenag*	*gōnag*	*pahlawānag*
ābilag	*bunag*	*gōšag*	*pahrag*
abyānag	*čarag*	*hamag*	*pānag*
afrōšag	*čašmag*	*hōšag*	*pārag*
afsānag	*čībag*	*ispasag*	*parmānag*
ahēnag	*čīnag*	*istārag*	*pēšēnag*
ā'īnag	*dahmag*	*išterag*	*pidēnag*
akanārag	*dāmag*	*jamag*	*pusag*
alālag	*dānag*	*jāmag*	*sāyag*
amarag	*daxšag*	*kamāhag*	*syāwag*
ambarag	*dēwānag*	*kumāhag*	*xānag*
anābuhlag	*dōšag*	*kanārag*	*xāyag*
anōšag	*dramanag*	*kūrag*	*zādag*
ārag	*ēmag*	*mardānag*	*zahag*
āstānag	*ērag*	*māyag*	*zanag*
awērag	*ēwenag*	*mayyānag*	
bārag	*ēwgānag*	*murdyānag*	
brahmag	*frōšag*	*nāmag*	

The adjectives with the suffix MP *-ūg*, NP *-u* must also belong to this group. Apparently, these forms go back to the old genitive, e.g. *bānūg* < **bānúkahḭa*, since the development of the old nominative-accusative should have been ***bāng* < **bānúkah/-am*.

All these forms could be explained through the retention of the suffix *-ag* in analogy with the forms in which the conditions for the syncope are not given. In fact, some forms not subjected to any analogical influence, as when the suffix is no longer transparent, show that these forms derive in fact from the old nominative-accusative and that, when the conditions were right, the syncope actually occurred. Two examples were already presented at the beginning of this paper: MP *ēk* <'ywk> < **ēhki/u* < **ēhaki/u* < **ē'aki/u* <**áḭṷakah/-am* and

MP *nēk* <nywk>, NP *nik* < **nēhki/u* < **nēhaki/u* < **nē'aki/u* < **náḭbakah/-am*. Also the derivative *nazdīk*, from the old comparative **nazdḭah-ka-*, goes back to the old nominative-accusative.

I would like to suggest that forms whose ending is written <*-lg*> instead of the usual <*-lk*> equally go back to the OIr. nom./acc.sg. This way of writing these endings indicates that the group */rk/* was changed into */rg/* before the establishment of the orthographic rules of Book Pahlavi, unlike the evolution of */aka/* to */ag/*, which occurred later on and thus was not reflected in the orthographic rules of Book Pahlavi. To this group of words belong the following nouns:
- *wistarg* (Phl. *wstlg*) < **ṷistarakah/-am*
- *tagarg* (MMP *tgrg*, Phl. *tklg*) < **takarakah/-am*
- *sturg* (Phl. *stwlg*, NP *sotorg*) <**stūrakah/-am*

Summing up, among the thematic nouns the generalized form is usually not the genitive, but the nominative-accusative. This was the result of the evolution from Old to Middle Iranian via a system in which there were two different cases: the direct (from the old nominative-accusative) and the oblique (from the old genitive).

As far as we can tell, the situation is similar for the remainder of the isosyllabic nouns. When the neuter of a consonant stem appears in two different forms, one of them continues the old nominative-accusative and the other the old genitive. For instance, NP *farr* (which also appears in MP in personal names) goes back to the old nominative-accusative (**°arnah*), while MP *farrah* (and also Phl. *xwarrah*) continues the old genitive **°arnahah/-ahḭa*.[7] The same pattern applies for *urwāhm* Phl. <'wlw'hm'> (MMP <*'wrw'myh*>) < **ṛṷāϑma* besides *urwāhman* Phl. <'wlw'hmn'> < **ṛṷāϑmanah/ -ahḭa*. The same distribution is also found in MP *zrēh* (MMP *zry(h)*, Phl. *zlyḥ*[8]) which goes back to the old genitive < **ǰraiah-ah/-ahḭa*, while the compound *daryāb* probably reflects a compound **ǰraḭah āpV*.

When the two-case system evolved into a one-case system, it was the direct form that usually survived, continuing the old nominative-accusative. These results fit well with the results in the thematic stems and indirectly confirm our conclusions about them. Examples of OIr. neuter consonant stems continuing the old nominative-accusative are numerous[9]:

7 The exact shape of the genitive protoform of consonantal stems cannot be determined (see below).

8 It should be noted that the Phl. notation *zlyḥ* could also be read as *zray* <zl'y> (BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 1702). This form may be derived from the old nominative-accusative **ǰraḭah*.

9 The case of the heteroclites is difficult. The preservation of the last syllable (such as MP *jagar* ~ **ḭākar*, cf. Av. *yākarə*) suggest a thematization process early on. Consequently, forms like *kišwar* Phl. *kyšwl*, MMP *kyšwr*, *bēwar* Phl. *bywl* MMP *bywr* , *xwar* MMP *xwr*, Phl. *hwl* most probably go back to thematic forms such as **kŕšṷar-am/*kŕšṷárahḭa*, **báḭṷar-am/baḭṷárahḭa* and **h(u)ṷar(am)/*h(u)ṷar(ahḭa)*. That these forms probably

Stems in *-s*:

bōy (MMP *bwy*, Phl. *bwd*) < **báu̯dah*
drāz (Phl. *dl'c*) <**drā́jah*
ōš (MMP, Phl. *'wš*) < **áu̯šah*
rōy (MMP *rwy*, Phl. *lwd*) <**ráu̯dah*
rōz (MMP *rwc/z*, Phl. *lwc*) < **rāu̯čah*
sar (MMP *sr*, Phl. *sl*) < **ćárah*
sneh (Phl. *snyh*) <* *snaθiš*
šōy (MMP *šwy*, Phl. *šwd*) < **xšáu̯dah*
tab (Phl. *tp*) < **tápah*
tam (MMP, Phl. *tm*) < **támah*
war (MMP *wr*, Phl. *wl*) < **u̯árah*
warz (MMP *wrz*, Phl. *wlc*) **u̯árcah*

Stems in *-n*:

barsom (MMP *brswm*, Phl. *blswm*) < **barǰma*
carm (MMP *crm*, Phl. *clm*) < **carma*
cašm (MMP, Phl. *cšm*) <**cašma*
pēm (Phl. *pym*) < **paiǰma*
rām (MMP *r'm*, Phl. *l'm*) < **rāma*

Imparisyllabic nouns

While the most important distinction among isosyllabic nouns was between the nominative and the accusative on the one hand and the genitive on the other, the key distinction among imparisyllabic nouns was between the nominative and the accusative. While in isosyllabic nouns the loss of the final syllable neutralized the distinction between the nominative and the accusative – if there was any at all – the loss of the final syllable did not cause the nominative and the accusative to be confused in the case of the imparisyllabes.

Among isosyllabic nouns, the doublettes continue the old nominative-accusative, on the one hand, and the old genitive, on the other. In the case of imparisyllabic nouns we do not have positive evidence that the old genitive ever survived. Usually, one form goes back to the old nominative and the other one to the old accusative. The distribution appears in the loanword *ātaxš*, from Av. *ātarš* (nom.sg.), and the inherited word *ādur*, which can only go back to the old accusative *ātṛm* (cf. Av. *ātrəm*).[10]

continue the thematic nom./acc.sg. rather than the gen.sg. is suggested by *zōr* MMP *zwr*, Phl. *zwl* < **jáu̯ar-am*, since we would expect ***zawar* for the genitive **jau̯árahǰa*.

In other heteroclites, the *n*-forms of the weak cases seem to have survived. Here too we must presume an earlier process of thematization. The old genitive (like *sahu̯anh* for *saxwan* < **sahu̯anam*) or even the accusative plural may well represent the starting point of this process. The latter seems to be the more likely explanation for the doublette *dahān* Phl. *dh'n'* / *dahan* MMP *dhyn*. The latter goes back to **dahanam*, a thematic form built from an either gen. *dahanh* or nom./acc.pl. *dahani*. Instead, *dahān* is ultimately derived from the acc.pl. **dahān* (cf. Av. *baēuuąn*, *karšuuąn*), probably via a thematic form **dahānam* or even directly from **dahāni* (cf. OInd. *áhāni*). Consequently, *saxwan* could also retain the old acc.pl. **sahu̯ani*. The fact that some heteroclitics are derived from the old nom./acc.pl. instead of from the nom./acc.sg. is not very surprising, as these plural forms are simply old collective nouns. Therefore, I regard it as very likely that heteroclitics with a final *-r* in MP continue the old nominative-accusative singular, while the forms with final *-n* go back to the old nominative-accusative plural.

Apparently imparisyllabic loanwords were also imported in the nominative and the accusative, at least in some cases. Most of them are, nevertheless, ambiguous. This is the case for the MP loanword from Av. *āθrauuan-*: the nominative is continued in Phl. *āsrō 'slwk'* (< Av. *āθrauua*), while *āsrōn* Phl. *'slwn'/ātrōn* MMP *'trwn* may be derived from the acc.sg. Av. *āθrauuanəm* or, alternatively, from the gen.sg. *aθaurunō* through **asarun*, later synconpated to *asrun*.[11]

The same ambiguity sometimes appears in inherited words. The form *frāy* MMP *pr'y/fr'y* comes from the old nom.sg.m. **prāi̯āh* or even from the neuter **prāi̯ah*. Actually, *frēh* Phl. <plyh>, NP *fereh* may be a continuation not only of the old acc.sg.m. **prāi̯aham*, but also of the old gen.sg. **prāi̯ahah(i̯a)*.[12] The fact that two different forms of this adjective, which is derived from an old comparative, survived is surprising, as most comparatives survive only in the nominative form, as we will see below.[13]

The analysis of the generalized forms in the one-case system provides ample evidence for the old nominative and accusative, but not for the genitive. Among the imparisyllabic nouns there is not a single clear instance in which the surviving form continues the old genitive. Instead, the old nominative or accusative is continued.

Among the masculine and feminine nouns and adjectives in *-s* only the nominative survives, as becomes obvious when we analyse the old comparative adjectives,[14] for instance:

- *meh* (MMP *mhy, myh*, Phl. *ms*) < **maθi̯āh/*maθi̯ah*
- *weh* (MMP *why, wyh*, Phl. *wyh*) < **u̯ahi̯āh/*u̯ahiah*
- *keh* (MMP *khy, kyh*, Phl. *ks*) < **kaθi̯āh/*kaθi̯ah*
- *kem* (Phl. *kym*) < **kambi̯āh/*kambi̯ah*

The same is true for other adjectives in *-s*:

- *pērōz* (MMP *pyrwz*, Phl. *pylwc*) < **pari̯-au̯jāh*
- *xūb* (MMP *xwb*, Phl. *hwp*) < **hu̯apāh/*hu̯pah*
- *°sraw*[15] (Phl. *°slwb'*) < **ćrau̯āh/*ćrau̯ah*
- *dušman* (MMP *dwšmn*, Phl. *dwšmn'*) < **dušmanāh*[16]

10 The protoforms of the variants NP *nawe* (MP *nab* Phl. *np'*, IMP *npy*) and *nawāde* also exhibit the same distribution: *nab* < **napā* < **népōts* and *nawāde* < **napāt-aka-*, cf. *napātam*. The form *naft* does not go back to the old genitive, but to the adjective **naptǰa-*.

11 See CANTERA 2007.

12 In both cases, we must assume a shortening of the first *ā*. The change from *frēh* to NP *fereh* is to be compared with the evolution from *srēh* (< ***ćraǰaham*) to NP *sereh*.

13 Sometimes different forms belong to different dialects, for instance *burz* alongside *buland*. The latter could continue either acc.sg. **bṛǰantam* or a thematic gen.sg. ***bardantahǰa* since such formations with the ending *-ahǰa* attached to the stem of nominative-accusative may be attested in Old Persian (vid. infra).

14 With the exception of *frēh* besides *frāy* discussed above.

15 In proper nouns like hwsrwb'.

16 It is not easy to determine whether the notations *dwšmn* and *dwšmyn* reflect purely graphical variants of one and the same form derived from **dušmanǰuš/-m* (where *y* would be an optional spelling of the vowel *ē*) or whether the forms with *y* continue **dušmanǰuš/-m*, while the form *dwšmn'* goes back to **dušmanāh*.

The form of the nom.sg. of OIr. perfect active participles in *-u̯ah* is continued in MP adjectives such as *day* (IMP, Phl. *ddw*, MMP *dyy*) < * *dadu̯āh*.

Not only the nominative is continued in other stems but also the accusative, which actually prevails. This unquestionably happens in the *n*-stems:
- *aryāmān / ērmān* (MMP, *'ry'm'n* /Phl. *'ylm'n'*) < **ar̥iāmānam/*ar̥iamānam*
- *asmān* (MMP, Phl. *'sm'n*) < **aćmānam*
- *darmān* (MMP *drm'n*, Phl. *dlm'n'*) < **darmānam*
- *dēsmān* (MMP *dysm'n*) < **daiǰmanam*
- *ǰuwān* (MMP *yw'n*, Phl. *ywb'n'*) < **i̯u̯ānam*
- *kārwān* (MMP *k'rw'n*) < **kāra̯u̯ānam*
- *urwān /ruwān* (MMP *'rw'n /rw'n*, Phl. *lwb'n'*) < **r̥u̯ānam*
- *zarwa̲n* (MMP *zrw'n*, Phl. *zlw'n*) < **ǰaru̯ānam*
- *hizwān/uzwān* (MMP *'zw'n*, Phl. *'wzw'n*) < **hiǰu̯ānam*
- *mēhmān* (MMP *myhm'n*, Phl. *m(')hm'n'*)

Some *n*-stems, however, clearly go back to the old nominative. Sure examples are the adjectives with the suffix *-u̯an* such as the already mentioned *ardā* Phl. *'lt'y*, MMP *'rd'w*, IMP *'rt'w* (< **r̥tāu̯ā*) and *agrā* MMP *'gr'w*, IMP *'yl'dy* (< **argāu̯ā*).[17]

The distribution in the *nt*-stems is similar. Usually, the nominative disappears and only the accusative survives, as is evident in the productive group of the adjective in *-(ō)mand* and also in the adjectives in *-wand*:
- *arwand* (MMP *'rwnd*, Phl. *'lwnd*) < **aru̯antam*
- *hunarāwand* (MMP *hwnr'w(y)nd*, Phl. *hwnl'wnd*) < **hunarāu̯antam*
- *xēšmāwand* (MMP *xyšm'wnd*) < **aišmāu̯antam*
- *druwand* (MMP *drwnd*, Phl. *dlwnd*), cf. Av. *druuaṇtəm*[18]

The nominative also survives sometimes, for instance, in *farrox* Phl. plhw', MMP *frwx*, *prwx* (< **farrahu̯ā*, nom.sg. of **farrahu̯ant-*) and the dialectal form *burz* Phl. *bwlc* (< **br̥ǰā*, nom.sg. of *br̥ǰant-*).

Among the imparisyllabic *u*-stems[19] the old accusative usually survives
- *nasā* (MMP *nys'h*, Phl. *ns'y*) < **naćāu̯am*
- *bāzā* (Phl. *b'c'y*) < **bājāu̯am*
- *garā/gerā* (Phl. *g(y)l'y*) < **garāu̯am*[20]

17 *spul* Phl. *spwl* (< **spr̥ǰā*) may represent a further example that retains the old nominative. However, in this case, it may also be possible that it is derived from a substantivized adjective ***spr̥ǰa-*, cf. MMP *'spwrzygyn* "splenic" (BAILEY 1979, p. 415b).

18 In fact, *druwand* is most likely a loanword from Av. *druuaṇtəm*.

19 For these formations in Iranian see KUIPER 1942, p. 40ff.; NARTEN 1969; TREMBLAY 1996; TREMBLAY 1998; DE VAAN 2000; CANTERA 2007.

20 The original formation behind MP *deh* is not easy to determine. Theoretically, it could be the nominative OP *dahayāuš*, but also the acc. OP *dahayāum* or *dahayaum/dahayum*. Only the acc. OP *dahayāvam* can be excluded. For the problems in the formation of nominative and accusative of Av. *daŋhu-*, OP *dahayu-* see CANTERA 2007, p. 15ff.

The same situation applies to the *r*-stems, with the exception of the kinship nouns.[21] The old accusative usually survives (as in the old inherited word *ādur* < **ātr̥m*) and only very rarely the old nominative. The accusative is retained, for instance, in the productive *nomina agentis* in *°tār/dār*. The derivation from the old accusative is also certain for Phl. *xwahār/xwāhar* <hwh'l/hw'hl>.[22]

As mentioned above, the distinction between direct and oblique is still alive and functional for the kinship nouns in MMP, IMP and the oldest Pahlavi translations of the Avesta.[23] The direct goes back to the old nominative (*pid* < **pitā*; *mād* < **mātā*, etc.), but the origin of the oblique is not certain. The oblique plural in *-ān* (< **-ānām*), the doublettes of isosyllabic nouns continuing the old genitive and the oblique of the personal pronouns (like *man* < **mana*) suggest that the oblique of the kinship nouns goes back to the old genitive, but formal arguments speak against this derivation. It is not possible to derive an oblique *pidar* from the old genitive **piθrah* (OP *piça*, Av. *brāθrō*). Therefore, SIMS-WILLIAMS, among others, derives *pidar* etc. from an alternative genitive-ablative **pitara(h)*. But we do not have any evidence for the existence of such a genitive for the kinship nouns, and in West Balochi the old genitive **piθrah*, etc. is preserved to this very day in *piss, mās, brās, zāmās* (KORN 2005, p. 89).

All the attested forms seem to go back directly to the old accusative:
- *pidar* < **pitaram*
- *mādar* < **mādaram*
- *brādar* < **brātaram*
- *xwahār/xwāhar* < **hu̯āhāram*[24]

Given the results obtained with regard to the imparisyllabic nouns in Middle Persian, it seems clear to me that the kinship nouns prove that the oblique is derived from the old accusative and not from the old genitive. But why did the old accusative assume the same role and function among the imparisyllabic nouns as the old genitive among the isosyllabic nouns? The answer to this question requires a short historical outline of nominal morphology from late Old Persian to Middle Persian.

21 The root nouns in *-r* appear in forms that may well represent a continuation of the old accusative: *nar* (MMP *nr*, Phl. *nl*) < **naram*; *dar* (MMP *dr*, Phl. *dl*) < * *du̯aram*. Nevertheless, an early thematization of the root nouns in *-r* cannot be excluded; for instance, the nom.pl. Av. *naraēca* (V3.8, 18.4). In fact, according to the acc.sg. *stārəm*, nom.pl. *stārō* (OInd. *tā́raḥ*) we expect *stār* (cf. Phl. *stārag*) in MP, but the attested form is *star*, although the stem *star-* is not attested.

22 NP *xwāhar* shows a quantity metathesis probably due to the influence of *mādar, brādar*. The original form is **hu̯āhāram* (cf. OInd. *svásāram*) and is still preserved in Balochi *gwahār* (KORN 2005, p. 123). It is impossible to decide if the Phl. notation <hwh'l/hw'hl> reflects the old form *xwahār* or the new one with metathesis *xwāhar*.

23 For this distinction see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981; SKJAERVO 1983; CANTERA 1999.

24 On this form see above, fn. 22.

Historical outline of Middle Persian nominal inflection

As a consequence of the disappearance of the last syllable in isosyllabic nouns, only the genitive (and perhaps also partially the instrumental) retained a distinct form. All other inflectional forms merged. This lack of formal distinction caused difficulties for the nominative and accusative, while other cases began early on to be marked by prepositions. We must remember that – from the inscriptions of Artaxerxes on – the only case form attested in the thematic stems besides the nominative, accusative and genitive is the ablative, and this only in the expression *hacā vispā gastā*, where the ablative is redundant with the preposition *hacā*.

Several indications in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes suggest that nominative and accusative were already being confused at that time[25]:

A^{2}Sa 3: *imam* ***apadāna*** *... akunauš*
A^{2}Sa, A2Ha 5 4: *imam* ***apadāna*** *... akunām*
[cf. *apadānam stūnāya aϑagainam akunauš* A^{2}Hb]
A^{3}Pa5-6: *haya mām* ***artaxšaçā xšāyaϑiya*** *akunauš*

There is similar confusion with regard to the feminina in *-ā*:

A^{3}Pa 22-23: ***imam ustašanām aϑaganām*** *mām upā mām kartā*

And even between feminina and neuter:

A^{3}Pa 26: *taya mām* ***kartā***
A^{2}Sd: ***imām*** *hadiš... akunavām*

As a result of this process, a two-case system emerged for thematic and other isosyllabic nouns in Late OP or Early MP:

direct	*apadā́n*
oblique	*apadā́n-ē*

Later on, the oblique *-ē* ending was dropped for reasons which in some words seem to be merely phonetic.[26] Consequently, the distinction between direct and oblique disappeared in this group of words and only one form, which was identical with the former direct, survived:

direct	*apadā́n* > *apadā́n*
oblique	*apadā́n-ē* > *apadā́n*

In the words with no phonetic conditions to explain the loss of the *-ē* ending, the distinction between direct and oblique was also neutralized due to the influence of the words in which the ending had consistently disappeared. Surprisingly enough, the neutralization came about through the generalization of the *-ē* ending also for the direct forms.[27] Later on, the *-ē* ending disappeared in all

25 The same applies to A^{1}I *imam bātugara siyamam viϑiyā karta*, but this inscription is most probably a modern forgery (SCHMITT 2007).
26 The conditions were described by HUYSE 2003.

positions, so that only the *ē*-less forms survived also in this group of words, mostly in the form of the old direct:

	1	2	3	4
direct	**páhn* →	**páhnē*	**páhnē* >	*pahn*
oblique	**pahánē*	**pahánē*		

The evolution for the athematic neuters was similar. The first step was the substitution of the genitive *-ah* ending by the thematic *-ē* ending, a process that may alternatively be explained as hypercharacterization of the old genitive with the *-ē* ending.[28] As in the thematic stems, the *-ē* ending dropped under certain phonetic conditions, so that in a group of words the distinction between direct and oblique was abolished. Consequently, the distinction was neutralized in the remainder of the isosyllabic nouns in which the *-ē* ending was also attached to the direct. Finally, the direct form was generalized for the most part and the oblique form disappeared except in some doublettes that continue both forms. The evolution may be represented as follows:

direct	*raṷtah* > *rōd*	*rōd* → *rōdē* > *rōd*
oblique	*raṷtahah* > *rōdah* → *rōdahē*	

With imparisyllabic nouns the starting point was radically different. The loss of the final syllable did not lead to confusion between nominative and accusative. This clearly emerges from the inscriptions of Artaxerxes. The attested accusatives are always formed correctly[29]:

asmānam: APa 3, A2Hc 3
framātāram: A1Pa 8, A2Hc 7 [*framatāram*: A3Pa 8]
DHyāum: A3Pa 26
viϑam: A2Hc 20

Apart from the nominative and accusative, only the genitive and the locative are attested for the imparisyllabic nouns in these late inscriptions. The only

27 If we do not assume this generalization, we would not be able to explain why the distribution of the final *y* in IMP is regulated by phonological and not by morpho-syntactical rules. Theoretically, it is also possible that the generalization of the *-ē* occurred in all nouns before the *-ē* was dropped under the known conditions. Nevertheless, I believe it is more likely that the *-ē* was lost before the generalization, as this would explain the neutralization of the difference between direct and oblique starting from a phonological process.
28 As already pointed out, there are indications that the old athematic genitive *-ah* ending was substituted by *-ahya* already in OP. On the other hand, it is also possible that after the loss of the final syllable the genitive was hypercharacterized and the thematic *-ē* ending was attached.
29 The only mistake I would be able to point out is the form *asmānām* (A^{3}Pa 3), but this mistake concerns the ending (that was surely lost or at least weakened at that time) and not the stem. Furthermore, the accusative *xšāyāršām* (from **xšayaršan-*) is the only form attested since Xerxes' inscriptions.

attested locative is *viθiyā* (A11). Therefore, we can conclude that only forms of the nominative, accusative and genitive were in productive use.

Determining the shape and extension of the genitive in the athematic nouns is very problematic. In the inscriptions after Artaxerxes, all attested genitives except for the genitive of *mazdā-* (in its variants *mazdāha, mazdāhā* and even *mazdahā*) have the thematic ending *-haya*. The old genitive only survives in *dārayavahauš* (A1Pa 16), alongside the frequent variants of the genitive of this proper name with *-haya*. Two questions arise: 1. was the thematic ending generalized in all athematic nouns and 2. if such was the case, to which stem was the thematic ending added?

The *-ahya* ending seems to have spread from the thematic nouns to the athematic ones. This emerges from the fact that starting with the inscriptions of Artaxerxes only the *-ahya* ending seems to have been productive and that the final *y* in IMP was attached to all thematic and athematic nouns. The beginning of this process can be dated quite early, as it also appears in the form *tunuvatahaya/ tunuva"tahaya* in DNb9. But it is impossible to know how far the ending **-ahya* spread in Old Persian, because (apart from the already mentioned forms of the genitive of *mazdā-* and *dārayavahu-*) all the other attested genitives are proper names in genealogical lists. These lists present syntactic difficulties because of the frequent use of the nominative instead of the genitive. The few athematic genitives attested alongside *dārayavahauš* (A1Pa 16) have the ending *-haya*:

– *dārayavaušahayā [dārayavašahayā]*
– *xšayāršahayā [xšayārcahayā], xšāyaršāhayā*

Since these forms are built by attaching the ending *-haya* to the nominative, we cannot exclude that they are *ad hoc* formations of the late Achaemenid scribes. The fact that some genitives, like those of the kinship nouns, survived for a long time prevents us from assuming a very early and widespread generalization of the *-ahya* ending.

At a certain time the old athematic genitive which had a different stem from the nominative and accusative and which was formed with the ending *-a(h)* or *-ahya*, was substituted by a new one, more akin to the rest of the paradigm. The old, differentiated genitive stem was abandoned and a new genitive was formed on the basis of the accusative stem in the masculine and feminine nouns, and of the nominative-accusative in the neuter ones, as has been proposed for the isosyllabic neuter stems: the old genitive *rōdah* < **rōdaha(h)* / **rōdahē* was replaced by the gen. **rōdē*.

Before the formation of the new genitive, there was a three-case system for the imparisyllabic nouns in which every case was represented by a different stem:

nom.	**pitā* > *pid*
acc.	**pitaram* > *pidar*
gen./obl.	**piθrah* > **pis*

Once the old genitive was at least partially substituted by a new one by attaching the *-ahya/-ē* ending to the accusative stem, the result was also a three-case system, but with a more paradigmatic genitive:

nom.	*pid*
acc.	*pidar*
gen.	**pidarē*

Due to the influence of the isosyllabic nouns, the *-ē* ending extended to the accusative and probably also to the nominative:

nom.	**pid(ē)*
acc.	**pidarē*
gen.	**pidarē*

Hence a two-case system, similar to that of the imparisyllabic nouns, emerged from a three-case system. The main difference was that, while the old accusative disappeared early on in the isosyllabic nouns and the oblique retained the old genitive, the oblique continues the old accusative in the imparisyllabic nouns[30]. The derivation of the oblique of imparisyllabic nouns from the old accusative allows us to explain a morpho-syntactic peculiarity of the distribution between the direct and the oblique among the kinship nouns that SIMS-WILLAMS and SKJAERVØ affirmed for Manichaean and inscriptional Middle Persian: the fact that the direct object was sometimes expressed with the direct and sometimes with the oblique, without a recognizable reason. This fact is easy to understand in view of our results: among the imparisyllabic nouns, the direct object was naturally represented by the oblique, since it continues the old accusative; however, it was represented by the direct among the isosyllabic nouns, since both the old nominative and the old accusative had merged. Of course, this distribution (direct object = oblique [= old accusative] for the imparisyllabic nouns and direct object = direct [= old nom./acc.] for the isosyllabic nouns) was not easy to maintain. As a result the direct and the oblique were used indistinctively for the direct object.

This functional peculiarity of the direct and the oblique is, in fact, one of the most obvious indications of the existence of two different inflectional systems: one for the isosyllabic nouns and another for the imparisyllabic ones. Further evidence is provided by the different stem formations for the isosyllabic nouns (only an undifferentiated nominative-accusative and differentiated genitive survive) and for the imparisyllabic nouns (the nominative and accusative survive with distinctive functions, and there is no sure evidence of the survival of the genitive), as I hope to have demonstrated.

30 Or it is formally identical with the old accusative, because it could also be a continuation of the new genitive created by attaching *-ē* to the accusative stem. In any case, the accusative stem was the basis for the oblique.

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The Pahlavi Signatures on the Quilon Copper Plates (Tabula Quilonensis)

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More than ten years ago, in December 1996, I had the chance to travel to India to visit and record the Pahlavi inscriptions found in the states of Maharashtra, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. This was made possible by a joint initiative of the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente and of the Centre for Indian Christian Archaeological Research, then based in the dioceses of Cañanaśśēri. The first results of this survey, conducted together with LUCA M. OLIVIERI and F. JOSEPH VAZHUTANAPALLI, were published in 2002 in an article focusing mainly on the Saint Thomas Crosses.[1]

The Quilon Copper Plates (Tabula Quilonensis) are presently held in the seminar of the Syrian Church of Mar Thomas at Tiruvalla, where I then had the chance to photograph them thanks to the kindness of Mar Alexander, Metropolitan of the Mar Thoma Church. The sixth and last of these copper plates contains the signatures of the witnesses to the grant, in Arabic, Middle Persian and Judaeo-Persian. It is with great pleasure that I am contributing this paper to a volume in honour of Prof. NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS, at whose feet I had the privilege to study for two semesters in 1986–1987.

According to native tradition, confirmed by the reports of the first Portuguese missionaries who contacted them, the South Indian Christians, a merchant community, were the beneficiary of a number of grants by local kings, some of which are now lost. In his leaflet on the Malabar Christians printed in 1929, two sets of copper plate grants donated to the Christian community of Quilon are described in some detail by T.K. JOSEPH, who assigns both to about 880 AD, the second set bearing the Arabic, Pahlavi and Judaeo-Persian signatures, being slightly later then the first. According to this author the donor of both was Ayyan, king of Venād. The first set of plates is dated to "the fifth year of Sthanu Ravi", a contemporary of the Cōḷa king Aditya I (877–907),[2] while the second grant bears no date and assigns a number of privileges to the Tarisa Church, to the Jews and to the Māṇigrāmakkār.[3] The fact that the *paṭis* (overlords) of the Hebrew and of the Māṇigrāmmakkār, as well as the local Hindu Nāyars were made responsible for

1 CERETI/OLIVIERI/VAZHUTANAPALLY 2002, cf. also CERETI 2003.

2 JOSEPH 1929a, pp. 34–36 and, practically identical, 1929b; BROWN 1956, p. 74, n. 4.

3 On the group designed by the name Māṇigrāmakkār and on its possible meaning see GODAVARMA 1937, pp. 958–960.

the safety of the Christian community leads BROWN to suggest that this group of people had then only recently established itself in the area.[4]

The Quilon Copper Plates have been known to the scholarly world ever since 1843, when a facsimile first appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.[5] As already said, the sixth and last of these plates, broken in its lower half and roughly restored, is inscribed on both sides and presents 10 lines of Arabic written in the Kufic alphabet, 18 lines of cursive Pahlavi and 8 lines of Judaeo-Persian written in standard square Hebrew script. On the remaining copper plates, the grant is inscribed in Vaṭṭēḻuttu Tamil, including also some words written in Grantha.[6] The plates of the South Indian Syrian Christians were translated by H. GUNDERT in 1844–1845 and then by T. K. JOSEPH in Malayalam in 1925.[7]

In a long article on the Sasanian inscriptions as seen in the light of Zoroastrian Pahlavi, published in 1870, but first read on March 15, 1869,[8] E. W. WEST included a long paragraph discussing the Pahlavi signatures, which he transcribed by means of the available Pahlavi type, and to which he added a transcript of the Judaeo-Persian signatures. According to this author "the names

4 BROWN 1956, p. 76. A 9th century date for the Copper Plates was suggested already by HAUG (1870, p. 80 and n. 2) and has since been accepted by most scholars. While this article was in press, Dr. ELIZABETH LAMBOURN kindly informed me of the existence of two further works on Tamil copper plates. One, by GOPINATHA RAO (1920), is a comprehensive edition and translation of the Tamil grants, which RAO reveals to be 2 sets of grants, the other, by NARAYANAN (1996), contains extensive references to the Sthanu Ravi plates and slightly divergent readings from RAO's edition and translation of the Tamil.

5 The article is not signed while "the facsimiles were procured for the Society through the kindness of F. C. Brown, esq., from Rev. B. Bailey, Principal of the College of Cottayam, where the originals are preserved", ANON. 1843, p. 343.

6 Cf. BROWN 1956, p. 87. The author of the article which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (ANON. 1843, p. 343) considers the plates as belonging together, stating that "The first five plates appear to be in the ancient Karnataka character, with the exception of a name in Devanagari, which occurs three times in the first three plates. The sixth plate contains the signatures of the witnesses". According to CH. SWANSTON these plates were rediscovered in 1806 by COLIN MACAULAY, then British resident in Travancore (SWANSTON 1824/1827, p. 177).

7 The Malayalam translation is found in JOSEPH 1925, chapters 3 and 4; unfortunately, I was not able to see GUNDERT's 1844–1845 paper. However, a short description of the contents of these grants is to be found in JOSEPH 1929a, pp. 34–36. For further bibliographical details see BROWN 1956, p. 87. The local tradition assigns great importance to a third set of copper plates, allegedly donated to Thomas of Cana and according to T. K. JOSEPH to be dated to 345 AD. Having been given for safekeeping – or pawned – by Mar Iacob, then bishop of the Malabar Christians to the factor of the Portuguese factory of Cochin, these plate were lost probably between 1599 and 1603. Another set of copper plates, now also lost, was reported in Tēvallakkara in 1599. A fifth one, commonly known as Iravi Kortann's Plate, possibly dating to 1320 AD, is still existent. On the whole subject see further JOSEPH 1929a, pp. 3–4, 32–37, and BROWN 1956, pp. 74–76, 85–86, both with earlier bibliography.

8 WEST 1870, pp. 388–390.

can be read without much difficulty, but are not readily identified with any existing names; however as 𐭮𐭡𐭫𐭮 occurs in one of the surnames, the writers were probably Pârsîs".[9] In that same year M. HAUG briefly examined the Persian signatures on the plates, slightly improving on WEST for what concerns the correct understanding of the Judaeo-Persian formulary.[10]

Four years later, in 1874 AD, A. C. BURNELL published an article on some South-Indian Pahlavi inscriptions, where he integrated new facsimiles of the Pahlavi and Judaeo-Persian signatures.[11] He further assigned the copper plates to the 9th century on the authority of HAUG.[12] In 1897 SALEMANN correctly read the Judaeo-Persian text in a footnote to his *Judaeo-Persica nach St.-Petersburger Handschriften*.[13]

In 1929 K. T. JOSEPH published a leaflet on the Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents, where, while discussing more general topics, he also shortly dealt with the Copper Plates belonging to the Malabar Christian community, both those whose whereabouts are still known and those purportedly lost.[14] One year later C. P. T. WINCKWORTH published a short note on the Pahlavi signatures on the Quilon copper-plate grant, which brought nothing new. As a matter of fact the author suspected the existence of gross blunders in the Middle Persian texts, due to the engraver's ignorance of the Pahlavi language and script.[15]

Rev. L. W. BROWN's book *The Indian Christians of St Thomas, An Account of the Ancient Syrian Church of Malabar*, published in 1956, provides one of the most informative volumes on these Christians containing, among others, Sir H. W. BAILEY's reading and interpretation of the Pahlavi signatures. The British scholar correctly understood the basic formulary of the Pahlavi paragraph, as well as many of the Christian and Zoroastrian names. It should however be mentioned that BAILEY's interpretation as found in BROWN's book lacks any linguistic or philological commentary. In 1958 W. B. HENNING dedicated a paragraph of his "Mitteliranisch" to the Pahlavi and Judaeo-Persian sections of the Quilon Copper Plates accepting BAILEY's interpretation of the basic formulary for the Pahlavi, as well as the one by SALEMANN[16] for the Judaeo-Persian, and improving on some Pahlavi readings.[17] Today's better understanding of Middle Persian

9 WEST 1870, pp. 388–389.

10 HAUG 1870, pp. 80–83.

11 BURNELL 1874, pp. 314–316 and figs. 2–3.

12 BURNELL 1874, p. 310.

13 SALEMANN 1897, p. II, n. 1.

14 JOSEPH 1929a, pp. 3–6, 32–37. In Appendix VI he also provides the readings of the Arabic and Judaeo-Persian names as read by F. C. BURKITT. The reading of the Judaeo-Persian signatures is mainly based on HAUG 1870, pp. 80–83.

15 WINCKWORTH 1930. The paper did, however, contain a lithographic reproduction of the signatures and is followed by two short notes by F. C. BURKITT containing the transliteration and translation of both the Arabic and Judaeo-Persian signatures.

16 SALEMANN 1897, p. II and n. 1, cf. also MINORSKI 1942, p. 183.

17 Cf. HENNING 1958, p. 51: "Nicht unerwähnt dürfen die wenig zahlreichen Inschriften aus Indien bleiben, für die freilich ausreichendes Material fehlt. Zunächst die ins

onomastics allows us to attempt a better reading. This is due first of all to PH. GIGNOUX's studies,[18] and more generally to the rich literature on the subject and especially to the volumes of the *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* which have already been published.[19] Moreover, improved knowledge of the Pahlavi cursive as studied mainly by D. WEBER,[20] enables us to attempt a better reading.

The Pahlavi script found on the copper plate presents some very marked peculiarities, which make it difficult to interpret beyond all doubts some of the personal names. Nonetheless it seems worthwhile to publish this short study, improving as it does on previous publications, and providing the scholarly world with photos of the concerned copper plate.

The formulary of the Middle Persian paragraph is *hamgōnag man wahmān ī wahmān (ī wahmān padiš) gugāy hom*:

1. hmgwnk' L plhw' (Y) <n>lshy Y	1. Likewise I, Farrox son of (N)arseh[21] son of
2. štr''b'n gwk'dy HWḤm hm<g>wnk <L>	2. Šahrābān[22] am witness to it. Likewise <I>,

9te Jhdt. datierte Quilon-Kupfertafel mit Zeugenbeischriften in arabischer, Pehlewi und jüdisch-persischer Sprache; sie gehört zu einer Verleihung von Privilegien an die persisch-christliche ('*Tarisa*' = pers. *tarsā*) Kirche, die ein Sabr-Išō' in Quilon gegründet hatte. Die jüdisch-persische Formel lautet *hmgwn mn* + Name + *pdyš gwḥwm* 'auch ich, N.N., bin Zeuge dafür' (SALEMANN; vgl. MINORSKY, *JRAS.*, 1942, 183); dementsprechend die mit Kursivschrift geschriebene Pehlewi-Formel: *ḥmgwnk L* + Name + *ptš gwk's HWḤm*. Die richtige Lesung der Namen wird fast durchweg H.W. BAILEY verdankt, z.B. Nr. 8 *Plnbg-Y Wnd't-'whrmzd* = Farnbay, Sohn des *Bundād-hormizd*; die meisten Namen sind gut zoroastrisch, doch begegnen auch *ywḥnn* (Z. 3 und 11) und *y'kwp* [A. 1: So ist wohl statt des von BAILEY seinerzeit vorgeschlagen *yzdkrt* zu lesen] (Z. 9); vgl. *Kerala Society Papers*, 6, 320-23 (mit Tafel) [A. 2: Statt des angeblichen '*malpan*' Z. 15 (WINCKWORTH) ist wohl *mlt'nplḥw* = *Mardān-Farrox* zu lesen (BAILEY: *mart-farrax*ᵒ)] und T.K. JOSEPH, *Malabar Christians and their ancient documents*, Trivandrum 1929."

18 See GIGNOUX 1986 and 2003.

19 For a recent report and evaluation of the IPNB project, complete of a detailed bibliography of onomastic studies focusing on the different Iranian languages, see SCHMITT 2006.

20 See mainly WEBER 1992 and 2003.

21 The reading is hypothetical. Immediately after *Farrox* the plate presents a fracture subsequently restored in a very invasive manner, the ensuing lacuna would seem enough for two small or one large letter, which weakens the reconstruction proposed here. However, the lamed following the lacuna is not joined to its right, which only allows for the presence of one of the following letters: b, w/n/r/', k, p, c, t and ṭ. Should no letter be missing in the lacuna, a possible reading would be lyḥšy (Rexš) which could be compared with the name *Raxš* (GIGNOUX 1986, p. 153) found in Šābuhr's inscription at the Ka'ba-i Zardušt and Narseh's inscription at Paikuli.

22 The reading proposed is only hypothetical. In fact the form of the initial letter would rather suggest to read d't or the like, as proposed by BAILEY (1956, pp. 87–88), while both the initial ' and the final n of the word *ābān* present peculiar forms. Alternatively one may suggest, here again with all possible caution, the reading *Dādhayān* (d'tORHẎAn). Moreover, comparing the writing gwk'dy found in line 6 one could infer that the word ends in -'dy.

Photograph: Carlo Cereti

Fig. 1: Quilon copper plate

3. ywhnn Y mšy' Y wyhz't' ptš	3. Yōhanan son of Mašya son of Wehzād
4. gwk'dy HWḤm hmgwnk' L	4. am witness to it. Likewise I,
5. šhdwst' [W]*Y mltwyh Y plhwyk	5. Šahdōst son of Mardweh[23] son of Farroxīg
6. ptš gwk'dy HWḤm hmgnk' L	6. am witness to it. Likewise I,
7. synmtr Y bgwyh ptš gwk<'dy>	7. Sēnmihr[24] son of Bayweh am witness to it.
8. HWḤm hmgwnk' L	8. Likewise I,
9. syny Y y'kwp' ptš <gwk'dy>	9. *Sīnā[25] son of Yākub am witness to it.
10. HWḤm hmgwnk' L [6–8]	10. Likewise I, <6–8>
11. Y mltwyh ptš gwk<'dy HWḤm>	11. son of Mardweh am witness to it.
12. hmgwnk' L mlwy Y ywhnn' gwk'dy HWḤm	12. Likewise I, Marōē[26] son of Yōhanan, am witness to it.
13. MN wyh dyn'n hmgwnk' L plnbg Y	13. Of those of the Good Religion likewise I, Farrbay son of
14. wnd't 'whrmzd ptš gwk'dy HWḤm	14. Windād-Ohrmazd am witness to it.
15. hmgwnk' L mlt'plhw' Y bwdš't'	15. Likewise I, Mard-Farrox[27] son of Bōyšād,[28]
16. ptš gwk'dy HWḤm hmgwnk'	16. am witness to it. Likewise
17. L (')c(')t mlt' Y 'hl'y ptš	17. I, Āzādmard son of Ahlā[29]
18. gwk'dy HWḤm	18. am witness to it.

The Quilon Copper Plates provide one of the oldest attestations of Judaeo-Persian, at least if one accepts, as I do, a 9th century date.[30] The Judaeo-Persian signatures have been read by SALEMANN in 1897,[31] though a few names still present some difficulty of interpretation. Other than SALEMANN the two main interpretations are those by E. W. WEST, who transcribed the signatures in type

23 The text has šhdwst '' mltwyh, which should be read šhdwst' W mltwyh. However this reading would not fit the general structure of the phrase, in the singular.

24 The first letters are identical to the beginning of the name syny found in l. 9. Due to the lateness and style of the text I would exclude a reading dc-/gc-/yc- as well as a reading dh-/gh-/yh-.

25 Attested as the name of a Christian martyr, cf. JUSTI 1895, p. 302.

26 This reading also is hypothetical, the doubts rest mainly on the first letter, presenting a form not otherwise attested. In this form it is attested as a Semitic Christian name, cf. JUSTI 1895, p. 197.

27 Here BAILEY's (1956, p. 88) reading is to be preferred against HENNING's (1958, p. 51, n. 2) suggestion to read *Mardān-farrox*.

28 BAILEY (1956, p. 88) suggests bwrš't. Though *Bōršād* provides a perfectly good Middle Persian name, I have preferred *Bōyšād* on account of the palaeography, since the third letter of the word seems to be a bit too small to be a *lamed*. The writing of the final letter -t may also suggest an imperfectly written -t'n', thus marking a patronymic in *-ān* otherwise unattested in this text.

29 This term is usually used as an epithet of *Srōš*, while it is never used in personal onomastics, as far as I know, where instead *Ardā* is often found. Alternatively it could be read 'hl<w>b *Ahlaw*, even more scarcely attested in onomastics. A personal name šldy, **Šard*, is attested, cf. GIGNOUX 1986, p. 164, but would imply an error in engraving the first letter.

30 On Judaeo-Persian documents and the relative history of research see most recently GINDIN 2007, pp. 12–18.

31 SALEMANN 1897, p. II, n. 1.

in his 1870 article,[32] and the later transcription and translation by J. P. BURKITT, with reference to HAUG's comments.[33] The basic structure of the phrase is strongly conservative, as shown by the use of *padiš* and by the 1st person sg. *guwahom*: *hamgūn man wahmān-i wahmān (padiš) guwahom*.

1. hmgwn mn ḥsn 'ly	1. Likewise I, Hasan 'Ali,
2. pdyš gwhwm	2. witness on it.
3. hmgwn mn sḥq	3. Likewise I, Saḥaq[34]
4. smy'yl pdyš	4. *Sama'ēl[35] on it
5. gwhwm hmgwn mn	5. witness. Likewise I,
6. 'brhm qwwmy	6. Abraham Quwami[36]
7. gwhwm hmgwn mn	7. witness. Likewise I,
8. + krš yḥyy gwhwm	8. Kuruš[37] Yaḥiya am witness.

For the sake of completeness the Arabic signatures have also been included, though their reading was already established by earlier authors. The Arabic signatures, in Kufic script, are quite clear and were transcribed into type already in 1843 by Mr. SHAKESPEAR[38] and then again by BURKITT in 1930.[39] The Kufic script may well be dated to the second half of the 9th century, resembling specimens found in Egypt.[40]

(وشهد) لذلك ميمون بن ابر	(And witness) to this Maymūn b. Ibra-
هيم وشهد محمد بن منيح	hīm [sic] and witness Muḥammad b. Manīḥ
وشهد صلح بن علي وشهد	And witness Ṣulḥ b. 'Alī and witness
عثمان بن المرزبان وشهد	'Uṯmān b. al-Marzubān and witness
محمد بن يحيي وشهد عمرو بن	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and witness 'Amru b.
ابرهيم وشهد ابرهيم بن	Ibrahīm and witness Ibrahīm b.
الطي وشهد بكر بن منصور	al-Ṭay and witness Bakr b. Mansūr

32 WEST 1870, p. 390.

33 BURKITT 1930b with reference to HAUG 1870, pp. 81–82. Curiously SALEMANN's reading was ignored by some later authors as in fact was the case with BURKITT, whose translation was later quoted by JOSEPH (1929a, p. viii) and, as a consequence, BROWN (1956, p. 89), who himself quotes from JOSEPH 1929a. HAUG's passage on the signatures was integrally quoted in BURNELL 1874, pp. 314–316, where the author also reproduced the Pahlavi and Judaeo-Persian signatures (figs. 2a–b and 3).

34 Correctly identified by SALEMANN (1897, p. 2, n. 1) with a popular form of יצחק.

35 Cf. Ar. اسمعيل (SALEMANN 1897, p. 2, n. 1).

36 SALEMANN 1897, p. 2, n. 1, suggests to read קנום possibly for קנוץ.

37 The reading *Kuruš* presupposes the presence of a small cross-like sign before the word, possible, but also not entirely satisfying is SALEMANN's interpretation 'זכרי, zkry', *Zakariya*.

38 ANON. 1843, p. 344.

39 BURKITT 1930a. As was the case with the Judaeo-Persian paragraph, BURKITT's translation was quoted by JOSEPH (1929a, p. viii) and BROWN (1956, p. 89).

40 I wish to thank my colleague Dr. ROBERTA GIUNTA for this information, which she generously provided, and more in general for patiently checking with me the reading of the Arabic signatures.

وشهد القاسم بن حميد And witness al-Qāsim b. Ḥamīd
وشهد منصور بن عيسى و And witness Manṣūr b. ʿĪsā and
شهد اسمعيل بن يعقوب Witness Ismaʿīl b. Yaʿqūb

To conclude: the ninth century date assigned by MARTIN HAUG and others to the Quilon Copper Plates fits in well with the presence of Pahlavi, Judaeo-Persian and Arabic signatures. On the ground of this evidence a slightly later date would also be possible: the latest Middle Persian inscription found in cave 90 at Kanheri was written in the early 11th century (AD 1021), attesting to that date the use of Pahlavi outside a religious context. However, the earlier date is suggested by the palaeography of the Arabic script, which should be assigned to the second half of the 9th century.

From a linguistic point of view the Quilon Plates are particularly interesting for onomastics, providing a few previously unattested or scarcely attested personal names. Noteworthy are the conservative use of the postposition *padiš* in Judaeo Persian,[41] the different spellings of Pahlavi hmgwnk and Judaeo-Persian hmgwn, as well as the correspondence between Pahlavi gwk'dy HWḤm and Judaeo-Persian gwhwm, both of which suggest not a difference in language, but a diachronic difference in the establishment of writing traditions, the same process which gave rise, as is well known, to historical spellings in Pahlavi.

From a historical point of view, the Pahlavi and Judaeo-Persian signatures found on the Quilon Copper Plates provide the oldest known attestation of the presence of a Zoroastrian community on Indian soil, as well as the oldest Judaeo-Persian document in India and, more generally, one of the oldest Judaeo-Persian documents surviving to this day. Moreover, the signatures of Christians belonging to the Quilon community are, together with the Pahlavi cross today found on the Holy Mount in Chennai, the oldest surviving primary attestations of a Persian Christian community in southern India.

Appendix: The Pahlavi script of the Quilon Copper Plates

Though not quite so extreme, possibly due to the difference in materials, the script resembles the cursive one attested at least since the early 6th century AD, to which it may be usefully compared.[42] However, it also presents some peculiarities which may be due to the material on which our text is engraved or perhaps to a slightly different tradition, but probably more simply to the blundering

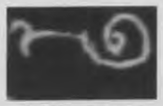
41 The use of pronominal postpositions is attested in later Judaeo-Persian and sporadically also in other Early New Persian texts, cf. LAZARD 1963, pp. 246 and 248.

42 Those interested in the palaeography of Pahlavi may usefully compare the following table with the ones given in WEBER 1992, pp. 217–230 and 2003, pp. 174–192, which are here taken as a model. See also CERETI 2008. Please note that I have deliberately inverted the traditional transliterations of *hēt* and *hē* throughout the article.

hand of an engraver unfamiliar with the Pahlavi script, as would be the case in South India. Comparing the Arabic signatures, and assuming that the Arabic, Pahlavi and Judaeo-Persian paragraphs were written by the same hand, one may easily see that the engraver was at home and skilled in Arabic calligraphy, but completely unacquainted with the Pahlavi and Hebrew scripts. Moreover, one should consider that some of the readings proposed here are of course only hypothetical, and some of the names could not be interpreted, certainly due to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi alphabet, but possibly also due to the engraver's hand, which proved less skilled than needed. On the contrary, I see no need to suppose that the present plates are late copies of the original, on the principle that *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*.[43] Although the material is extremely scarce and insufficient for supporting any statistical conclusions, nonetheless, I hope that the tables below may be of some use to those few scholars who are interested in Middle Persian palaeography.

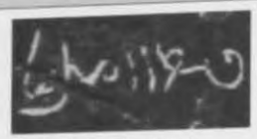
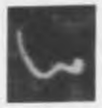
'Aleph, h

This grapheme is here extremely simplified, even more than in late cursive,[44] in most cases consisting of a straight line, often extremely short. Exceptions are the spelling -'dy in the word gwk'dy, which takes several different forms ll. 2.2, 3.1, 6.3, 12.5, 14.3, etc., on the one hand, and ligatures such as šh in šhdwst (l. 5.1) or š't in bwyš't', on the other.

'Aleph, h	
Form	Occurence
isolated	no occurrence
joined to the right	l. 3.5 (wyhz't')
joined to the left	l. 1.1 (hm-) l. 2.5 (hm-) l. 4.2 (HWḤm)
joined on both sides	l. 1.3 (-lhw-)  l. 9.3 (y'k-) l. 14.1 (-d't)

43 Recently applied in a different context of Iranian studies by WERBA (2006).

44 The definition "late cursive" refers here to the script found on ostraca and papyri, on which see WEBER 1992, pp. 209–231 and 2003, pp. 168–195.

'Aleph, h	
Form	Occurence
special forms	 l. 2.1 (štr''b'n) l. 2.3 (-'dy) l. 4.1 (-'dy)  l. 6.2 (-'dy) l. 14.3–4 (-'dy HW-) l. 15.5 (-š't')

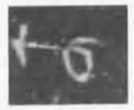
B

It occurs only isolated. This text presents no occurrence of its shortened form.

B	
Form	Occurence
isolated	l. 7.3 (bgwyh) l. 13.5 (-bg) l. 15.5 (bwdš't')
joined to the right	l. 2.1 (-'b'n)
linked to the left	impossible
linked on both sides	impossible
special forms	none

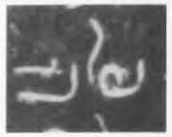
g/d/y

The form found at the beginning of words or anyhow not linked to the right presents a very marked "head", tending to a curl, as may be seen in l. 9.3. Interesting is also the ligature gw such as in l. 1.1 hmgwnk', which sometimes is very faint such as in l. 6.4. As is the case in the late cursive no diacritics are used to differentiate between the three.

g/d/y	
Form	Occurence
isolated	l. 3.4 (Y) l. 7.2 (Y) l. 9.1 (syny)
joined to the right	l. 1.4 (-shy) l. 14.1 (–mzd) See further under the special forms of ['].
joined to the left	l. 2.2 (gw-) l. 3.1 (yw-) l. 13.2 (wyh-dyn-) l. 14.1 (wnd't)
joined on both sides	l. 1.1 (hmgw-) l. 4.3 (hmgw-) l. 8.2 (hmgw-)  l. 15.1 (hmgw-) l. 16.4 (hmgw-)
special forms	l. 15.5 (bwdš't') l. 17.4 ('hl'y)

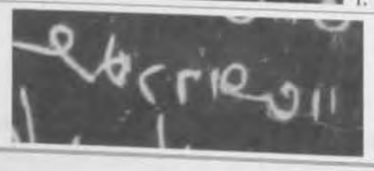
w/n/r/'/'

All these letters are represented by a vertical stroke of slightly varying but regular length, which may be slightly bent or slanted, the latter particularly in the case of ligatures with a preceding ' or g/d/y. Noteworthy is also the ligature -ln- such as in l. 13.5 plnbg.

w/n/r/'/'	
Form	Occurence
isolated	l. 1.1 (-n-) l. 1.3 (') et passim
joined to the right	l. 1.1 (hmgw-) l. 1.3 (-lhw) l. 2.4 (hmgw-)  l. 13.5 (plnbg)
joined to the left	impossible
joined on both sides	impossible
special or doubtful forms	l. 2.1 (štr''b'n)

Z

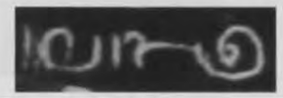
It occurs only in l. 3.5, wyz't', where it presents its full form and in l. 14.1 wnd't 'whrmzd. It is worth noting that in late cursive the full form is quite rare, being limited to a very few words.[45]

Z	
Form	Occurence
isolated	no occurrence
joined to the right	no occurrence
joined to the left	no occurrence
joined on both sides	l. 3.5 (wyhz't')
special and/or doubtful forms	 l. 14.1 (wnd't 'whrmzd)

45 WEBER 1992, p. 210.

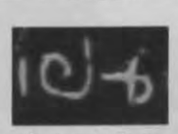
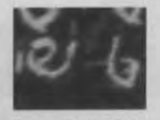
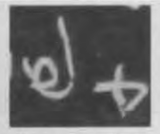
K

Its full form occurs here only isolated and presents a hook variously drawn at the top (ll. 1.1, 4.3, 6.2), a vertical stroke and, when written with particular care, a short tail going to the left (l. 2.2). It appears twice joined to the right, and in one of the two instances (l. 9.3) it presents a form very close to a vertical stroke, as in later cursive. In both these occurrences the ligature meets the k just below its head.

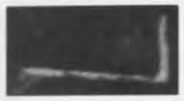
K	
Form	Occurence
isolated	l. 1.1 (-k-) l. 2.2 (-k-) l. 4.3 (-k-)
joined to the right	l. 5.5 (-yk)  l. 9.3 (y'kwp')
joined to the left	impossible
joined on both sides	impossible
special and/or doubtful forms	none

L

This letter presents two markedly different shapes. In the *recto*, when isolated, it is made of two lines, meeting at 90°, thus often resembling a large b (ll. 4.4, 8.2). In most other occurrences it presents a rounded curve. The ligatures lt, lh and ln resemble those found in book Pahlavi or late cursive, and are still readable.

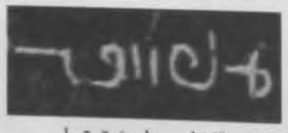
L				
Form	Occurence			
isolated	l. 1.2 (L)	l. 1.4 (l)	l. 6.5 (L)	l. 12.2 (L)
joined to the right	 l. 5.2 (mlt-)	 l. 11.2 (mlt-)	 l. 15.3 (mlt-)	l. 17.2 (-mlt-)[46]

46 Though listed as joined to the right, it must be remarked that in all occurrences of the word mlt- the m is not materially joined to the l, though this is theoretically possible. The same is true in late cursive, cf. WEBER 1992, p. 211.

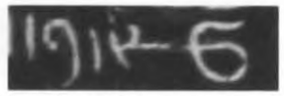
L	
Form	Occurence
joined to the left	l. 1.3 (-lhw-) l. 5.5 (-lhw-) l. 13.5 (plnbg)
joined on both sides	l. 12.3 (mlwy) See note 35.
peculiar or doubtful forms	l. 4.4 (L)  l. 8.3 (L)

M (H=MN)

The letter has the same readily distinguishable form that it has in book Pahlavi and in the late cursive. In some occurrences the h- in the ligature hm- is hard to see (ll. 1.1, 4.3).[47]

M (H=MN)	
Form	Occurence
isolated	l. 4.2 (HWHm) l. 6.3 (HWHm)
joined to the right	no occurrence
joined to the left	 l. 5.3 (mltwyh)[48] l. 13.1 (MN) l. 14.1 ('whrmzd)

47 The same is true in late cursive documents, as noticed by WEBER 1992, p. 211.
48 See note 43.

M (H=MN)	
Form	Occurence
joined on both sides	l. 2.4 (hm<g>wnk)  l. 8.2 (hmgwnk')
peculiar or doubtful forms	l. 12.3 mlwy

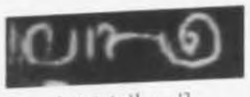
S

All three occurrences of s, two of which initial, present the shape with two large hooks.

S	
Form	Occurence
isolated	no occurrence
joined to the right	no occurrence
joined to the left	l. 7.1 (syn-) l. 9.1 (syny)
joined on both sides	l. 5.1 (-dwst')
peculiar or doubtful forms	none

P

It always occurs isolated, presenting the regular book Pahlavi shape.

P	
Form	Occurence
isolated	 l. 9.3 (y'kwp'] l. 13.5 (plnbg) l. 14.2 (pṭš)
joined to the right	no occurrence
joined to the left	impossible
joined on both sides	impossible
peculiar or doubtful forms	none

C

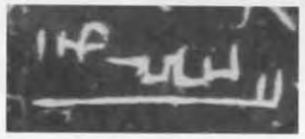
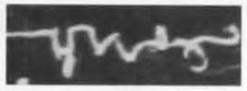
At its one occurrence this letter has a shape similar to that attested in late cursive script and not far from the standard book Pahlavi form.

C	
Form	Occurence
isolated	no occurrence
joined to the right	l. 17.2 ('c't-)
joined to the left	impossible
joined to both sides	impossible
peculiar or doubtful forms	none

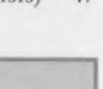
Š

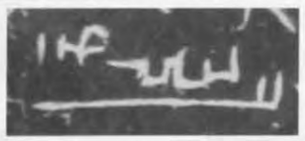
The isolated form is readily distinguishable, though it resembles more a book Pahlavi s than a book Pahlavi š. Word internally or in any way joined it loses its characteristic shape and may be confused with other ligatures.[49]

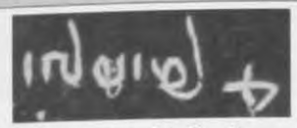
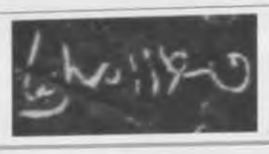
49 The same is the case in late cursive and often already in book Pahlavi. See further WEBER 1992, p. 211.

Š	
Form	Occurence
isolated	l. 3.6 (pṭš) l. 7.4 (pṭš)
joined to right	no occurrence
joined to the left	l. 5.1 (šhdwst')
joined to both sides	 l. 15.5 (bwdš't')  l. 3.2–3 (Y mšy')
peculiar or doubtful forms	l. 2.1 (štr''b'n)

T

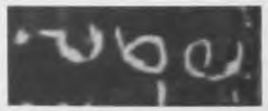
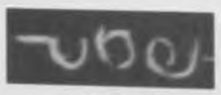
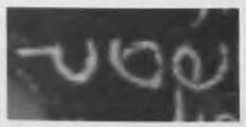
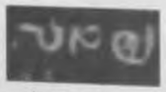
All occurrences of this letter, except perhaps for l. 2.1 štr''b'n, l. 5.1 šhdwst' and l. 15.5 bwdš't' present the shape easily to be taken for -p': 

T	
Form	Occurence
isolated	 l. 15.5 (bwdš't')
joined to the right	l. 3.5 (wyhz't') l. 5.1 (šhdwst')

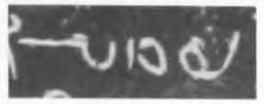
T	
Form	Occurence
joined to the right	l. 14.1 (wnd't-)  l. 15.3 (mlt'plhw')
joined to the left	impossible
joined on both sides	impossible
peculiar or doubtful forms	 l. 2.1 (štr''b'n)

Ṭ

It occurs only in the word pṭš and presents in most cases a shape which differs from that of t (e.g l. 6.1). However, some occurrences of this pronominal postposition show a slightly different form of ṭ, closely resembling book Pahlavi t (ll. 11.3, 14.2, 16.1), thus weakening WEBER's (and HANSEN's, though not explicit) hypothesis.[50]

T	
Form	Occurence
isolated	l. 3.6 (pṭš)  l. 6.1 (pṭš)  l. 7.4 (pṭš)  l. 9.4 (pṭš)  l. 11.3 (pṭš) l. 14.2 (pṭš)

50 On the existence of two separate characters for t and ṭ, see WEBER 1992, pp. 211–212 and, more in detail, WEBER 1993, pp. 186–192.

Ṭ	
Form	Occurence
isolated	 l. 16.1 (pṭš) l. 17.5 (pṭš)

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Two Notes on Bactrian

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It is not my habit to dedicate any words, not even a few, to the *iubilāris* of a Festschrift, after all: "Good wine needs no bush". In the case of Nicholas I have to make an exception, as I have closely worked with him for almost five years and I have come to know him more personally. I have learnt from him not only some of the intricate matters of Iranology, but certainly how to socialize: we have eaten together ναγανο οδο ναμιλγο – of course enriched with some fine μολο! – so often that even my eating habits and food preferences have been affected. I greatly admire his effortless, almost natural, tactful way how to deal with people in general – and difficult ones in particular – and serve a glass of wine without spilling a drop at the same time. His generosity and kindness he has shown to me in all these years ought not be left unmentioned here. It is a great pleasure and honour to make a contribution to his Festschrift on his 60th birthday. Unfortunately, it has turned out to be a rather small article, but I hope it will be appreciated.

Nicholas' crucial contributions to Bactrian are widely known and, being commented on *in extenso* by the editors, it is rather superfluous for me to repeat them here again: it suffices to cite his publications SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000 and 2007. Obviously, the same labelling of the Bactrian documents has been used here too. The interpretation and translation of the Bactrian texts by Nicholas have been generally accepted. At best, one could dispute a few etymologies or the analysis of some minor passages. Being such a nitpicking philologist, I would like to draw the attention to the interpretation of two instances, for which I propose a different translation.

αγγαργο

This form is amply attested in the Bactrian documents: e.g. C18 πιδο μασκο γαβιχτογο αγγαργο 'concerning the property described herein', J10 μαληλο αβο μαλρο αγγαργο παροιαβιγο χοβομο βοναγο πιδοριβτο ειο αγγαργο ασιδο σαγγινο ριζδο αστο 'a disposable property here in Malr, my own ancestral estate, this (same) property which is called Sangin'. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000 (p. 177a), translates αγγαργο as 'property (in land), estate', which is fairly well suited in the texts. As for the etymology, the comparison with Parth. *h'mg''r* 'Behausung' is cautiously made, while another cognate is mentioned as well (with a query).

This latter etymology, **ham-garga-*, Khot. *haṃggargga-* 'assembly', is apparently preferred by SKJÆRVØ 2006, p. 313 [= SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007, p. 187]: "... it may refer to an agglomeration of individual fields, which is the normal form of farm lands". The Khotanese term clearly refers to a group of people *coming together*, which is a bit difficult to conceive for immovable objects such as buildings or fields though. This is evident in the two attested passages:

- Zambasta 22.115: *saṃpuṣpäte nāma uryāni kuṣṭa ṣei hämäte haṃggarggä satä ggaṃpha vaṣṭa parṣa nättä patäna mättrau halysu* 'There will be a garden, Saṃpuṣpita by name, where this gathering will take place. Over a hundred *ggaṃphas* the assembly will sit down before the Buddha Maitreya' (EMMERICK 1968, p. 321)
- Rāma 240 in KT III: 76.240 ... *hagarvā būšä vaṭākye naṃ vijsye hairṣtai vīra* 'in the assemblies there are jests, grimaces, he does not look at me at all' (also DEGENER 1989, p. 11b).

As for the initial suggestion, Parth. *h'mg''r* is a hapax form found in a Manichaean text that is dubbed as "Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous" by WERNER SUNDERMANN (1992). It is also attested as *h'mg'r* in an unpublished fragment M281 */i/10/ h'mg'r 'wṯ zbyn g'ḫ k(.) [ ] (b)g '(b)yn nšst (b)wṯ 'yy wyn'm* 'we see the *h'mg'r* and the beautiful throne on which you was seated'. Purely for etymological reasons SUNDERMANN (1992, p. 88, § 14.7) translates the Parthian forms as *'Sammelplatz, Versammlungsort', a nominal derivative of a verb matching Av. *ham-car-* *'to go together' (*AiW* 449f.). Two points need to be addressed though. In the first place, SUNDERMANN also mentions that this passage corresponds to a Chinese-Manichaean line which SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, p. 80, translates as "dann tritt er in die alte Behausung". The meaning 'alte Behausung' conveys (Classical) Chinese 故宅, which would be a precise translation of Parthian *h'mg''r [cy kfwn*. The meaning of *h'mg''r* 'dwelling' is no doubt old. A similar meaning should also be assigned to the quoted Avestan cognate *haṃ.caraŋᵛha*, which does not mean 'go/come together' at all (nor 'sich ergehen', as interpreted in *AiW* 450). A close inspection of the Avestan passage, where this imperative form is attested, Yt 17.60, rather suggests a more "sedentary" interpretation.

iθa mē tūm haṃ.caraŋᵛha
aṇtarə arəθəm nmānahe
srīrahe xšaθrō.kərətahe

'Do stay/reside here with me within/inside the beautiful dwelling fit for a king.'

This contrasts with the preceding passage, the plea from Ahura Mazda:

āaṯ mraoṯ ahurō mazdā̊:
aši srīre dāmiθāite
mā auui asmanəm frašusa
mā auui ząm ni.uruuise

'Ahura Mazda said:
"O fair and wise Ashi,
do not go back to the heavens,
do not sink into the earth!"'

The meaning of *haṃ.caraŋᵛha*, which was already assumed by DARMESTETER in his translation of this Yasht (DARMESTETER 1972, p. 281f.; also LOMMEL 1927, p. 166), can hardly be but 'stay, dwell, reside vel sim.'. The PIr. root **čarH*, which *haṃ.caraŋᵛha*, *h'mg''r* and also αγγαϱγο contain, does not simply means 'to pasture, graze, roam', but it has also acquired the nuance 'to settle down', cf. Oss. *cæryn* 'to live' (in both senses 'to be alive' and 'to dwell'), pref. *ærcæryn* 'to settle (down)', *bacæryn* 'to live together, cohabit', cf. MILLER/FREJMAN 1927–1934, III, p. 1650f. This evidently refers to the pastoral subsistence of the ancient semi-nomadic Iranians (cf. CHEUNG 2007, p. 33f.).

Still, although it is now very tempting to wholly accept SUNDERMANN's equation of Parth. *h'mg''r* (and by extension also Bact. αγγαϱγο) with Av. *haṃ. caraŋᵛha* after some amendments, the first part of *h'mg''r*, with long *ā*, is troubling. It is only found in *nominal* compounds (cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 173a): *h'm'dywn* 'fellow-traveller, companion' (*''dywn* 'way, path'), *h'm'xwnd* 'united; companion, comrade' (NP *āxᵛānd* 'tutor, preacher'), *h'mbrhm* 'of the same shape' (*brhm* 'form, appearance'). Similar compounds with **hāma-* are also attested in Avestan (cf. DE VAAN 2003, p. 71), Persian and Sogdian:

- Vyt 37 *hāmō.nāfō*, MP *h'mn'p*, *h'mn'f* 'kinsman';
- Yt 14.50 *ˣhǎmō.gaona-*, MP *h'mgwn* 'model, something of the same kind' (but Sogd. *mγwn* 'like; all, complete' < **hǎmáγōn*, *GMS*, § 91);
- BSogd. *''m'rδ*, Zor. MP *hamāl*, NP *hāmāl*, *hamāl* 'companion'.

Regardless of the origin of *h'm-*[1], Parth. *h'mg''r*[2] and also Bact. *αγγαϱγο* are probably formations that have been formed independently from Av. *haṃ.caraŋᵛha*.

In conclusion, the Bactrian (nominal) compound *αγγαϱγο* can be more precisely translated as 'residence, dwelling, abode'.

αλο ανδαρο ζαμιγο μιγ(α)δο

This expression is attested three times: V24, V27' (μιγαδο), W20. It is translated as 'to exchange (it) for another (piece of) land'. The interpretation of the whole passage is not quite satisfactory. The translation of ανδαρο ζαμιγο 'another piece of land', which is mentioned in all three passages, raises questions: what would that *other* piece be exactly? One would expect to find a contrast in the text, i.e. *one* piece of *land* set against *another* piece of *land*. For instance, in the famous marriage contract, doc. A, the conditions under which the betrothal of two brothers, Bab and Piduk, to the same woman, Ralik, takes place also stipulate that they cannot take *another woman* as wife (without the consent of Ralik): A18f.

1 With evidence in several Iranian languages, the long vocalism must be (at least) of PIr. date. The origin of *-ā-* may be sought in the nom. sg., cf. Av. *hāmō* – always with long stem vowel –, which would point to an original hysterodynamic paradigm: nom. **somēH*, gen.sg. **somHós*. Subsequently, the gen. has given rise to the thematized stem **somHó-*, Skt. *samá-*, etc.

2 The simplex form is perhaps preserved in MP *nhcyhr c'r* 'hunting place, hunting ground' (*KPT*, p. 120), but evidently this meaning is eclipsed by the homonym *c'r* 'means'.

μαπαδοαβχανηιο αζο βαβο οδαζο πιδοκο ανδαρο ολο αβο κιρδο. But in the case of ανδαρο ζαμιγο, the preceding αγγαργο can hardly be considered contrastive, as it does not refer to land at all, cf. above. Another interpretation of this ανδαρο is therefore more likely. Perhaps ανδαρο in this instance is actually the (homonymous) preposition 'in, within', which is apparently attested only in inscriptions from the Kushan period. But ανδαρο ζαμιγο 'on, within the land' could well be an archaic (legal?) expression, corresponding exactly to Parth. *'ndr zmyg*[3]. As for the following form, the apparently infinitive form μιγ(α)δο is translated as 'to exchange (for: αλο)' in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000, p. 204, from IE $*H_2meig^w$, Gr. ἀμείβω 'I (ex)change'. The Bactrian formation would be totally isolated within Indo-Iranian. SKJÆRVØ 2006, p. 315, wonders whether μιγ(α)δο could rather mean 'to exchange for' or 'blend/combine with' from older Bactr. **amigdo* (Parth. *'myxt*, etc.). The loss of initial *a-* is frequently found in late Bact. texts, e.g. (in doc.) V βαρχανο 'North' (but in C, J, L, Nn αβαχρανο), S, W ματο 'broke' (R αματο). The meaning of this postulated form, **amigdo*, in Bactrian is semantically problematic though. The Iranian correspondences point to an *overall* mixing of two different substances that often result in a new product (the secondary meaning of 'social or sexual intercourse' is obviously just a metaphorical development), e.g.

- MP past part. *'myxt* in Šb., l. 929ff.: *'wd 'gnyn h'm hn'm 'myxt hynd 'wš'n zhg z'd hynd* 'And together they mingled with their united bodies and produced offspring'
- Parth. 3sg. pres. *'myjyd* in SUNDERMANN 1992, §26: *'wd pdynyd wxybyy 'dwr ○ pd hwyn pnj bzmg wzrg ○'w(d) wxy(b)yḫ xmyr bwywr pd ○ hwyn 'rt prw[hr] 'myjyd ○○ 'wd pzd(yd)* 'and he is kindling his own fire in those five large lamps and he is mixing his own perfumed scent into/with that aether'.

However, a house and land cannot be "mixed" in this way: they will always stay separate, immovable entities.

Assigning a meaning to μιγ(α)δο is for now pretty much a guessing game when it is so rare and found in a context that allows for more than one interpretation. But there may be a solution at hand when we also consider the fact that the Bactrian legal tradition appeared to have survived in the successive Islamic era, when Bactria became an integral part of Khorasan. Not many documents have been preserved in Khorasan, but fortunately, we can also consider the numerous early legal documents that have been unearthed in Egypt. The style of many of these generally well-preserved papyri can be ascribed to the scribal tradition of Khorasan, as the introduction of Abbasid administrative practice into Egypt had been developed in the eastern provinces (KHAN 2006, pp. 27ff., 46f.). Many early contracts concerning the sale of property unearthed from Egypt thus bear witness to this practice. This can be illustrated by a comparison of the Bactrian documents V, W[4]

3 Alternatively, ανδαρο ζαμιγο is a borrowing from Parthian?

4 This stated, it cannot be excluded either that some aspects of jurisprudence may go back to a common Hellenistic *Vorlage*, the assessment of which is beyond my competence.

with some of the edited papyri (which appeared in GROHMANN 1934–1962 and also DIEM 2004). The following clauses or passages show some striking similarities:

1. consent of the sale by the sellers:

Bact. doc. V5f.
καλδο πιδοοασαδο χογαμο οδο χοσινδο λαδο οδο παραλαδο μανο αβσιυο οδο μανο σωρο οδο μανο οαχβοβορδο οδο μανο μηιαμο οαυρανο πορανο ακιδαμηνο χανο σπανδαγανο ραζινδο ρωβοχαρο μαρηγο
'when a contract to give and to sell was freely and willingly made by me, Absih, and by me, Sor, and by me, Wakhsh-burd, and by me, Meyam, the sons of Wahran, we whose house they call Spandagan, servants of the *khar* of Rob.'

GROHMANN 1934–1962, doc. 60, passage 12
... ذلك فى صحة عقلهم وأبدانهم وجواز أمور هم طايعين غير مكر هين ولا مجبرين طيبة بذلك انفسهم ...
'... this while they are in a state of sound mind and body and capable of transacting their business, voluntarily, without compulsion and not against their will, but of their own good pleasure ...'

2. the locational description of the sold house and its boundaries

V12ff.
ωσο αβο μασκο ναβιχτιγο αγγαραγο ασιδο ζηρδο ναμο ιειο παδουαμονδδιγινδο ασο μιροσανο κινο οδο παροκινο αγγαραγο σαλαρανο οδασο μιροσανηλο παρο πιδοβιλδο κινο οδο παροκινο αγγαραγο ασιδο χοδδηοο βαραδδικανο ρωβοχαρο λαδδιγινδο οδασο μιροναφαρανο ... οδασο νιμορωσανο ... οδασο βαρχανο αγγαραγο παδουαμονδο ασιδο χαροβιγανο ασο σπανδαγανο χιρσαγινδο παλαγο γιρλινδο
'Now these are the boundaries of the property described herein, whose name (is) Zerd: to the east (is) a ditch, and on the farther side of the ditch the property of the leaders, and further eastwards, beyond (it is another) ditch, and on the farther side of the ditch the property which the khar of Rob has given to the lord of (the estate) Baradikan and to the west ... and to the south ... and to the north the boundary (is) the property which is the purchase of the Kharbigan (family) from the Spandagan (family, which) they call Palag.'

54, passage 4f.
و ملكه بالضيعة المقدّم ذكر ها من العر صة القبلية ويحل[يط بها ويشتا]مل عليها حدود أربع الحد الأوّل منها و هو القبلى ينتهى الى طريق المارة منه يشرع باب هذه العر صة والمدخل اليها و الخر ج منها و الحد الثانى البحرى ... والحد اثالث الشرقى ... والحد الر ابع الغربي ينتهى الي منزل يحنس بن بر دسنه
'... and being his property in the aforesaid domain, enclosed and surrounded by four boundaries: the first boundary, viz. the southern, ends at the main thoroughfare with which the door of this open area communicates so as to afford entrance to and exit from it; the second boundary, the northern boundary ... and the third, the eastern boundary ... the fourth, the western boundary extends to the dwelling house of Yoḥannes b. Bardesane'

3. the sellers acting as sureties

V32 ff.
ακιδαβο οισο λαδο λαδο οδασο οισο αχασο οδασο οισο πιδοκαρδο χοηδαγο οδαβυηβινδο κιραμο καλδαβο οισο λαδο ναβανδο ναυο βαοαμο οδασο οισο πιδοκαρδο χοηδαγο οδαβυηβινδο ναkιραμο οδαλαζο σωρο χοαδο οδαλαζο οαχβοβορδο οδαλαζο μηιαμο οδαλο μαχαγγο βραδο πορο φροζανδανανο χοαδο πιδοκαρλαμο χοαρδο οδο δδριγδο ναυο υιρζαμο αλο ανδαροζαγγο πωστιγο μολραγο αζβαραμο οδασο χοβο χονδαυο οδασο πιτανο ανδδαροζαγγοȷ κιραμο σαγονδο χοαδο πιταδδηιο οδαβο μασκο ναβισιδο ταδο οαλο ασο οισο λαδο βηλαδδιγο βοοαμο οδο μισο ταδᾱνο τωζαμο αβο γαζνο βρηγανοδδραχμο σιμιγγο βιζγο ωδαγο οιζινδδιγο υαρηιοσαδο τ' οδο μισο δαρϕηλο ταοανο αβο παδοιαρδδιγανο τωζαμο οδο λαυαμο
'and by us it has been guaranteed that (we shall go) to each (and) every lawsuit (beside you, Zar-yol, and beside you, Bredag, and beside you, Sand, and beside your brothers, sons and descendants, and) we shall cause (the property to be) released and detached (from every lawsuit)† and from every dispute and from every retention; if we do not go to every lawsuit beside (you) and do not cause (the property to be) released and detached from every retention, or (if) I, Sor, myself, or I, Wakhsh-burd, or I, Meyam, or our brothers, sons (and) descendants, should ourselves withhold (the property), (or) not allow (you) to have (and) hold (it), or produce another kind of contract (and) sealed document, or in respect of (our) own statement and of (our) own guarantee we should act otherwise than was guaranteed by (us) ourselves and is written herein, then we shall be (judged) lawless according to every law, and also we shall pay a fine to the treasury of the *bredag* of three hundred good, locally current dirhams of silver, and also we shall pay and give the same fine to the opponents.'

DIEM 2004, p. 30, l. 12f.
ما ادعا احد من الناس على مر قوره بن مينا فى هذا المنزل طارى بدين اومستحق[x] بميراث كان خلاصه ونفاذه
على هاولى[x] النفر المسمون فى هذا <ا>لكتاب كاين ما كان وبالغ ما بلغ

'Whatever claim someone is laying to Merqūre ibn Mīnā the barber on this house, suddenly about a debt/obligation, (or) that he is entitled to the inheritance, the settlement and execution of this (claim) is on the persons mentioned in this document, whatever it is and whatever amount.'

Even the elaborate legal clause παρσο παραλαδο ναβαγο ωσταδο οιχαρηγανο κιρδο αλο ανδαρο ζαμιγο μιγδο ... ασιδο υαρσο χοαδο ρημαδο σαγονδο χοβαοανδο αβο χιρσαγο βονο πιδαργανο πᾰδαχβανινδο 'afterwards to sell (it), to give (it) away, to pawn (it), to put (it for) hire, to exchange (it) for another (piece of) land ... whatever may suit yourselves, just as owners (customarily) have authority over what is purchased (and) ancestral estates,' in which μιγ(α)δο appears, is attested in several Egyptian contracts, albeit in the following abbreviated form: ان شا باع وان شا وهب وان شا صدق 'if he will, he may sell it, if he will, he may give it away, and if he will, he may give it as alms', cf. DIEM 2004, pp. 30 (l. 11), 38f. (with references). Obviously, we may wonder whether صدق 'to give as alms' is just the Islamic rendering of Bact. ανδαρο ζαμιγο μιγ(α)δο. μιγ(α)δο perhaps means 'to make/give as offering, donate, vel sim.', going back to a denominative-factitive formation of **maga-* 'gift', OAv. *maga-*, Skt. *magha-* 'bounty, gift'[5]: < **mayya-* < **maga-ya-*. The vocalism of μιγ(α)δο would then be the outcome of epenthesis, cf. σπισ-, ασπισ-, σαπισ-, ασπασ- 'to serve, worship' < **spasya-*, ριζ- 'to be called, be named' < **rᾰzya-*.

The Bactrian expression can be interpreted as 'to make a (public) offering in the land'. Since we are dealing with the sale of a house, this house could be donated, becoming (part of) a charitative institution, not unlike an Islamic *waqf* (or a modern-day *trust*), to the benefit of the local people. As the statement continues with βαυαρο οδο βαγολαγγο κιρδο λαχμιγο οδο λαχβατανιγο κιρδο 'to make a monastery or temple, to make a place of burial or crematorium', a more profane use seems more appropriate, e.g. a hospital or school. The preceding αλο would then be the conjunction 'or', rather than the preposition. The whole passage αλο ανδαρο ζαμιγο μιγ(α)δο can thus be translated as '... or to donate it within the land'.

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The Parthian "Sermon on happiness" *(Hunsandīft wifrās)*[1]

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The collections of Manichaean Turfan texts contain several hymns written in couplets, among them the large hymn-cycles *Angad rōšnān* and *Huyadagmān* in Parthian and *Gōwišn ī grīw zīndag* in Middle Persian, the Parthian Gospel hymns and some Parthian alphabetical hymns.[2] Another one has been identified by BOYCE (1960, p. 148, no. 56) as the *Hunsandīft wifrās* and translated as "The Teaching of Contentment". Three fragments of the text are listed there: M98/II/, M99/II/ and M1201(T Iα). The hymn was intended for publication in *Mitteliranische Manichaica IV* but was left unedited except for some short quotations. This paper, presented on the occasion of the 60th birthday of Professor NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS, an esteemed scholar also on Parthian and Manichaean subjects, is to give an edition of the text together with some remarks on its content as well as on the term *hunsandīft* in Manichaeism.

Parthian *hunsandīft* "contentment, happiness" in Manichaean context

Pa. *hunsandīft* (hwnsndyft, hwnsndyft), MP *hunsandī(h)* (hwnsndyy, hwnsndyh), is an abstract noun of the adjective *hunsand* "content, happy", which HENNING (1933, p. 220, n. 2) explained as from **hu-nisand-*, but BENVENISTE (1933a, p. 243) as from **xᵛani-sanda-* "qui trouve agréable" with reference to Av. **xᵛani-saxta-*. CANTERA (2000, p. 44) has recently given a new explanation of the first part of the compound and translates **hu̯ani-sanda-* "with fresh appearance", i.e. "content", on the basis of OIr. **hu̯an-*, IE **su̯en-*. The word occurs in the *Gyān wifrās*, the *Manohmēd rōšn wifrās* and in various other texts as the name of the fourth of

1 I thank D. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST for his numerous helpful and important suggestions for the transliteration and the translation of the studied fragments, and also for kindly correcting and improving the English of my article. I would also like to thank the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz und the Ryōkoku University in Kyoto for their kindly permission to publish the photographs. I am indebted to the department Turfanforschung of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften for giving me the opportunity to study the originals.

2 For the hymns in couplets see BOYCE 1968, pp. 74–75; SUNDERMANN 2008, pp. 240–244.

the twelve Aeons of Light. In the Sogdian version *xws'nty'kh* "joy" corresponds to it. SUNDERMANN (MKG, p. 51, n. 6) assumes a general translation of an original Aramaic word by words meaning "happiness" in the Iranian languages; this is supported by the Turkish and Chinese equivalents. The fourth Aeon of Darkness *'šwbgryft* "disturbance" (LN, §84) is its antonym. The five characteristics of the fourth Aeon of Light are described in LN, §§58–62. This section is poorly preserved, but from the Chinese version it is clear that it deals with the qualities and behaviour of the pious Elect.[3] These are: patient submission to the rules of the pure religion, asceticism, studying the law of the religion to prevent heretic thoughts, humbleness towards superiors, impartial affection for both superiors and inferiors. The close connection between "happiness" and the clergy is also underlined by LN, §35, where *hwnsndyft* is also the seventh part of the second cardinal virtue *w'wryft* "belief" and is related with *'mwstyft* "profession (of faith)", *trs* "fear (of God)", *wygr'dnyft* "wakefulness", *'mwg 'mwxtn* "teaching (or learning?) of the doctrine"[4] and *srwg sr'wyšn* "recitation of the doctrine". It is in opposition to *dwjmyhryft* "unfriendliness". The use of "happiness" in connection with the Elect can also be found in MP texts. In M380a–b/R/5/ (MKG(2387)) *hwnsnd* occurs in the context of admonitions referring to monastic life. In M221/R/19, 21/ (KPT(1994, 1996)) *hwnsnd* is counted among the qualities of the Perfect Hearer. And in M415+M289b/I/V/ii/6/ (SUNDERMANN 2001, p. 195) *hwnsndyh* is in opposition to *''z* "greed". Pa. *hunsandīft*, MP *hunsandīh* "happiness" denote therefore the piety and devotion of the Elect, their unanimity in religious subjects and their strict observance of the commandments. The term designates the mental state of the pious Elect during his lifetime. We may find here some parallels to the ideal concept of poverty (MP *'škwhyh*, Pa. *'skwhyft*, So. *frnxwndc ôšt'wc*) as one of the Manichaean commandments for the clergy partly corresponding to that of *driyōšīh* in Zoroastrism.[5]

The *Hunsandīft wifrās* and its content

In formal and artistic aspects, the *Hunsandīft wifrās* shares some important characteristics with the hymn-cycles. It is non-alphabetical, written verse-wise, with each strophe consisting of two stichs, formed by two hemistichs which are separated by a caesura. Nevertheless, the text of the *Hunsandīft wifrās* is shorter than that of the cycles although the original length of the text is not known. The anonymous author himself calls his work "a short sermon" (145), the preserved text contains 151 lines and some 68 strophes which is far less than that of the hymn-cycles.[6]

3 For the Chinese version cf. CHAVANNES/PELLIOT 1913, 576.18–578.11; transl. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, 96c23–29. This section is not preserved in the Turkish version.
4 For *'mwxt* as pp.I of inch.st. *'mwxs-* "to learn" rather than of *'mwc-* "to teach" cf. LN, p. 104, §35.4.
5 COLDITZ 2000, pp. 196f., 205–208; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, pp. 574–575.

Differently from the *Angad rōšnān* and *Huyadagmān*, the *Hunsandīft wifrās* does not represent the lamentation of the soul fettered within the material world and calling for redemption. Its main subject is rebirth, exemplified through the different destinies of the lucky person and the unlucky person. A man, who is a darling of fortune and achieves prosperity and wealth during his life, turns into a misadventurer after rebirth who brings about only ruin and poverty. His changing fate is associated in the text with the forces of destiny (stars, signs of the zodiac) on the one hand, but also with the pious deeds achieved by him on the other. That means that the future life after rebirth will be qualified by the amount of the latter. Interestingly enough, the author's conclusion does not consist in the demand for more pious deeds. On the contrary, he wishes for total release from fate through chastity. The author speaks for the whole community of the righteous (i.e. the clergy) when he promises that they will remain without offspring through the gathering of the limbs.

The *Hunsandīft wifrās* is rich in metaphorical expressions. It makes use of some well known Manichaean images such as that of the tree, the spring or the different roads. We already know the description of the Paradise of Light in the *Huyadagmān* with brilliant trees and fountains with sweet water (H.I/35a,b/).[7] The image of the tree is to be found especially in cosmogonical contexts. The *Sermon on the Light Nous* contrasts the metaphor of the Splendid Tree (New Man, i.e. state of Elect) (LN, §§45–83) with that of the Tree of Death (Old Man, i.e. state of mixture) (LN, §§84–91b).[8] In the *Gyān wifrās* (GW, §4) we find a caption So. *wn'r'm(y x)wyck''w'[k]* "Explanation of (the parable on) the forest" which may refer to GW, §§119–126, where the five elements are compared to five kinds of trees and men (the Elect being the first of them). Another comparison of the clergy with fruit-bearing trees is given in M11/V/4–6/.[9] The Living Soul can be identified with a tree, as in HLS(684–686). There is also a *d'lwg 'frywn* "Praise of the tree" (M381/R/H/, unpubl.) but only a few lines are preserved. Apart from the textual sources, the Tree of Life is also depicted in the famous wall painting of a three-trunked tree in cave no. 25 (no. 38 according to the modern numbering) in Bäzäklik.[10] In the present text, the trees (or: the forest) are the objects at which the lucky and the unlucky person direct their actions.

6 The exact number of strophes cannot be ascertained since in some places the text is too damaged to decide this.
7 BOYCE 1954, pp. 72–73; So. version: M178/R/30–33/, ed. HENNING 1948, pp. 307–308; Chin. Hymnscroll 296, transl. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, p. 47.
8 For a more detailed description of these trees with their trunks, branches, leaves, seeds, flavours and colours symbolizing the five cardinal virtuous and primary sins respectively cf. LN, §§27–31, 34–38.
9 WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, pp. 556–557, 592–596.
10 There is an ongoing discussion on the symbolism and the meaning of this painting. Cf. SUNDERMANN 1999/2000. For the latest explanation and a summary of the previous literature cf. MORIYASU 2004, pp. 15–28.

The image of the roads mostly symbolizes the different courses of life people go through after rebirth. Some of them lead to redemption, some to hell, and some to a mixed state.[11] The text in question speaks about the "roads of exile" *('zdyhyft r'h'n)* and the "perverted roads" *(qj r'h'n)* where the pious ones shall keep away from.

Three of the five fragments (M98, M99, M770b)[12] of the Parthian *Hunsandīft wifrās* edited here are accompanied by MP cosmogonical text on the opposite leaf of the double-sheet, two of which have been connected with Mani's *Šābuhragān*. This raises the question of the position and the role of this hymn within Manichaean literature. If M98/I/ and M99/I/ are part of the *Šābuhragān* it contradicts the assumption that all of Mani's canonical works "have been transmitted in monographical books."[13] Parthian and Middle Persian texts are gathered here in one manuscript which could accordingly have been an anthology of texts on cosmogony rather than a miscellany. Similar arrangements we find in manuscripts of the Pa. texts *Gyān wifrās* "Sermon on the soul" and *Manohmēd rōšn wifrās* "Sermon on the Light Nous".[14] But while the hymns accompanying the *Gyān wifrās* are written continuously, those with the *Manohmēd rōšn wifrās* are written in couplets. SUNDERMANN does not count them as part of the sermon. But this proves the existence of anthologies which contained sermon text as well as hymns, among them hymns resembling the hymn-cycles. For the hymns accompanying sermon texts SUNDERMANN (2008, p. 227) uses the term "sermon cycles". The hymns of these cycles may have treated selected subjects of the sermons. For example, M7265+M4526/II/ (not written in couplets) seems to refer to GW, §22. The *Hunsandīft wifrās* is possibly another case of such a hymn-cycle which was composed in the context of a larger prose work. The language of the present text is very rich and contains a number of rare words. This terminology is close to that of the *Book of the Giants*, the *Gyān wifrās*, the *Manohmēd rōšn wifrās*, the *Huyadagmān* and the *Angad rōšnān*, Mani's *Psalms*, the Pa. Abecedarian hymns or fragments such as M6020. The author must have had a good knowledge of these important texts and used them as an inspiration for his own composition. The *Hunsandīft wifrās* must therefore be considered in a close connection with a larger prose work. Since a number of special

11 Cf. the "fifteen roads" in Keph. 223.27–29, or the "three roads" in the *Fihrist* (ed. FLÜGEL), 335.27–29.

12 This may also have been the case for M1201 which was originally a double-sheet, but the second sheet is not preserved. Ōtani11076 is too small for a statement on this matter.

13 SUNDERMANN 2008, p. 205.

14 M83/I/ Pa. *Hymns to the Living Soul* (HLS, pp. 62–67), beginning of a MP hymn with duplicate in M235 (BOYCE 1975, pp. 176–177, text dgb), M83/II/ Pa. *Sermon on the soul*, §§24–39 (description cf. GW, p. 33, ms. 6, frgm. h); to the same manuscript also belongs M82 with MP hymns (/R/2/–/V/6/: HENNING 1942, p. 56). M7265+M4526/I/ Pa. *Sermon on the soul*, §§1, 10–21 (description cf. GW, p. 31, ms. 2, frgm. d), M7265+M4526/II/ Pa. hymns (unpublished). M727b/I/ Pa. *Sermon on the Light Nous*, §§40–41,43–44 (LN, p. 32, ms. 10, frgm. s), M727b/II/ Pa. hymn in couplets (transliteration ibid.). M1848/I/ Pa. *Sermon on the Light Nous*, §§45–49 (description cf. LN, p. 32, ms. 10, frgm. w), M1848/II/ Pa. hymn in couplets (transliteration ibid.).

terms used here also occur in the *Sermon on the Light Nous*, where they denote the Light Elements, the Aeons of Light, the Aeons of Darkness, the limbs of the soul or the cardinal virtues and the cardinal sins or their characteristics, it may be assumed that the *Hunsandīft wifrās* was composed with reference to this work.

Fragments of the hymn and their order

Five fragments of four different manuscripts can be more or less certainly identified as belonging to the *Hunsandīft wifrās*.

Ms. 1

M98 and **M99** are two double-sheets and contain MP cosmogonical text on their other sheet (I), tentatively ascribed to Mani's *Šābuhragān* (CHAVANNES/PELLIOT 1913, pp. 133–145). M98/I/ directly precedes M99/I/, followed by M7980–M7984 in a different hand with continuous text. The sequence of the fragments of the cosmogonical text is M98/I/–M99/I/–M7984/II/–M7981/I/–M7980/I/–M7980/II/–M7981/II/–M7984/I/–M7982–M7983/I/–M7983/II/.[15] The order of the pages of the double-sheets is not clear, but according to a personal communication by CHR. RECK M98/II/ and M99/II/ could precede M98/I/ and M99/I/ on the basis of the assumed direction of the fold. The size of the double-sheets of this manuscript can be reconstructed as *23×*19cm, that of a single sheet accordingly *11,5×*19cm (SUNDERMANN 1996, p. 45). The line-length of M98/II/ and M99/II/ is 7,5cm, the line-spacing varies between 0,6cm within the strophes and 1,1cm between them. The height of the script is max. 0,2cm.

M98/II/[16] follows M99/II/ directly. The headline is torn off, but that of M98/I/ is blue with ornamental dots in blue with red petals. /R/ contains nine, /V/ four strophes and the final caption of the hymn *hnjft hwnsndyft wyfr's wxš* in red ink. Then the MP incipit of a hymn(?) to the Holy Ghost *[ ] 'y w'xšywždhr nyk* also in red follows.

M99/II/[17] bears the headline /R/ *'b(r) gwy(š)[n 5–6]* /V/ *[2–3](.)[1–3]'n(g) ncyẖ* which is possibly MP. It may tentatively be reconstructed as /R/ *'b(r) gwy(š)[n 'y 2–3]* /V/ *[2–3](.)[1–3]'n(g) ncyẖ[yd]* and may have been the title of

15 Edition of M98/I/ and M99/I/: MÜLLER 1904, pp. 37–43; SALEMANN 1908, pp. 16–17; JACKSON 1932, pp. 22–71 (with comprehensive philological commentary); edition of M7980–M7984: MMi, pp. 177–203; re-edition of the texts: Hu, pp. 10–27; BOYCE 1975, pp. 60–76, text y. Edition of M506 as duplicate of M7981/II/: KPT, pp. 68–69. Photographs: SUNDERMANN 1996, pls. 64–67, 133b–144.

16 BOYCE 1960, p. 8; /R/7a/: ed. HENNING 1944, p. 115 (as /28a/). Photograph: SUNDERMANN 1996, pp. 64–65.

17 BOYCE 1960, pp. 8–9. The fragment is lost, only an old photograph exists, see SUNDERMANN 1996, pls. 66–67. /R/9a,b/: ed. MÜLLER 1904, p. 44 (as /8a,b/); SALEMANN 1908, p. 17 (as 99e).

the following chapter of the book (which is not preserved). The fragment must have been the preceding sheet of M98/II/, since it has imprints of M99/II/V/ in mirror script on the Recto. As a further confirmation *hunsandīft* is mentioned in /R/8a/ *zyn hwnsndyft 'w hwyn 'stmbyd oo*. M99/II/ has twelve strophes on each side, none seems to be lost. On the Recto there may be traces of a caption.

Ms. 2

M770b/II/[18] is a fragment from the middle of a former double-sheet. Only the inner margins and parts of the upper margin are preserved. The lines are torn for the most part, only letters or single words of the beginning or the end of lines are left. One sheet (II) contains Pa. hymn-text in couplets, the other sheet (I) an unidentified MP cosmogonical text. For this formal reason it resembles the fragments of ms. 1. The MP text is ill-preserved but some interesting words are mentioned: *chr 'y [grdn'g(?)]* "zodiacus" and *bwrdmnhmd* "carrier of the Nous", both also attested in M1007+M1025 (KPT, pp. 23–24, text 1.5) which forms part of a larger cosmogonical text. Also the number *šš* "six" occurs in M770b/I/.[19] The script is slightly different from that of the other fragments of the hymn. The headline is nearly lost except for the first and last letters and the ornamental dots. /R/H/ is red with red dots and blue petals, /V/H/ is black with black dots (petals not preserved). For a tentative reconstruction of the headline as /R/H/ *(hw)[nsndyftyg(?)]* /V/H/ *[hwnsndyf](t)* cf. the commentary on (1). On Recto and Verso M770b/II/ has traces of inserted captions. /R/4a/ could be an incipit *'w's* ... "Now..." of an opening hymn or doxology, /V/4a/ may represent the beginning of the hymn after a further caption. On each side four and a half strophes are preserved. The line-spacing is 0,6 cm within the couplets and ∅ 1,0 cm between them. The script is 0,1–0,15 cm high. M770b/II/ has been included in the edition of the *Hunsandīft wifrās* although its affiliation can not be proved. But if this fragment does belong to the *Hunsandīft wifrās* it may contain the beginning of the hymn.

Ms. 3

M1201 (T Iα)[20] is one half of a former double-sheet; the other sheet has been torn off except some parts of the inner margin. The outer margin is also nearly

18 BOYCE 1960, p. 52.

19 The number six is attested several times in Manichaean cosmogony, but most of the MP and Pa. occurrences are out of context. The Coptic Manichaica report on the six thrones in the two ships of Light (Third Messenger, Great Ghost and Living Ghost in the sun, Jesus the Splendour, First Man and Maiden of Light in the moon, Keph. 82.29–83.1), the six sons of the Living Ghost and of the First Man (five sons plus "call" and "answer" respectively, Keph. 92.1–4) and the six limbs of the body on each side (Keph. 174.18–175.4). But the number in M770b/I/ can also be incomplete and may be just part of a number coined with "six", for example twenty-six, the number of days Mani spent in prison.

20 BOYCE 1960, p. 67. /V/1a,b/, /9a–10b/: ed. COLDITZ 2000, pp. 93, 203, 386–387; /V/8a–b/: ed. MKG, p. 18 (as 15–16) and SUNDERMANN 1997, p. 265.

lost, and also the bottom margin and two strophes (in comparison to M99/II/); ten strophes are preserved on each side. The headline in red ink runs /V/ *(h)wn(s)ndyft* /R/ *wyfr'(s)*, the ornamental dots are also red with brown petals. The text does not contain the beginning or end of the hymn, it must have preceded M98/II/ and M99/II/ with a gap of unknown length. The size of the single sheet is 9×16 cm, while it is 9×>20 cm if the two lost strophes are included. The line-length is 5 cm. The line-spacing within the strophes amounts to 0,5 cm, between them to 0,8 cm. The script is <0,2 cm high.[21] From the differing line-length it seems unlikely that M1201 belongs to the same manuscript as M98/II/ and M99/II/ but the handwriting looks very similar.

Ms. 4

Ōtani11076[22] is a very small fragment of 1,8×1,6 cm from the middle of a sheet. No margins are preserved. Nothing can be said on the original shape of the sheet, but the line-length can now be restored on the basis of the duplicate in M1201 as about 3,5 cm according to the missing words. The line-spacing is 0,3 cm. According to the Ōtani-catalogue it belongs to the same manuscript as Ōtani6214 (RH, pp. 91–92), a fragment with opening verses of hymns written in two columns corresponding to M1/338–348/ (MÜLLER 1913, pp. 23, 25). Although both fragments are in similar handwriting this assumption is not compelling. Ōtani11076 contains 5 incomplete lines on each side. /V/ is a duplicate of M1201/R/8a–9b/, /R/ offers additional text preceding M1201/R/ with cosmogonical content which shows a certain reference to MP M805a+M2070+M270b (MKG, pp. 95–97), partly a duplicate of Šbrg I (405–419), on the torture of the wicked ones together with Ahreman and the demons in the eschatological fire (MP *swcyšn*). Ōtani11076 also mentions Ahreman and the burning fire *('dwrswg)* but other details have no parallels in those MP texts. The writing on /V/ is also verse-wise but the strophes are not grouped into double-lines.

Beside these fragments, no other fragment could be found for completing the text of the *Hunsandīft wifrās*. Nevertheless, there are some fragments which share characteristic features of the text. M502i[23] is a Pa. hymn written in couplets in a hand different from Mss. 1–4. All three preserved strophes begin with the letter *'*, resembling M1201 where some letters *('*, *k)* are frequently used in this position. But since the fragment has insufficient text to decide about its affiliation to the *Hunsandīft wifrās*, it is not included here.

Order of the fragments in the present edition: M770b/II/ beginning of the hymn(?) – *unknown number of sheets missing* – Ōtani11076/R/ – M1201/R/ (/8a–9b/ = Ōtani1076/V/) – M1201/V/ – *unknown number of sheets missing* – M99/II/ – M98/II/.

21 Excluding letters with verticals or horizontals above or under the line.

22 Ed. KUDARA/SUNDERMANN/YOSHIDA 1997, pp. 213–214; photograph on pl. 117.

23 BOYCE 1960, p. 35.

Edition of the *Hunsandīft wifrās*

M 770b/II/ (fig. 1)

Transliteration and Translation

(1)	/R/H/	○ (hw)[[a]	]	[	]
(2)	/1/	(.)[	]	[	]
	– 3 lines torn off or left empty –				
(3)	/2/	○ [	]	[	]
(4)	/3/	○ [	]	[	]
(5)	/4a/	'w'(s)[	]	Now[	]
(6)	/4b/	'wɪ '[	]	and [	]
(7)	/5a/	kw [	]	so that [	]
(8)	/5b/	(c)[	]	[	]
(9)	/6a/	kw k[	]	so that [	]
(10)	/6b/	'd b(x)[t(?)	]	with for[tune(?)	]
(11)	/7a/	cw'gwn k[d	]	as wh[en	]
(12)	/7b/	'wjd wrd[	]	killed the captive[	]
(13)	/8a/	[2–3](.)[	]	[	]
(14)	/V/H/	[ ](t ○)[b]		[	]
(15)	/1/	[ ]d		[	]
	– 3 lines torn off or left empty –				
(16)	/2/	[ ](○)		[	]
(17)	/3/	[ ](. ○)		[	]
(18)	/4a/	[']mwst		[	be]liever
(19)	/4b/	[sw](n)d'γ(?)		[	slan]derer(?)
(20)	/5a/	[ ](.h̲)		[	]
(21)	/5b/	[ ](h̲)[c]		[	]
(22)	/6a/	[ ](g.)dwxtg[d]		[	]-freed(?)
(23)	/6b/	[ ]ndyh̲		[ ] he shall(?) [	]
(24)	/7a/	[ ]why(g)'r		[	] beneficient
(25)	/7b/	[ ](.šṯ) šhr('n)		[	] countries
(26)	/8a/	[ ](y.t)[e][3–4](.)		[	]

a Initial *h* or ' with its first stroke prolonged above the line, than stroke of a *w* prolonged below the line. b Vertical stroke of the *t*. c *h* uncertain. d Two letters before *d* unclear; the first could be the vertical stroke of a *g*, the second a smaller letter like *d, r, y, w, n* or even a punctuation mark by which the last word would be *dwxtg*. e Very uncertain. Upper part of *y*, after that a diacritical point above an unidentifiable trace of letter, than vertical stroke of a *t* can be seen: *](yft)[/](yrt)[/](yxt)[?*

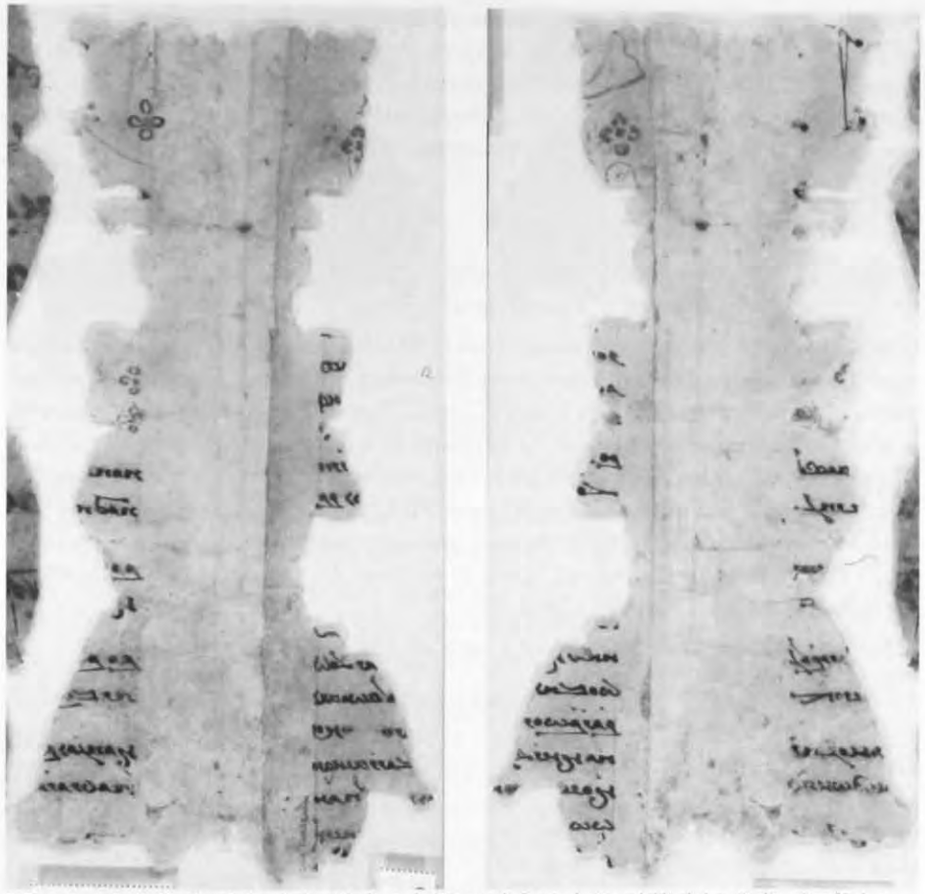

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Fig. 1: M 770b/R/ and /V/

Commentary

(1) Supposing M770b/II/ was the beginning of the *Hunsandīft wifrās* the headline could have started on the Verso of the lost preceding page with *nys'r'd* and continued on M770b/II/R/H/ with *(hw)[nsndyftyg]* "Begun has that (i.e. the cycle/sermon?) concerning happiness". /V/H/ could be possibly restored *[hwnsndyf](t)*, the following page may have continued with *wyfr's*. The caption would correspond therefore to that of M1201. But the restoration is very tentatively.

(3–4) Inserted caption in red ink.

(5–6) Probably the incipit of the hymn.

(10) *b(x)[t(?)*: This restoration seems meaningful since the word is one of the key-words of the hymn and occurs several times (cf. word index). For Pa. *baxt*

"fortune, fate", lit. "that what is bestowed/apportioned to (somebody)" as pp.I of *baxtan, baxš-*, < Av. *bag-* (AiW 921), cf. Pa. *wdbxt* "having bad fortune, unhappy" (58) and MP *nywbxt* "having good fortune, happy" (DM Dict., p. 255). Alternative restorations are *b(x)/r* "share, part", *b(x)[š'dnyft* "disagreement, discord, schism" or *b(x)/tgyft* "oppositeness, split, conflict".

(12) *wrd* or *wrd/g* "captive, slave".

(16–17) Inserted caption in red ink.

(19) *sw](n)d'γ* "slanderer": uncertain but it may fit the context, cf. (12) *'wjd*. Other restorations: *'](n)d'γ* "sorrow, grief", *g](n)d'γ* "foul, stinking".

(22) *](g.)dwxtg*: uncomplete word, hapax. Maybe two words written without space, with *d* being the last letter of the first word or the first letter of the second word. SUNDERMANN (KPT, p. 136; 2002, p. 213, n. 28) reads *wxtg* and compares it with MP *waxt/wixt*(?) which he explains as a development from Pa. *wihaxt* "freed". Or should one read *dwxtg*? This can be compared with MP *dōxtan, dōz-* "to sew, stich; to fix" (MACKENZIE 1971, p. 27), NP *duxte* "clothing", or with MP *dōxtan, dōš-* "to milk; to gain, acquire; to plunder", NP *duše* "milking pail". Hence **dōxtag* "fixed" or "gained; plundered". Less probably is *dwxtg* as an *-aka*-derivation from *duxt* "daughter".

(23) *]ndyḫ*: Presumably 3.sg.opt. of a verb, cf. (33, 68, 127).

Ōtani11076/R/ (fig. 2)

Transliteration and Translation

/R/

(27)	/1/	[7–8](g)[1–2](kw)[1–3]	[ ] (that)(?)[ ]
(28)	/2/	[3–4]wd š(')[6–8]	[ ]
(29)	/3/	[']](hr)mn (zy)rd'n[a] 'nd('g)[4–5]	[A]hreman the hearts' grief [ ]
(30)	/4/	[.](...')d(w)rswg ty(š)[tyn(?)[b] 1–2]	[ ] burning fire te[rrible(?)]
(31)	/5/	['']c hnd'[m 5–6]	[fr]om the lim[b]

a Only very small trace of *z* on the line preserved. b Right part of a roundish letter visible: *š*, possibly also *y*.

Commentary

(29) KUDARA/SUNDERMANN/YOSHIDA 1997, p. 213, read *'n'(.g)[*, but the traces after *n* can rather be read as *d'*, hence *'nd('g)* "sorrow, grief".

M 1201 (T I) and Ōtani11076/V/ (fig. 2 and 3)

Transliteration

(32)	/R/H/	wyfr'(s)
(33)	/1a/	kd 'w kwf (sn)ynd(yḫ)[a] ○ hwšk u '(b)[y]
(34)	/1b/	b'm ○ k(s w)g['ryd(?)](p)[s(?)][b] ('z)wrty(d pṯ ws[c] ..tr)y(f)ṯ[d] ○

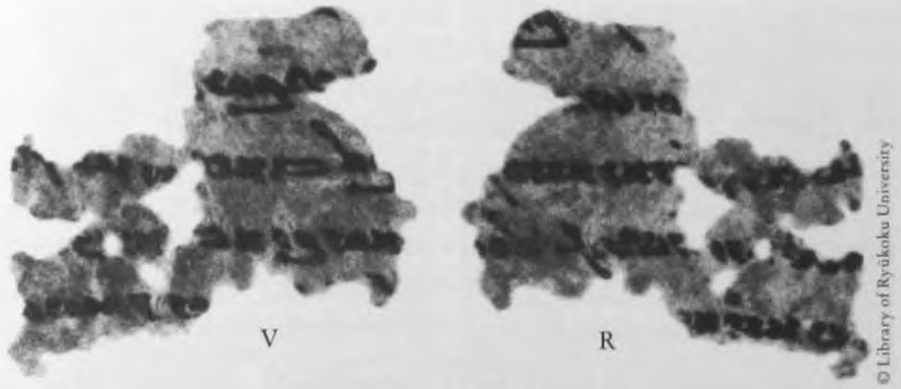

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Fig. 2: Ōtani11076

(35)	/2a/	kd 'w d'lwg '[by] b'r ○ nzd '(b wr)tyd ○ rg
(36)	/2b/	bwyd n(y)s'gyn [o] (')wṯ pd b'r 'wšt(y)[y](d ○)
(37)	/3a/	kd 'sṯwr '[s]txrg 'w hw kdg y(.)[2–3]
(38)	/3b/	b(w)[yd(?)[e] 1–2](r..[f])[5–6](.)[2–3](.) wyfr'ynd ○
(39)	/4a/	frg'w wyndyd 'c h(r)w ''rg ○ kd ny
(40)	/4b/	prm'[y](yd) ○ kwm '(c) kw ''s[yy](d)
(41)	/5a/	pṯ cyš r(n)gs ○ wyndyd šyrg['mg'n]
(42)	/5b/	bndgw(.)'w[g] ○ pṯ nz(')[y] 'wyš(ṯ)[ynd]
(43)	/6a/	frhyfṯ wyndyd ○ 'c nzd 'wṯ dw(r)[1–2](.[h] ○) š
(44)	/6b/	frhy(d')n pṯ (')sp(')[s 'm](b)r nydf'rynd
(45)	/7a/	kdyš (h)z'r'n k'my(nd) nydrxt ○ wx(d ')br
(46)	/7b/	pdrzyyd ○○ 'wṯ bwyd 'b[drx](t)[i](?)
(47)	/8a/	drwšṯ 'šṯ(y)d ○ 'wṯ drg jywyd ○ [']wš
Ōtani11076/V/		/1/ [ ](w)[ ]
(48)	/8b/	p'd nxšq ○ 'w(ṯ sxwn[j] w)'wr
Ōtani11076/V/		/2/ [p'd nxšq 'w](ṯ) sxwn (w)['wr]
(49)	/9a/	cwnd b(x)t q'myd ○ hwng'y (j)ywyd
Ōtani11076/V/		/3/ [cwnd b](x)t q'm(y)d h(w)[n](g')[y] /4/ [jywyd]
(50)	/9b/	'wd k(d) [']b'c 'zw(rtyd) ○ rg bwyd [dw](šfr)
Ōtani11076/V/		'wd kd '(b'c)[k]['zwrtyd] /5/ [○ r](g b)[wy](y)d dwš(f)[r][l]
(51)	/10a/	'wṯ (h)[w] (c)[']wy(d .)[.](.. x)[yš]m'wnd[m] m(.)[3–4]
(52)	/10b/	○ kdyš bxt 'wṯ 'fr(yd o w)ynynd '(.)[3–4]
(53)	/V/H/	(h)wn(s)ndyft
(54)	/1a/	(k)y 'skwḫ 'šty(d) (○) 'c pr'gyn
(55)	/1b/	(ky)r(bg) ○ š 'br s(n)[y](d)(?) (s)[.][n] (○ 'w) 'xtr bzg ○

(56) /2a/ 'wš 'dr 'bgnynd ○ p(ṯ ')sṯfṯ dybhr
(57) /2b/ ['w]š jm'n 'bzwynd ○ [š(?)]rwc[o] n(f)rynynd
(58) /3a/ (')[w](ṯ) bwyd mrdwhm ○ d[w](j)ydg[p] 'wṯ wdbxt
(59) /3b/ 'wš bxt 'w(ṯ) [']fr)[yd(?) 5–6](..)[1–2 's](x)ndyd[q]
(60) /4a/ 'wš 'br b(x)šynd 'zd[y]hyft r'h'n
(61) /4b/ k(w)[š] (j)yw'h̲ ○ (wyd)r'ygyn '[š]ṯ'h̲
(62) /5a/ ['wṯ b]wyd mrdwhm ○ dwjydg z'dg ○ kdyš
(63) /5b/ [4–5] 'zwštg [○] (')wṯ jm'n nfrydg ○○
(64) /6a/ kd ['w] qwf snyndyy ○ ky cyd xwmbwy
(65) /6b/ (oo) ryzynd 's(pr)[h]m'n[r] (d')lwg (wyd)rynd
(66) /7a/ kd 'w x'nyg y'(dyd) ○ ky '(b) š[y](r)yn ○○
(67) /7b/ (ṯ)[xl](g) 'zwrtyd ○ 'wṯ cyd hwšyd[s] ○
(68) /8a/ kd ('w) ỿr pdrfyndyh̲ bjyryn u 'škyft
(69) /8b/ (oo) 'c bwn wnwyd ○ 'w(ṯ) syg(d) 'zwrtyd
(70) /9a/ (kd) 'w drxtyst'n ○ ksyn 'wšṯyd ○
(71) /9b/ (kw) [2–3](.)d hwng(')[s](t)(?) ○ 'ndr m'(n)[']h̲
(72) /10a/ [4–5]r drxt'(n) [○ 'n](d)[r](?)[t] nk[m](b)[y](d)
(73) /10b/ ['c(?)](')'z'd d(')l(w)g ○○ w(r)gr[u] ryzynd ○

a *(sn)* could also be read as *(b)*, but *(b)ynd(yh̲)* is less likely. **b** Curved stroke resembles *p*. **c** Letters blurred, reading uncertain. **d** Last word written below the line. Of the first letter only traces resembling two dots on the line preserved, then there seems to be a horizontal stroke on the line *(b/p/s?)*, the next letter exceeds the height of a smaller letter, possibly *t*. Instead of *r* also *d* possible. **e** w partly preserved. **f** Only diacritical point of *r* visible. **g** Only the upper part of the head of the damaged letter can be seen, possibly *d/z/y/n*. **h** Last letter *d* or *n*. **i** *t* uncertain. **j** Visible are *s* and *x*, the rest is blurred. **k** KUDARA/SUNDERMANN/YOSHIDA 1997, p. 213: *'(b 'c .)*. **l** KUDARA/SUNDERMANN/YOSHIDA 1997, p. 213: *dwš(y)['r?*. **m** Horizontal stroke of the *x* does not extend to the end of the word but only to letter *'*. The word seems to have been corrected from **xyšm* to **xyšm'wnd*. **n** Two short words: first beginning with *s*, second letter possibly *n*, then a lacuna of one letter, last letter nearly lost, traces resemble the ornamental dot of a *d*. Second word seems to begin also with *s*. **o** Before *r* eventually space for one letter. **p** Only part of the left side of *j* visible. **q** Horizontal stroke and point of *x* visible. **r** Point of *r* and curved stroke of *p* visible. **s** *d* resembling *n*. Also in (73) *ryzynd*. **t** Traces of *r* or *d* visible. **u** Ms. *wdgr*.

Translation

(32) /R/H/ The sermon (on happiness)
(33) /1a/ When he would ascend a hill, (which is) dry and with[out]
(34) /1b/ splendour, someone *irr[igates(?)] (it), [then(?)] it alters by much(?)
[*-hu]midity(?).
(35) /2a/ When he moves the fruit[less] tree near the water, quickly
(36) /2b/ it becomes splendid and bears fruits.

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R V

Fig. 3: M 1201 (T I)

(37) /3a/ When a horse ??? to that house, [ ]
(38) /3b/ it bec[omes(?)] they further [ ].
(39) /4a/ He obtains *gains from each side, when he does not
(40) /4b/ think: "Where does it come from to me?"
(41) /5a/ With a little something he obtains frie[nds],
(42) /5b/ *patient like slaves, [they] stand with reve[rence].
(43) /6a/ He obtains love from near and far[ ], and many
(44) /6b/ hurry [*gather]ing(?) to his ser[vice(?)].
(45) /7a/ When thousands desire to subdue him, he himself
(46) /7b/ rises upwards, and he is se[cur]ed(?).
(47) /8a/ He is well, and he lives long, and he
(48) /8b/ remained well and (kept) the belief in the word.
(49) /9a/ As much as fate desires (it), he lives blessed,
(50) /9b/ and when he is reborn, quickly he becomes ill-fortuned.
(51) /10a/ And around h[im wr]athful m[an(?)]
(52) /10b/ when his fortune and blessings they see [ ].
(53) /V/H/ (The sermon) on happiness
(54) /1a/ Who is poor in previously performed
(55) /1b/ pious deeds, and above him [ ] go[es up](?) to the evil star.
(56) /2a/ And they throw him down in harsh wrath,
(57) /2b/ [an]d they curse his time, and they bewitch his day.
(58) /3a/ And the man becomes unfortunate and unhappy,
(59) /3b/ and he [mo]cks(?) his fortune and ble[ssings].
(60) /4a/ And they bestow upon him the roads of exile,
(61) /4b/ where [he] may live, he shall be *wretched.
(62) /5a/ [And] the man becomes unfortunate by birth, when his
(63) /5b/ [day] (is) confused and his time (is) cursed.
(64) /6a/ When he would ascend a hill, which (is) always fragrant,
(65) /6b/ the fl[ow]ers fall, the trees [wi]ther.
(66) /7a/ When he comes to a well, which (has) s[w]eet water,
(67) /7b/ he makes (it) [bitter], and it immediately dries out.
(68) /8a/ When he storms a hill, hard and harshly,
(69) /8b/ he shakes (it) to (its) foundations and turns (it) into sand.
(70) /9a/ When he steps forward to a *young forest
(71) /9b/ where it sh[all] stay [ ] well pro[tected](?) within.
(72) /10a/ [ ] he b[ends] the forest [within(?)],
(73) /10b/ [from(?)] the cypress the leaves fall down.

Commentary

(34) *(w)g['ryd(?)*: The context requires a verb. I would propose Pa. **wg'r-* "to moisten, to irrigate", cf. BSo. *wγ'yr* "soaking", *wγ'yr-* "to soak, steep, *flow", Xwar. *wγ'ry-* "to drown", < **ava-gāraya-*? (MACKENZIE 1976, p. 138; GMS, §218; BENVENISTE 1933, p. 29), < **aṷa-garH³-* "to soak, moisten" (CHEUNG 2007, p. 108), cf. also NP *(+ ā-) āġār* "sinking of moisture into the ground", *āġār(i)dan* "to moisten, sink; to cause (water) to sink into the ground" (STEINGASS 1892 [1970], p. 76). The image may refer to irrigation on a hillside by flooding the land so that the water can seep into it, maybe in terrace cultivation. Since *ava-* should become Pa. *ō-* (cf. *ava-sak-* > *ōsaxt*), **wiγār-* could be a So. loan word. – *(...tr)y(f)ṯ/(...td)y(f)ṯ(?)*: incomplete abstract noun of a word ending in *-tr* or *-td(?)*. One may think of **tarrīft* "humidity; freshness" from *tarr* "humid, damp; fresh, cool", cf. MP, NP *tarr*, as the second part of a compound. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST proposes an alternative translation "then he alters it ..."

(36) *pd b'r 'wštyyd*: lit. "he stands with fruits".

(37) *'[s]txrg*: Several explanations are possible: a) *istaxrag* "strong", from Av. *staxra-* (AiW 1591), OIr. **staxra-*, cf. n.pr.m. MP *Staxryād* (MP sthly't, Pa. 'sthrd'tyE, Gr. Σταρια̣δ, ŠKZ 26/21/50, ed. HUYSE 1999, I, p. 51, §38.1, II, p. 123); b) *istaxrag* "of Staxr", maybe a special race of horses?, from n.pl. *Staxr* (Pasargadai), NP *istaxr, setaxr*; c) *istaxrag* "of a cistern" (in compounds), cf. NP *sitaxr* also "basin, pond, cistern", *istōr istaxrag* as the name of a horse used for irrigation systems? In comparison with the first two strophes, the context requires an improvement of a horse's state which is originally in bad condition ("a nag"), but this would contradict the first two explanations.

(39) *frg'w* means "treasure", but with reference to the horse one may think of the gains or profit man makes with it, probably from horse-racing. In Manichaeism "treasure" also symbolizes the parts of the Living Soul which must be collected in the world for their redemption.

(42) *bndgw(.)'w*: Either two words written without word-space or a compound with *band* "bondage, prison; bond, fetter, link" or *bandag* "servant, slave" as its first part. Traces of the missing letter allow for the readings *bndgw(d)'w/ bndg(n)'w/bndg(y)'w/bndg(z)'w* of which one may consider the following interpretations: a) **band-gunāw* "fear of prison?", with **gunāw* as a verbal abstract in *-āw* (GMS, §1075) from Pa. *gwn-* "*threatening action of an animal(?)" (M229/V/ii/4/, ed. RECK 1992, p. 346 with n. 25), a verb with presumably negative meaning; the text makes a comparison of this behaviour with that of lions terrifying *(prm'w-)* people on the road; from Av. *gan-* "to beat, to wound, to kill" (AiW 490–492); b) **band-gōyāw* "bound grass(?)" very unlikely; c) **bandag-widāw* "patient like a slave", lit. "having the patience of a slave" with *wd'w* for *wyd'w* "endurance, patience", which is the 4th cardinal virtue and also the 3rd part of it in LN, §37; d) **bandag-wināw* "shaken like a slave(?)" with *wināw* as a verbal noun from a causative verb *wināw-* "to make tremble,

shake" from *winaw-* "to tremble, shake; to shake down, cast out" which is recorded in (69); e) **bandag-wizāw* "having a slave's decrease" with *wizāw* as a verbal noun from *wizāw-* "to diminish, decrease; to extinguish", *wizāwag* "exuded" or "excrement", MP *wizāy-* "to impair, harm" (for a discussion cf. MKG, p. 175). Of all these different readings **bandag-widāw* seems to fit the context best. – *nz(')[y]*: The noun *nyz'y* "reverence" is only attested in MP, but cf. MP/Pa. *nyz'y-* "to honour, revere". Since prefix *ni-* is often written *n-*, *nizāy* could also be written *nz'y*.

(43) *dw(r)[*: possibly *dw(r)['](n) *dūrān* "distance", cf. also Pa. *žafrān* "depth" from *žafr* "deep"; then *až nazd ud dūrān* "from near and (from) the distance".

(44) *(')sp(')[s 'm](b)r*: This restoration seems possible although *'sp's* with initial ' would be a MP spelling instead of the expected Pa. *'sp's/sp's*. For *'mbr* "collection, gathering" cf. Pa. *'nmbr* "gathering, collection(?)" and *'nmbr-* "to be gathered together(?)" (SuHC, p. 15). The letters in the gap must have been written very closely together in this case. Instead of *'sp's* also *'sp'w* "terror" or *'sp'd* "army" would fit if (44) already anticipates the next strophe. *](b)r* could also be restored as *'](b)r* in adverbial function.

(46) *'b[drx](t)(?)*: uncertain restoration; pp.I of *'bdrynj-* "to be sure/secure", with pair of antonyms *nydrxt* : *'bdrxt* in this strophe. Alternative restorations are *'b[d'x](t)* "rescued, freed" and *'b[r'š](t)* "lifted up".

(47–48) *'wš p'd nxšq 'wṯ sxwn w'wr*: In this sentence it seems there is an ellipse of the verb and that a second *p'd* should be added before *sxwn*. *p'd*, pp.I of *p'y-*, is used then in both of its meanings "to stand, wait; remain" and "to protect, guard". DURKIN-MEISTERERNST points out that *p'd nxšq 'wṯ sxwn w'wr* could also be compounds; *'štyd* would then serve as the verb for the whole sentence: "He is well, and he lives long, and he is well-protected and word-believing."

(49) *bxt*: cf. commentary on (10,52). – *hwng'y*: "blessed, well protected", lit. "with good supplication", from *ng'y-* "to pray, supplicate", pp.I *hwng'st*, cf. (71), cf. also Phl. *nigāstār* "guard; protective" (MACKENZIE 1971, p. 59). The word can be understood as "guarded by supplicating", i.e. "prevented from harm". Also attested in M5993/B/3/ (unpubl.) in a caption or a colophon. Cf. the antonym Pa. *dwjny'y* "cursed", lit. "with bad supplication" (77), also MP *dwjny'yy* "*mockery(?)" (SUNDERMANN 2001, p. 196, n. 64).

(50) *'b'c 'zwrtyd*: 3.sg.pres. "he is reborn", lit. "he returns again", cf. *'b'c ny 'zwšt* "he did not return again" KPT (1795).

(51) MP *xyšm'wnd* "angry, wrathful" is a demonic attribute, cf. Hu(1110). DURKIN-MEISTERERNST restores the last word in the line as *m(r)[dwhm(?)]*.

(52) *bxt 'wṯ 'fryd*: Both words are used together several times in the text and seem to be nouns here from the pp.I of the verbs *bxš-* and *'fryn-*, forming an idiomatic pair (or hendiadyoin) "fortune and blessings", lit. "that what has been bestowed (= fortune, fate) and that what has been prayed for (= blessings)".

(55) *s(nyd)*: uncertain. – *'xtr bzg* "evil star/constellation/sign of the zodiac". A connection between zodiacal signs or stars respectively and the fate of the sinners is to be found in Šbrg I (1–16).

(56) *dybhr* "anger, wrath" is also attested in LN as the 5th Aeon of Darkness (§84), the 2nd primary sin (§§9, 10, 15, 21, 87) and the 3rd part of the 1st primary sin (§27).

(57) *'bzwynd* "they curse", cf. Pa. *'bzwyšn* "malediction, curse" (BOYCE 1954, p. 181) against MP *'bzw-* "to increase", MP/Pa. *'bzwyšn* "increasing". The same meaning as *nfryn-* "to curse", of which the pp.I *nfryd* is attested, here translated as "to bewitch". DURKIN-MEISTERERNST translates *'bzwynd ... nfrynynd* as "they confuse ... they curse".

(58) Possible restoration *(d)[w](j)ydg*, cf. (62). – *wdbxt*: *wad-baxt* "unfortunate", cf. Phl. *wtb'ht'* (MACKENZIE 1971, p. 86).

(59) *'s](x)ndyd*: cf. *'sxnd-* "to mock" (MKG, p. 155; GHILAIN 1939, p. 54), So. *sxnd-* (BBB, p. 84).

(60) *'zdyḫyft* "exile, banishment", abstract noun of Pa. *'zdyḫ* "exiled, banished", MP *'wzdyḫ* which is especially used in Šbrg I (26, 84, 111) for the condition of the soul in the material world. Cf. also L/A/1/ *'z hym mrdwhm rwšn gryw jyndg b'myn /2/ 'z hym šhrd'rz'dg ['wd] 'zdyḫ bwd hym 'c wzrgyft* "I am the Light Man, the splendid Living Soul." (MÜLLER 1904, p. 29; SALEMANN 1908, p. 31) and RH (370) ... ○○ *'ymyn* (371) *gy'n wdr'y 'c* (372) *'šm'ḫ yzd'n* (373) *bwṯ wrd '(zdy)ḫ* (374) *hym wxdwm 'mwrdyd* (375) ○○ *pṯ wxyby(y) 'xšd'g(f)[t]* (376) *pṯ wx[yby](ḫ)* (377) *myhrb['nyft* ○○*]* "This wretched soul of mine was caught away from you gods; I am exiled, you collect me in your mercy, in your kindness."

(61) *(wyd)r'ygyn*: *widrāyīgēn/widrāyagēn*, a secondary adjectival derivative from Pa. *wdr'y/wydr'y* "wretched", < **vi- + ita- + rāy* "who has lost his wits" (GHILAIN 1939, p. 48, n. 4; ANDREAS *apud* HENNING 1933, p. 168). *widrāyīgēn/widrāyagēn* must have the same meaning. Otherwise *widrāy* could be a noun and *widrāyīgēn/widrāyagēn* a regular adjective.

(62) *dwjydg*: *duž-yadag* "of bad omen", i.e. "unfortunate, unhappy", from *duž-* "bad, ill, mis-" (in compounds) + *yadag* "omen", MP jdg, Phl. ytk' */ǰadag/*, So. yt'kh */yatāk/* < **yataka-* (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 421, n. 2); cf. antonym Pa. *hu-yadag*, MP hwjdg */hu-ǰadag/* "of good omen, fortunate, happy". An alternative explanation could be *dō-žīdag* "two lives" = "rebirth(?)" which would fit (62), but cf. (58) where *dwjydg* forms a hendiadyoin with *wdbxt*. *duž-yadag zādag* lit. "born unfortunate".

(63) *rwc*: Restored according to (57). – *'zwštg*: pp.Ia of *'zwrt-* "to turn back, return; turn into, alter, change; return to the body, be reborn". The word is attested in LN, §25, *'zwštg* "wrong, confused" (LN, p. 94, §25.2: "(moralisch und sachlich) verkehrt"). – *nyfrydg*: pp.Ia of *nfryn-*, pp.I *nfryd*.

(67) *'b txl* "bitter water" occures in M1804/B/1b/ (unpubl.), a Pa. hymn in couplets of which only five lines are poorly preserved.

(68) *γr*: *γar* "mountain" maybe a loan-word from So. *γr-* < **gari-*, against Pa. *kōf*. – For *padraf-* "to storm, attack" see SUNDERMANN 1997, p. 265. – *bjyryn* "hard", lit. "vajra-like, like a diamond, of diamonds". DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (Dict., p. 108) identifies it as MP; also attested in So. (for the So. forms cf. GMS, § 1058); loan word from Skt. *vajra-* "hard, mighty", also "lightning, thunderbolt" (of god Indra) (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899 [2000], p. 913).

(70) *'w ... 'wyštyd*: *'wyšt- ... 'w* "to step forward/over to/in front of", cf. *u 'wyštynd ... 'w whyšt šhrd'r* "and they step in front of the ruler of paradise" (MMiii,a (98–100)), as antonym of *'wyšt- ... 'c* "to keep away, stay away" (MKG, p. 153). – *ksyn*: Probably a. *kasēn* from Pa. **kas* "small, little, few; young" of which only comp. *kasādar* and suprl. *kasišt* are attested; cf. Phl. *keh*, Bel. *kas(s)ān* (HORN 1893 [1988], p. 196, no. 877), NP *kehīn* "least, less, younger" (STEINGASS 1892 [1970], p. 1067). To be corrected in COLDITZ 2000, p. 93, n. 156, and p. 385.

(71) For *hwng(')[s](t)* cf. (49).

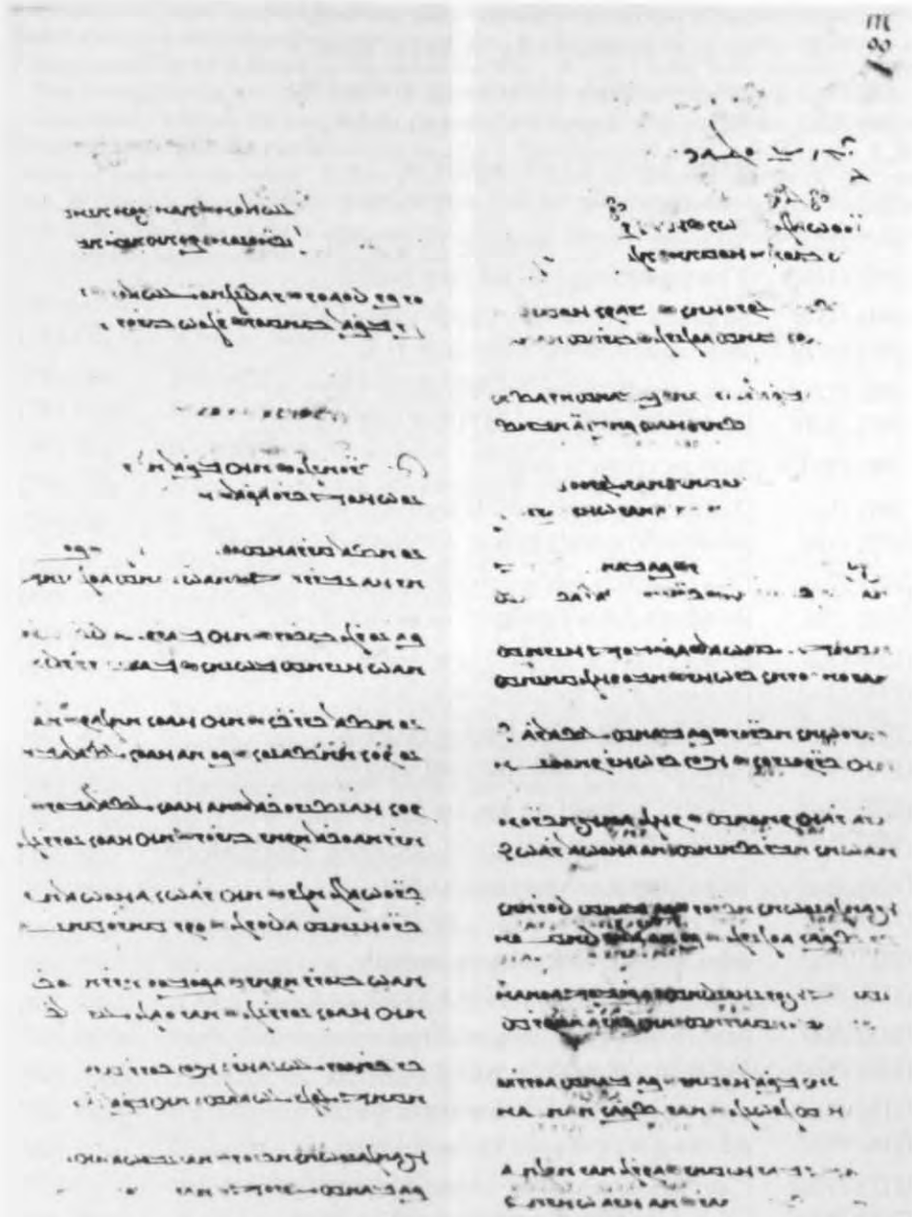
(72) *['n](d)[r ○]* suggested by DURKIN-MEISTERERNST.

(73) *](')'z'd d(')l(w)g*: The "free tree" = cypress (not the elm tree, cf. COLDITZ 2000, pp. 92–93) because it is evergreen. That it looses its leaves shows the havoc the person causes here. For an association between the evergreen juniper and the charity and faith of the pious Hearer cf. M171/R/9–17/ (HENNING 1943, p. 63, n. 6). – *wrgr*: The ms. has *wdgr*, but this must be a fault for *wrgr*. The word is attested several times in LN where the "brilliant tree" and the "dark tree" are compared. The leaves of the former symbolize eternal life (*jywhr y'wyd'n*, § 83), that of the latter the stars (*'st'rg'n*, § 94a), the five fleshy monstrosities (*pnj pdyn zhg*, § 95a).

M 99 II (fig. 4)

Transliteration

(74) /R/H/ [ ](.)[1–3]'n(g n)cyẖ[yd(?)][a]
(75) /1a/ [6–8] 'štyd ○○ 'wd cyd 'nd(m)[y](g)(?)
(76) /1b/ [3–4](..)[1–2 bx](t)(?)[b] (n)frynyd ○○ ky 'c 'br '(b)[2–4]
(77) /2a/ yd kd jywyd ○○ dwjnγ'y 'šty(d) ○○ (')[3–4]
(78) /2b/ (k)d bxt q'myd ○○ rγyš qryd (.)[4–5]
(79) /3/ – *unreadable remains of letters* –
(80) /4a/ ṯ[w] fry'ng ○○ 'c bxt '(w)d [ ]
(81) /4b/ ny šhyẖ prywxt ○○ (')[½ line]
(82) /5a/ ny 'st mrdwhm ○○ (.)[4–5](.g)[1–2] (○○) ky[š][c]
(83) /5b/ 'd hw nbrd('ẖ) ○○ 'wš q'm wyg'n'ẖ
(84) /6a/ kw ny rg qfyd ○○ 'c bwrz ('w) jfr
(85) /6b/ 'wš hnd'm bšn'n ○○ bw(ynd) drdj(.)[1–2][d]



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R V

Fig. 4: M 99 II

(86) /7a/ ny 'st pdrfn ○○ 'c hwyn "gwz ○○ 'w[d]
(87) /7b/ ny zyn "swnyn ○○ ky 'w hwyn 'stwb(')[e]
(88) /8a/ zyn hwnsndyft ○○ 'w hwyn 'stwbyd ○○
(89) /8b/ 'rd'wyft 'z'd qryd ○○ 'c hwyn nydrng
(90) /9a/ fryštg 'gd ○○ 'c rwšn whyšt'(w)
(91) /9b/ fryhn'm wjydg ○○ yzd m'ry m'ny
(92) /10a/ 'wš qyrd 'z'd ○○ wxybyy 'rd'[w]yf[t]
(93) /10b/ 'c hwyn nydrng ○○ 'wd ywg '(st)f[t]
(94) /11a/ pd prhyd 'šnwhr ○○ cy pydr m(r)y [m'ny]
(95) /11b/ 'm'h̲ 'zgd 'št'm ○○ 'c bxt (u .)[3–4]
(96) /12a/ cw'gwnyš'n '(fr)yd ○○ 'wd nbyšt 'c (.)[3–4]
(97) /12b/ kw bw'm 'zdyh̲ ○○ 'wd [1–3](. y)[4–5](○○)
(98) /V/Ü/ 'b(r) gwy(š)[n 'y 2–3]
(99) /1a/ [1–2](fr)yštg [rw]šn ○○ h(wyn) x[7–8]
(100) /1b/ [3–4](m/š) qyr(d) hym'd ○○ 'g(s)[4–5](.g)[3–4][f]
(101) /2a/ [3–4](s 2–3) 'zdyh'n ○○ (p)dwzn hym(')[d 0–2]
(102) /2b/ [5–6](cy) q'm wygndg ○○ qr'm 'w (.)[1–2]
(103) /3a/ [5–6](.) bxt ('w 'm)[g] ○○ k(w) bw'm 'd ws'n
(104) /3b/ [⅓ line]s'd ○○ hw(y)n k'm u 'bdys
(105) /4a/ [6–8](h)ym'd ○○ 'wd 'zdyy (m)[5–6]
(106) /4b/ [8–10](3–4) ○○ 'wd šh(r xwd'wn)(?)[h]
(107) /5a/ (c)[y](š)['n 'fry]d ○○ kw bw'[m ..](.'h̲)
(108) /5b/ ('w)[1–2](. s/p.'r 2–3) ○○ fr(..)[1–2](.r)[i] w(s)[1–2](')m
(109) /6a/ 'm'h̲ (')mwšt ○○ wxybyh̲ hnd'm
(110) /6b/ 'wd y'(w)yd'n pd šhr ○○ 'by (z)hg[j] m'n'm
(111) /7a/ qdyš'n 'fryd ○○ kw bw'm 'strwn[k]
(112) /7b 'c frzyn̲dyn[l] ○○ cy pd šhr z'yynd
(113) /8a/ hrw rwc z'y'm ○○ zhg w'c'fryd
(114) /8b/ 'wš'n 'br s'n'm ○○ 'w whyšt rwšn
(115) /9a/ cw'gwnyš'n 'fryd ○○ kw bw'm jyr"'n
(116) /9b/ pd sxwn wygndg ○○ ky 'w t'r j'myd
(117) /10a/ (')m('h̲) cyd nhynj'm ○○ wxybyh̲ wy'wr
(118) /10b/ [.](..)[.](.)b 'mwrd'm ○○ 'c p(w)d[m] u "zrm
(119) /11a/ [2–3](š)'n bxt hym'd ○○ kw bw'm wydr'y
(120) /11b/ [2–3]h(.)m gyšng ○○ 'wd sxwn 'w'w(r)[n]
(121) /12a/ ['m](')h̲ bwd hym'd ○○ wzrg 'wd '(r)g'w
(122) /12b/ [..](.)[2–3](.)[2–3](')wr[o] ○○ 'w hrw šhr'n

a Ms. *](.)[1–3]'n(gn)cyḫ*. Before the gap a diacritical point of *r/f/x* or ornamental dot of *t* or g visible above the line; instead of *g* also *γ* possible. **b** Horizontal stroke under the line *(k/x)*. **c** Horizontal line of *k* drawn to the end of the line. **d** Last visible letter possibly *w* or *d*. **e** Not enough space for *'stwb(')[d]*. **f** Letter after *g* could be *n/b/q*, possibly also *s/p*. **g** Uncertain, written as one word. **h** Last two words very uncertain. **i** DURKIN-MEISTERERNST reads the two last letters as *(tr)*. **j** Vertical stroke of the *z* faded out. **k** Between *w* and *n* some space. **l** Two dots under *d* seem to be a correction of *-yn* into *-'n*. **m** Ms. *f(.)r*. The diacritical points of *f* and *r* could also belong to the mirror-writing of M98/II/R/. The letter in the middle may be *'* or *w*. **n** Ms. *'w' wd*. **o** Remains of the first visible letter possibly *m* or *b*, the second one could be *s* or *p*.

Translation

(74) /R/H/ (On the homily of) [ ] is tau[ght(?)]
(75) /1a/ He is [ ], and always sigh[ing(?)]
(76) /1b/ he curses [fat]e(?), which [ ] from above.
(77) /2a/ As long as he lives, he is cursed, [ ]
(78) /2b/ when fate desires (it), swiftly it makes him [ ].
(79) /3/ [ ]
(80) /4a/ Y[ou] beloved, by fate and [ ]
(81) /4b/ you cannot be overcome, [ ].
(82) /5a/ There is no man, [ ], who
(83) /5b/ may fight with [him], and may destroy his wish.
(84) /6a/ So that he does not fall rapidly from the heights into the abyss,
(85) /6b/ and the limbs of his stature become *pain[ful(?)].
(86) /7a/ There is no escape from their encirclement, an[d]
(87) /7b/ no iron weapon which would defeat them.
(88) /8a/ The weapon of happiness defeats them,
(89) /8b/ it frees the community of the righteous from their oppression.
(90) /9a/ The apostle has come from the Light-Paradise,
(91) /9b/ the chosen one of beloved name, god Lord Mani.
(92) /10a/ And he freed his own community of the righ[teous]
(93) /10b/ from their oppression and the cr[uel] yoke.
(94) /11a/ Through the abundant grace of the father, Lord [Mani],
(95) /11b/ we have departed from fate and [ ].
(96) /12a/ How they blessed and wrote from [ ],
(97) /12b/ that we shall be exiled, and [ ].
(98) /V/H/ On the homil[y of] (is taught(?))
(99) /1a/ [ ] apostle of light, they [ ]
(100) /1b/ we are made [ ], apparent [ ].
(101) /2a/ [ ] the exiled [ ], we a[re] *following/mighty(?) [?],
(102) /2b/ [ ] of the destroying desire, we make to [ ].

(103) /3a/ [ ] bestowed on us, so that we shall be with many
(104) /3b/ [ ], their desire and command.
(105) /4a/ [ ] we are, and banished [ ],
(106) /4b/ [ ], and the lord(?) of the land.
(107) /5a/ Si[nce they creat]ed (it), that we ar[e],
(108) /5b/ [ ] we wi[sh]/se[nd]/po[ur]/co[ol](?).
(109) /6a/ We gathered our limbs,
(110) /6b/ and in the world forever we stay without offspring.
(111) /7a/ When they created (it), that we are barren
(112) /7b/ of children (of that kind) that are born in the world.
(113) /8a/ Every day we bear children created by word,
(114) /8b/ and we lead them up to the paradise of light.
(115) /9a/ How they created (it), that we are the wise ones
(116) /9b/ towards the destroying words that lead to darkness.
(117) /10a/ We always hold back our utterance,
(118) /10b/ [ ] we gather [ ] from decay(?) and harm.
(119) /11a/ [ ] they bestowed on us, that we are wretched
(120) /11b/ [ ] small, and the unbelief in the word.
(121) /12a/ We have been great and noble,
(122) /12b/ [ ] to all lands.

Commentary

(74,98) The MP headline runs /V/ *'b(r) gwy(š)[n 'y 2–3]* /R/ *[2–3](.)[1–3] 'n(gn) cyẖ.* /R/ presumably has at least two words, but the letters are mostly faded. No word space is visible. If this is not a personal or geographical name it could be possibly read as *]'n(g n)cyẖ*, the first being an adjective in *-ānag*, the second presumably reconstructed as *ncyẖ[yd]*. It cannot be excluded that *ẖ* was not the very last letter of the word since this letter is also sometimes used within words, and there is also enough space for the verbal ending *-yd* (now faded). The headline could thus be restored as *abar gōwišn ī [ ]ānag nizēhēd* "On the homily of [ ] is taught" and compared with similar MP headlines: *abar gōwišn ī dawāzdah saxwan* "On the homily of the twelf words" (S1/8/, cf. SUNDERMANN 1975, p. 311), *wizēhišn nizēhēd* "The interpretation (=epimythion) is taught" (KPT (1899)) and *gōwišn ī ewangelion zīndag ī čašm ud gōš wizēhēd* "The saying of the Living Gospel, which instructs eye and ear" (MACKENZIE 1994, p. 189) or "It teaches the 'Sermon on Eye and Ear' of the Living Gospel" (SUNDERMANN 2008, p. 209, n. 23) respectively.

(75) *'nd(m)[y](g)*: uncertain, maybe **andamīg* "sighing" derived from *'ndm-* "to sigh; bleat (of sheeps)". *'nd(m)[']](g)* is also possible.

(76) Possible restoration *[b](x)t*, cf. (80). – *'(b)[2–4]*: The line should end with a verb in 3.sg.pres. or pp. such as *'bg'm-* "to grant", *'bgn-* "to through" or *'bg'w-* "to increase, add".

(77) For *dwjnγ'y* „curse" cf. *hwng'y* (49).

(78) *rγ* for rg */ray/* "quick, swift".

(79) The visible remains are unidentifiable. It must have been an inserted caption of possibly two lines (first line completely faded) or a further strophe.

(80) *fry'ng'n* is otherwise used for the Hearers, cf. SUNDERMANN 2001a, p. 208.

(81) For *prywxtn 'c* ... "to be overcome by sb." cf. MKG (876). *baxt* must mean here "fate" and not "fortune", the gap cannot be filled with *'fryd* as in (52, 59).

(82) *ky[š]*: SUNDERMANN suggests *ky[c]*.

(85) *drdj(.)[1–2]*: Two words without word-space or compound. The traces of the letter after *j* could be *w* or *d*. There are only some Pa. words attested beginning with *jw-*: *jwxtyft */žōxtīft/* "*cruelty(?)" (LN, p. 118, §86.1; but also reading **šwxtyft* possible) which is too long for the gap, only unattested **jwxt* "*cruel(?)" would fit in. Cf. MSo. *jwγ-*, CSo. *žwγ-*, BSo. *zγw-*, *δrγw-* "severe, hard, cruel" (GMS, §410); possibly also hapax (incomplete?) *jwg[* (HSL (321)). Hence **dard-jōxt(ag)(?)* "with cruel pain", i.e. "painful". Otherwise *drdj(d)[*g, possibly **dard-žad(ag)* "struck with pain", i.e. "hurt", from pp.I *žad*, pr.st. *žan-* "to strike, smite; hew". DURKIN-MEISTERERNST prefers the latter explanation.

(86) *pdrfn*: SUNDERMANN (MKG, p. 167) has "*fortified place(?)", but DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (Dict., p. 270): "Perhaps 'place (suitable) for an attack, weak point(?)'. This fits the context here and could also be translated as 'point of escape'. Only attested here, but certainly from *pdrf-* 'to storm, attack'." – *''gwz* "covering, envelopment, encirclement; enclosure" is used as a metaphor for the body (RH (251)) and the material world (MMiii,g (103)), but also in a positive context for Srōšahrāy as the home and enclosure of the souls (BBB (144)).

(88) *zyn* "weapon" is otherwise used as a symbol of the Manichaean scriptures, of the Living Soul or of the Sun god Mihr. It seems that it is here a metaphor for the teachings of Mani.

(90–91) This looks like a common introductory verse of a hymn but there is no parallel known to me. The verse must be an original composition based on other hymns. Similar introductions are: M4b/I/R/18–19/ *fryštg 'c whyšt 'gd 'zdygr 'ž šhrd'ryft* "The apostle has come from paradise, the messenger from the kingdom ..." (MÜLLER 1904, p. 53; SALEMANN 1908, p. 5); M64/R/1–3/ *'gd 'c bg'n m'ry m'ny yzd fryhn'm 'w whyštwm* "Mār Mani has come from the gods, the god of beloved name, to paradise ..." (MÜLLER 1904, p. 92; SALEMANN 1908, p. 14); M64/V/1–3/ *'gd yzd 'rd'w ○ 'c whyšt'w rwšn ○ whyg'r wxd kyrdyr ○○* "The righteous god has come from the paradise of Light, the beneficient powerful himself ..." (MÜLLER 1904, p. 93; SALEMANN 1908, p. 14; this beginning of a hymn has a duplicate in unpubl. M5504/A/

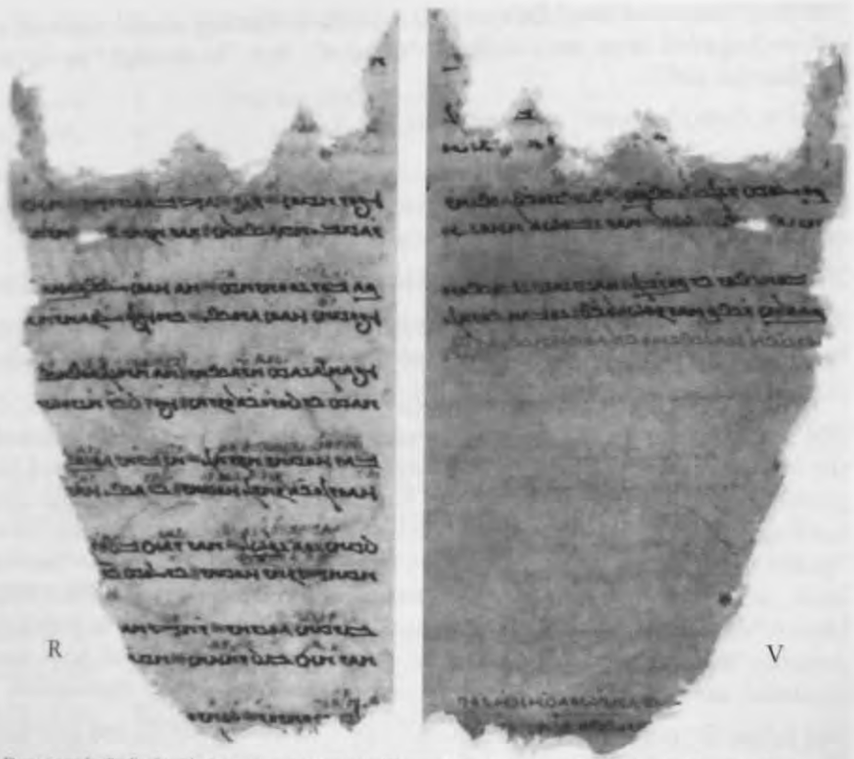

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Fig. 5: M 98 II

ii/2–4/ with further text); M198b/V/1/ *'gd š'ẖ 'c whyšt 'nwšyn* "The king has come from the eternal paradise ..." (quoted BOYCE 1960, p. 14); BBB (90–93) *mytrg bwṯ 'gd' mrym'ny fryštg* "Buddha Maitreya has come, the apostle Mār Mani ..." = RH (824–825) = Pa.S TM406b/R/8–9/; RH (683) *'zdygr 'gd 'c wzrg* ... "The messenger has come from the great ..." = RH (914) = HLS (146); RH (795–796) *'jgnd 'gd 'c whyšt* "The messenger has come from paradise ..." (melody); HLS (861–863) *yzd mrym'ny ky 'gd 'c whyšt* "God Mār Mani who has come from paradise ..." (not an introductory verse); HLS (1174) *'gd fryštg* ... "The apostle has come ..."

(90–95) The main theme of this section is also to be found in M8700/II/V/ ii/20–26/ (COLDITZ 2000, pp. 98, 389).

(101) *pdwzn* is also attested in RH (1227) and translated there as "following, follower(?)" or "mighty" alternatively; the word is discussed RH, p. 179.

(108) *w(s)[1–2](')m* must be 1.pl.pres.ind./subj. of a verb. Possibly from *ws-* "to wish", **wsynd-*, pp.I *wsyst* "to send" (GHILAIN 1939, p. 83, cf. *said-*), **wsr-*, pp.I *wsrd* "to pour", or *ws'r-* (for *wys'r-*) "to cool".

(109) On the "gathering of the limbs" cf. also MMiii,h(88), M1/361/, HLS (542–543) and HLS, p. 183, n. 204. It refers here to chastity.

(111) 'strwn */istarwan/* "barren, childless", cf. Phl. stlwn' */starwan/*, NP *sitarwan*.

(117) *wy'wr*: a mistake or because of lack of space for *wy'w'r* "answer, speech, utterance", cf. *wy'wẖ* (M7/I/R/i/24/, ed. MMiii,g), or an independent verbal noun from *wy'wr-* v.tr. "to answer, say, speak".

(118) The first word on the line could be tentatively restored as *[']([š])[q](m)b* "womb, belly". – *p(w)d* as conjecture of ms. *f(w)r* fits the context since it is accompanied by *''zrm*. The reading of *w* is uncertain; the diacritical points on *f* and *r* may be imprints from the preceding page. *pwd* is also attested in LN, § 98. – *''zrm* "harm, injury, torment", cf. Phl. 'clm "harm, injury" (MACKENZIE 1971, p. 15), MP ''zrmgr "injuring, tormenting" (M199+M1217/R/i/19/, unpubl., word quoted in BBB, p. 53, n. (483)), MSo. *''zrmkryy* "tormenting" (BBB (603)), MSo. *pw'zrmy'ẖ* "non-violating" (first commandment for the Elect, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, pp. 574–575), from Pa./MP *''z'r-*, *'z'r-* "to injure, violate" (the inf. *''zyrdn* is attested in M199+M1217/R/i/18/).

(120) DURKIN-MEISTERERNST reads *gyšng* for which one can compare with Phl. gšnk' */gišnag/* "short, small". Since the photograph is not very clear, *y* may also be a very small *w*, and the word could be read *gwšng*, cf. MP gšng */gušnag/* "hungry", Phl. gwšnk'. – *'w'wr* "disbelief, non-belief", negative of *w'wr* "belief", besides Pa. *'w'wryft*.

M 98 II (fig. 5)

Transliteration

/R/

(123) /1a/ (.)[ ]
(124) /1b/ '[ ]
(125) /2a/ [ ]
(126) /2b/ (.)[2–3](.w)[ ][a]
(127) /3a/ cyd 'myn ○○ (cyd[b] ')wẖ bwyndyẖ ○○ 'c
(128) /3b/ rwmb 'mwst'n ○○ 'wd 'z'd (s)['rd]'r'(n)(?)
(129) /4a/ kw byd ny y'd'm ○○ 'w hwyn 'skwh(y)[ft]
(130) /4b/ cym'n hwyn wdys ○○ pdycg 'zw'r'd
(131) /5a/ cw'gwnwm 'rws'd ○○ 'w 'dyng wyl's[t]
(132) /5b/ 'wm pd jyryft yzd'n ○○ cyd jfr 'ndyš(')[d]
(133) /6a/ bwd hym'd 'zd'g ○○ 'd br'd wxyb[yẖ]
(134) /6b/ hwydgyft z'dg hym'd ○○ pd ws hw(b)[2–3][c]
(135) /7a/ jm'n nyw nxšg ○○ 'wd rwc bjy(d.)[2–3 'gd(?)][d]
(136) /7b/ 'm'ẖ z'd hym'd ○○ pd 'ym frw[xyft(?) 0–2]
(137) /8a/ qdm'n[e] wynd'd ○○ r'ẖ 'w[¼ line]
(138) /8b/ 'wd[e] 'c qj r'h'n ○○ 'mw[¼ line]

(139) /9a/ (rgm'n) y'dyd ○○ š'dy[ft ½ line]
(140) /9b/ [½ line](t)[½ line]

/V/

(141) /1a/ [ ]
(142) /1b/ [ ](k/x)[?](.)[f]
(143) /2a/ [ ] b[4–5](.)g[g]
(144) /2b/ (.)[7–8] ○○ (.)[3–4]wh[.] (qryd)(?)[h]
(145) /3a/ ky 'ym rngs sxwn ○(○ hwn)sndyfṯ (w)sn'd
(146) /3b/ '(')w[dyn(?) ']](m)[w]šṯ[h] ○○ 'wd nbyšt 'hynd
(147) /4a/ [']by'syd pd kyrbg ○○ 'wm n'm nbysyd
(148) /4b/ kwt'n rsk 'wd zyštyfṯ ○○ ny bw' pyd'g
(149) /4c/ hnjft hwnsndyft wyfr's wxš

– space for 3 strophes left empty –

(150) /5/ [MP] [½ line] 'y w'xšywjdhr nyk
(151) /6/ [½ line] (○)○ dsw(wm)(?) ('yr)[.](.)[1–2][h]

a Supposed traces of letters possibly only imprints of M99/II/V/. **b** Letters blurred, *cyd* must be written very narrow. Alternatively *cy*. **c** Or *hw(m)[*. **d** The word before the lacuna clearly begins with *hjy-*, followed by *d* or *r*, of the following letter a stroke below the line is visible (*g* or *z*). **e** Apparent point above *d* belongs to the mirror-writing of M99/II/V/. **f** Horizontal stroke of *k* or *x* below the line, last letter *d* or *r*. **g** Horizontal stroke below the line and a very small trace of a letter visible. **h** Uncertain reading.

Translation

/R/

(123) /1a/ [ ]
(124) /1b/ [ ]
(125) /2a/ [ ]
(126) /2b/ [ ]
(127) /3a/ "Forever amen, forever it shall be!" from
(128) /3b/ the mouth of the believers and the noble [lea]ders(?).
(129) /4a/ That we may not attain their pover[ty],
(130) /4b/ which we understo[od] facing its *vacillation.
(131) /5a/ How I faced a pu[re] mirror,
(132) /5b/ and I always thoug[ht] deeply about the wisdom of the gods.
(133) /6a/ We have become knowing together with ou[r] brother.
(134) /6b/ We have been born in happiness, with much good[ ].
(135) /7a/ The good (and) auspicious hour and the vajra-[ ] day [has come(?)],
(136) /7b/ we are born in this fort[une(?)].
(137) /8a/ When we found the road to(?)[ ]
(138) /8b/ and from the perverted roads [ ]

(139) /9a/ Swiftly jo[y] attains us,
(140) /9b/ [ ]

/V/

(141) /1a/ [ ]
(142) /1b/ [ ]
(143) /2a/ [ ]
(144) /2b/ [ ] he does(?).
(145) /3a/ Who compiled this short sermon on account of happiness
(146) /3b/ s[o long(?)], and they (= the words?) are written.
(147) /4a/ Bear (it) in mind with piety, and write my name,
(148) /4b/ so that envy and hate do not present themselves to you.
(149) /4c/ Completed is the sweet sermon on happiness.
(150) /5/ [ ] of the good Holy Ghost.
(151) /6/ [ ]. Tenth(?) [ ]

Commentary

(127) *'wẖ bwyndyẖ* appears as a gloss on *'myn*. This concluding formula is a shortened version of the commonly used formulas Pa. *ō yāwēd yāwēdān ōh bawēndēh*, MP *dā ō jāydān āmen āmen ōh bēh* (MMii, p. 40, n. 4).

(128) The reading *(s)['rd]'r'(n)* was kindly suggested by SUNDERMANN, and followed by me (COLDITZ 2000, pp. 90, 378). But the traces of the first letter resemble more *b* or *q*: *(b/q)[2–3]'r'(n)*, for which a reading *(q)[yrdg]'r'(n)* "the mighty ones" could be suggested. Both terms should refer to the Elect. For the usage of MP s'r'r'n cf. SUNDERMANN 2001a, p. 205.

(129) *'skwh(y)[ft]*: Restored by DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2002, p. 383) against *'skwh(y)[yn]* (Colditz 2000, pp. 202, 378). "Poverty" is used here with a negative connotation as in some other Iranian Manichaean texts (cf. COLDITZ 2000, pp. 200–204, 207f.). It designates the lack of material goods as well as of spiritual knowledge and pious deeds, cf. (54–55).

(130) *wdys /widēs/* "*sway" < **dais-* "to show", cf. MKG, p. 173 (s. *wdysg'r*). SUNDERMANN translates the related word *wdysg'r* as "*cautious, *wavering, *vacillating". The abstract noun *wdysg'ryft* is the third limb of the second primary sin in LN, §28.

(131) For the mirror as a symbol of gnosis in Manichaeism cf. GW, pp. 148–149 (§145.2). – *wyl'st* could be either "(well) prepared, arranged", from MP pp.I *wyr'st*, *wyr'y-* against Pa. pp.I *wyr'št*, *wyr'z-* or "astonishing, wonderful", possibly also "wonder", cf. Pa. *wyl'stgr* "causing wonder, astonishment", So. *wyδ's-* "to wonder". For a discussion of the word cf. MKG, p. 174. Cf. also Pa. *wyl'styft* "*purity" (LN, pp. 91–92, §20.1). Because of the close connections of the *Hunsandīft wifrās* with the *Sermon on the Light Nous* I prefer to translate "pure, purified".

(134) *hw(b)[2–3]*: A possible restoration could be *hw(b)['s]* which is attested in RH (541), where RECK translates it as "*well protected(?)", from *hu-* + *pās-* "to protect". If this assumption is right the word could be also a verbal noun "good protection". Or *hw(m)[2–3]*, for which cf. *hwmy'g* "*blissful" and *hwmy'st* "sparkling, glittering" < Av. *hu-māiiā-* "beneficial, blessed", *maiiā-* "joy, bliss" (LN, p. 123, §98.5).

(135) *jm'n nyw nxšg*: quoted in HENNING 1944, p. 115 (as 98/99[28a]). – *bjy(d.)[* could be read *bjy(dg)[/ bjy(dz)[/ bjy(rg)[/ bjy(rz)[*. Since it is combined with *rwc* "day" one expects a word meaning "salvation" or the like but this should be *bwxtgyft*, cf. *'ym rwc bwxtgyft* RH (156) and *'ym rwc gy'n'n bwxtgyft* Mo (2). The word *rwc* is often characterized in Pa. hymns as *'frydg* "blessed", *wzrg* "great", *'rg'w* "fine" or *wjydg* "chosen". Is it possible to assume an error of the scribe who wanted to write *wjydg* but had *bwxtgyft* in mind and started with *b-* without becoming aware of it? This seems very unlikely. A possible explanation of the hapax would be a reading *bjy(rz)[/ bjy(rg)[* as a compound with **bjyr* "vajra", a loan-word from Skt. *vajra-* "hard, mighty; undestroyable; diamond" as its first part. The adjective *bjyryn* is already attested here in (68). In Buddhism *vajra* is the diamond sceptre, an important ritual object which symbolizes indestructibility, the cosmos, inspiration (Buddhaship) as well as highest spiritual power. In mythology *vajra* is the thunderbolt of Indra as a fighter against the demons of darkness. It is also an essential symbol of *vajrayana* Buddhism. For this reason, *vajra* may have found its way into Manichaean terminology. The "day of *vajra-[ ]" may be tentatively translated as "day of diamond-[ ]" or "day of inspiration-[ ]".

(138) DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (Dict., p. 205) reads *qjr'h'n*, but there is a little space between the two words. The expression could also be translated as "perversions". Cf. also MP M28/I/V/ii/28–31/ *hrw pnd'n 'y wšwbyšn ○ 'wd phryzyšn 'yg prhyd'n o u r'h'n o ws'n xwhr'n u 'zwštg'n* "All the paths of ruin and the numerous courses and the many roads, crooked and misleading" (SKJAERVO 1995, p. 251, as 24–27).

(145) *sxwn hwnsndyft* seems to represent an alternative title of the *Hunsandīft wifrās*, since *saxwan* and *wifrās* are used for the same literary category.

(145–146) *'wd nbyšt 'hynd*: It seems that *sxwn* has been understood as a pl. in the last part of the strophe. For the word in the gap I propose *'(')w[dyn* "so long, so much" which here forms a counterpart of *rngs*.

(147) The author's name is unfortunately not preserved in the text.

(148) *rsk* "envy" is also attested in LN, §86 as the forth limb of the first primary sin.

(149) The final caption of the *Hunsandīft wifrās*.

(150) Incipit of a new section of the book, apparently a sermon on or a hymn to the Holy Ghost. The caption is MP, but the next line may be Parthian if *dswwm* "tenth" is the correct reading.

Index of Words

(Abbreviations according to HLS, pp. xiii–xvii; numbers refer to lines of edition, c before number refers to commentary, p. to page number)

Parthian

''gwz 86
''rg 39
''s-: pres.3.sg. ''syyd (40)
''swnyn 87
''wdyn (146) (?)
''z'rm 118
'b (35), (66)
'b'c (50)
'bd'xt c46
'bdrynj-: pp.I 'bdrxt (46)
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'h-: pres.3.sg. 'st 83, 86; pres.1.pl. hym'd 100, (101), (105), 119, 121, 133, 134, 136; pres.3.pl. 'hynd 146
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bxtgyft c10
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Abbreviations

Av.	Avestan
Bel.	Beluči
BSo.	Buddhist Sogdian
Chin.	Chinese
CSo.	Christian Sogdian
Gr.	Greek
H.	*Huyadagmān*
IE	Indo-European
MP	(Manichaean) Middle Persian
MSo.	Manichaean Sogdian
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
NP	New Persian
OIr.	Old Iranian
Pa.	(Manichaean) Parthian
Pa.S	Parthian in Sogdian Script
Phl.	Pahlavi
Skt.	Sanskrit
So.	Sogdian
ŠKZ	Inscription of Šābuhr at Ka'be-ye Zardošt
Xwar.	Xwaresmian

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Eastern Hill Balochi

Josef Elfenbein, Papworth Everard

It is an honour and a pleasure to contribute to this volume dedicated to my old friend Nicholas Sims-Williams, and to use this opportunity to correct and fill out some antiquated information on an important but somewhat neglected dialect of the Balōčī language. I begin by mentioning my RAS monograph of 1966, *The Baluchi Language (TBL)* which I note with some astonishment to be still in print (as is a pirated printing from Quetta in the 1970s, recently noticed in the bazaar in Kabul!).

TBL was the first attempt at a comprehensive survey of all Bal dialects, based on fresh field work. It was not bad for the dialects of Pakistan, but less satisfactory for those of Afghanistan, and poor for those of Iran. Now recent publications have helped greatly to fill that gap: I refer to the study (a PhD thesis) by Agnes Korn in Frankfurt a. M.,[1] which contains some accurate and up-to-date information on dialectology, but especially to Azim Shahbakhsh at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London 2004, *The Balochi Verb* (also a PhD thesis) which contains a good treatment of the Sarawānī dialect spoken in Iran.[2]

Eastern Hill Balochi (EHB) is a particularly interesting and important dialect of Bal for a number of reasons. EHB was the very first Bal dialect to be described;[3] EHB was the object of the first study of Bal dialects, by Wilhelm Geiger[4]; and it was the main study of the work of M. L. Dames, the "father of Balochi studies" in his many publications from the 1880s onwards. He called the dialect "Northern Balochi", reflecting his residence as an ICS Divisional Judge in Dera Ghazi Khan in British Baluchistan, a name continued by Geiger. Later publications called it "Eastern Balochi" (as e.g. in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. X, of 1921, v. note 5). I had proposed a different system in *TBL*, now accepted by many writers, in which the various dialects are simply named without a geographical tag, as being much more accurate and informative; but a concession was made to the older system by prefixing "eastern" to the name of the dialects of the Suleyman Mountains in the easternmost part of Balochi-

1 A. Korn: *Towards a Historical Grammar of Balochi. Studies in Balochi Historical Phonology and Vocabulary.* Wiesbaden 2005 (Beiträge zur Iranistik 26).
2 Both these works contain good bibliographies.
3 In 1838, in a vocabulary given by R. Leech; the short list of words in Lt. H. Pottinger *Travels in Beloochistan and Sind* (1815) is quite useless.
4 W. Geiger: "Dialektspaltung in Balūčī." In: SKBAW 1889, pp. 65–92.

speaking territory. A final reason for the special status of EHB is that one of its varieties has an important literary cultivation, first in publications by DAMES (e.g. *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, 1905) and now continued by e.g. SHĒR MUHAMMAD MARĪ (*Balōchī Kahnen Shāhirī*, Quetta 1970), from which many extracts were given in my *Anthology of Balochi* (v. note 7).

To fill out the picture (and correct *TBL*), I thought it also useful to supplement the notes on EHB in KORN (2005, pp. 222–239).

Geography

The main fact of EHB geography is the separating belt of Brahui speakers, roughly as given in *LSI*[5] (facing p. 237) which has shrunk somewhat since 1921, and is now only 50 miles wide at its broadest, but which effectively cuts off EHB speakers from other Baloch. This has resulted in a particular development in EHB phonology, discussed thoroughly already by GEIGER, which makes all EHB varieties essentially unintelligible to other Bal speakers, and even some EHB varieties are hardly mutually intelligible. I shall use "EHB" to mean standard EHB, effectively the dialect of 1. (v. below).

EHB has at least 5 varieties or subdialects. Three of them, which can be lumped together as "standard" are 1. Marī-Bugṭī (MB); 2. Dera Ghazi Khan (DGK); 3. Upper Sindh Frontier (USF); these do not differ greatly from one another in essentials, are readily mutually intelligible, and form the basis of this description. They contrast with the other two, which differ from them so greatly that they cannot be understood by outsiders from any other area. EHB is also the only Bal dialect which can be called "tribal": almost all its speakers are members of organised tribes with a chief, sometimes a hereditary *sardar* – except perhaps in Sind.

It is to be noted that the account of EHB in *LSI*, pp. 387–432, is very much superior to that of other Bal dialects (in part because GRIERSON was greatly aided by DAMES) and I must refer to it once and for all for those details for which there is no space here.

It is to be regretted that KORN's *Historical Grammar* does not show a real understanding of the nature of Bal dialectology, so that she cannot properly discuss the interrelationship of the dialects, especially in contrasting the archaic ones with the innovative ones. Let me begin by stating that EHB, despite its greatly innovative phonology, for example, is an archaic dialect, and goes with another archaic dialect, the Coastal one in the west. This is to be expected from the location of both on the outer edges of Balochi-speaking territory ("lateral areas"), but does not point to an ancient close connexion between them. The

5 = G.A. GRIERSON: *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. X: *Specimens of Languages of the Eranian Family*. Calcutta 1921 [repr. New Delhi 1968].

internal differences of the EHB subdialects, on the other hand, range from only minor phonological variation to wholesale borrowings of lexicon, syntax, and morphology from Indo-Aryan, whose influence on EHB is marked, much more so than in other Bal dialects. This Indo-Aryan influence comes almost entirely from Lahndā and Sindhi; there is no important influence from Pashto.

These are the subdialects of EHB:

1. The Marī-Bugṭī subdialect (MB) is the most important. Spoken in the MB tribal territory by members of the Marī and the Bugṭī tribes and their neighbours, it is by far the most important of the EHB varieties. It is fairly uniform from the centre of the territory between Dera Bugṭī and Kahān, and extends from Kaččī in the west eastwards to ca. 70° E. long., just short of Bahāwalpur, where it meets Siraikī. In the south it is spoken from north of the Upper Sind Frontier northwards to Kohlū, where it meets Pashto and Khetrānī. MB is now the written standard for all EHB.
2. The Dera Ghazi Khan subdialect (DGK) does not differ substantially from MB. The main difference lies in rather less vowel nasalisation before nasals, and in fuller morphology in final syllables. The principal territory of DGK lies in the northeast of the tribal territory up to Loralai in the north, both eastwards and westwards of the Khetrānī area, as well as in most parts of Dera Ghazi Khan District. This variety was that favoured by DAMES, and does not seem to be diminishing in use, contrary to *TBL*.
3. The subdialect of the Upper Sind Frontier (USF). This variety is centred on Jacobābād and its surrounding area and differs from DGK mainly in its liking for Lahndā in its lexicon; most speakers are bilingual in both languages.
4. The Kasrānī subdialect (Ka). This EHB variety was named after the Kasrānī tribe in *LSI*, and is the most northerly of all EHB varieties. It is spoken in a narrow strip extending from just north of Dera Ghazi Khan in the Suleyman Mountains to just north of Dera Ismail Khan, by Kasrānīs and Buzdārs, the other major tribe, and is slowly encroaching on Pashto and Lahndā to the north and northwest (contrary to *LSI*, p. 331). This variety of EHB differs greatly from dialects 1–3 and is quite incomprehensible to them, mainly because of its development of a strong stress-accent, whereby unstressed vowels are lost, and the resulting consonant clusters give rise to complex assimilations and dissimilations. Final vowels are everywhere dropped as well, resulting in far-reaching morphological changes. It has rather more Lahndā loanwords than in other EHB subdialects, amounting to perhaps a quarter of the lexicon; Pashto loanwords or other influence do not seem to be important. The *LSI* description (pp. 405–412), taken by GRIERSON from a ms. dating from ca. 1900, is still quite valid, despite the disclaimer on p. 405. The specimen given on pp. 410–412 is also quite valid still, as are the summary remarks on pp. 405–409, to which reference here must suffice (but v. below, Remarks on other dialects of EHB, 1).

5. Kāčč̌ē-jī Bōlī (KJB). There is a large colony of Balochi speakers living in Sind along the Hab River just north of Karachi. It extends for ca. 75 miles northwards on both sides of the river, and seems to be a remnant of ancient Baloch settlers in Sind who have kept their language. Named thus by *LSI*, pp. 413–432, it is another very aberrant form of EHB, this time strongly influenced by Sindhi. This variety of EHB is very well described in *LSI*, with several valid specimens, including a poem. Called the "false *-s*" dialect by MORGENSTIERNE because of the form in it of the shibboleth words *pis, mās, brās, zāmās* "father, mother, brother, son-in-law" whose *-s* has been developed from standard EHB *-θ*, and does not represent Ra Bal *-s* from Ir. **θr*, the dialect also has developed a *z* from EHB *ð* as well (v. below).

EHB has been described very often and very well, and my excuse for the following notes must be that certain aspects still need clarification and comment. (All of this material comes from my own notes.)

EHB Phonology

The principal characteristic of all EHB is the opening of postvocalic stops and affricates to the corresponding fricatives: this feature has been sufficiently well described many times, but is summarised here for convenience:

Postvocalic	*k*	*p*	*t*	*g*	*b*	*d*	*č*	*ǰ*
become	*x*	*f*	*θ*	*γ*	*β*	*ð*	*š*	*ž*

together with a strong tendency to voice all voiceless fricatives in postvocalic position:

	x	*f*	*θ*	*š*
often become	*γ*	*β*	*ð*	*ž*

except before a voiceless stop

The origin and significance of this development has never been explained. KORN 2005 (p. 222f.) mentions and rightly dismisses out of hand any notion that these fricatives could represent a preservation of the OIr. fricatives which have become stops in all other Bal dialects. One of course thinks of possible influences of substrate or adstrate languages of the neighbourhood (or possibly more anciently during migrations) – but how could such influence come to bear on EHB alone? The influence of a presently neighbouring language is also excluded because no remotely likely candidate presents itself. (Note that the fricatives include both *θ* and *ð*, confirming that they form an integrated system.) It is also unclear how any kind of sandhi phenomenon could be at work. So perhaps the most likely cause is a development of the sounds as an isolated speech-habit – when, and why, no one knows – which became anchored amongst the

eastern Baloch tribes and has persisted, despite now constant contact with other dialect speakers, e.g. in Karachi, where now upwards of 1m. (some say 2m.) Baloch now live, speaking all dialects. In fact nearly all MB speakers, for example, use western forms with stops *ad lib.* in their speech, depending on their speech contacts, and the fricative articulation is often felt as an archaism.

Further notes (for all EHB):

1) The pre-vocalic voiceless stops *p t k* and the affricate *č* are often audibly more aspirated in EHB than in other dialects, but this aspiration is quite sporadic and is much less audible than it is in Indo-Aryan. It is never phonemic in native words, but there are a few exceptions to be noted in LWs from Indo-Aryan (these examples are all LWs from Lahndā):

phaṭār "silk thread for a net"	:	*paṭar* "a letter";
thān "silk"	:	*tān* "up to";
ṭhag "a thug"	:	*ṭag* "a kind of cloth";
khandh "a wall"	:	*kand* "laugh!"

These oppositions are of course lost in other dialects which use the words. It is a matter of dispute amongst native writers whether this aspiration should be indicated in writing, since it is in the main non-phonemic, sporadic, and its rules are unknown. Loanwords from Indo-Aryan containing the voiced counterparts *bh dh gh* and *ǰh* sometimes keep their aspiration in EHB (according to the whim of the speaker) but always lose it in other dialects: but mostly the aspiration is lost in EHB too.

Initial aspiration can extend to *wh-* (< **hw* < OIr. **xw-*, cf. KORN 2005, p. 226), which in other dialects is simply *w-*, in 4 words which I have noted (the *wh-* is non-phonemic, as expected): EHB *whāβ* (with bilabial *β*); *whār* "wrecked"; *whān* "hay"; *whāš* "happy"; this sound is a voiceless *[ʍ]*, like (probably) Parthian *wh-*.

2) Final postvocalic consonants are often dropped; in particular the 3.sg. verbal ending *-īθ* is often simply *-ī*.

3) Final doubled (geminated) consonants are simplified; gemination is in general quite rare.

4) *r* tends to become *ṛ* before a dental: *waṛθa* "eaten"; *maṛd* "man"; *aṛθa* "taken".

5) Inherited *ū* > *ī* as in Co: *nī, bīθa, dīθa, dīma, zīθ, sīšī, mīð, dīx* "now, been, seen, behind, quick, needle, hair, spindle"; where *ū* appears it has another origin. (This is certainly an innovation.)

6) OIr. *hačă* "from" becomes EHB *až/aš* and *ža/ša* (CB *ač/ča*), sandhi variants (with KORN 2005, p. 85).

7) OIr. pp.s in *-xt-* retain *-xt-* in principle in EHB, as expected; but many speakers of MB and DGK use forms in *-tk-* (as in Co and Ke) as well: *āxta, ātka*; *bōxta, bōtka*; *brēxta, brētka*; *gēxta, gētka*; *paxta, patka*; *sōxta, sōtka*; etc. "come, opened, roasted, poured, cooked, burned". The choice appears to be a matter of taste.

8) *-Vn > -Ṽ* invariably in final position, and often elsewhere as well: *mā* "I", *gīð* "see!", *nī* "now", *gō* "with"; the verbal ending *-int > in*, *-ī*, *-ẽ*; *bū* "root"; *ḍā* "a tax", etc.

9) Glides between vowels acquire an *-h-* epenthesis, often dropped; rarely *-y-* (and never *-w-*): *āhā̃* "they"; *balāhā̃* "calamities"; *hālōhā̃* "songs"; *čēhā* "why?", *nāhā̃, nēā̃* "I am not"; *nahant, nahā* "they are not", *grēhay* "weeping". (V. also below, Morphology, 3, and Syntax, 1.)

10) *h* is a stable phoneme, but sometimes dropped between vowels, and the unetymological *h-* of some other dialects is mostly absent. I have noticed only *huštur* "camel" and *hinjīr* "fig" (v. KORN, p. 235).

11) There are several cases where inherited intervocalic *-m-* becomes *-w-*, as in Kurdish. But unlike in Kurdish, I believe, with KORN (examples on p. 232) that this phenomenon is without historical interest, and represents only an occasional labialisation. (It is confined to EHB only.)

Morphology

1) The basic gen.sg. nominal ending is *-ē*, but it is nearly always weakened to *-a* or *-ø*. The following examples are taken from written mss:
- *ā̃ **mardē** bač = ā̃ **mard** bač* "that **man's** son";
- ***wazīr** jinkār* "for the **wazir's** daughter";
- ***bādšāh** admīyā̃* "the **king's** men";
- ***sarkāra** admīyā̃* "the **government's** men";
- ***ḍrēwara** jinkē-aθ* "she was a **driver's** daughter";
- ***giðāna** gwarā ōštāθay-ant* "they were standing near the **tent**".

2) The relationship words "father, mother, brother, son-in-law" show the inherited *Ir. cas.rect. *t: *piθ, māθ, brāθ, zāmāθ* (with Co, Ke [and against all Ra but with the dialects of Iran] but v. below, Remarks on other EHB subdialects, 2) KJB.

3) Generally the dir.pl. is in *-ān/-ā̃*; but *-yal* (also *-gal*, cf. Prs. *galah* "flock"; also used in some Kurdish dialects[6]) is often used as a plural of nouns, but mainly for things in groups: *mardyal* "men", *gaḍyal* "ewes", *lērōyal* "camels", *jangal* (with *g* preserved after *n*) "women", *ānūyal* "eggs".

6 D.N. MACKENZIE: *Kurdish Dialect Studies*. Vol. I. London 1961, p. 54.

The Independent personal pronouns run:

	I		II		III	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Dir	*mā̃, mā*	*mā, māx*	*tau, tō*	*šwā, šā*	*ā̃*	*ā̃, āhā̃*
Gen	*manī, mā̃ī*	*māī(n)*	*taī*	*šwāī, šwē*	*ā̃hī*	*ā̃hānī*
Obl	*manā, manā̃*	*mā(r)*	*ta, tahā*	*šwā, šā*	*ā̃hīyā*	*āhā̃, āhīyā̃*

Notes: *mā* is also used after preps; *māx* is found only in classical poetry. The 1.sg. dir. form *zih* seems to occur only once, in DAMES' *Popular Poetry, Balochi Texts*, p. 15, l. 75: *Mā Rind nīyāṅ / Lāšār zih yān* "I am not a Rind / I am a Lāšār"; one expects here *nāhān* and *mā* (for respectively *nīyāṅ* and *zih*); all of my informants, most of whom knew the lines, denied the existence of *zih*. (If genuine, it must be a LW from Pashto *zə*.) The oblique case serves as "agent" in ergative constructions.

4) The following paradigms are a necessary corrective to all published tables for EHB:

		Singular	Plural
1. Suffixed Pronouns	1.	*-ō/-ū̃*	*-ē*
	2.	*-iθ*	*-iθ/-ō* (classical poetry)
	3.	*-ē/-ī*	*-iš*
2. Copula Verb, present tense ("suffixed")	1.	*-ā̃*	*-ū/-ū̃*
	2.	*-ē*	*-iθ, -ayθ*
	3.	*-ē/-ẽ*	*-ā̃/-ẽ*
3. Present-Future Verbal Endings[7]	1.	*-ā̃*	*-ū̃*
	2.	*-ē*	*-ē(θ)/-ēð*
	3.	*-ī(θ)*	*-an(t)*

5) Particular Verbal Forms:
- *ār-, āṛθa* "bring"; *āh-, āxta/ātka* "come": pres. *kā̃, kā^bē, kay(θ); kā^bū̃, kā^bē(θ), kā^ban(t)*
- *aškan-/aškun-, aškuθa* "hear, listen"
- *b-, bīθa* "be": pres. *bā̃, bē, bī(θ); bū̃, bēθ, bā̃/ban(t)*
- *dī/ē-, dāθa* "give": pres. *dīā̃, dē, dā̃; dīū̃, dē(θ), dī^ban(t)*
- *gind-, dīθa* "see"; *gir-, gipta* "seize", 3.sg. *gīṛt*; *grēh-, grēxta* "weep"; *kan-, kuθa* "do"; *raw-, šuθa* "go": pres. *rawā̃, rawē, rō(θ); rāwū̃, rawē(θ), rawan(t)*

7 Unaccountably omitted in J. ELFENBEIN: *An Anthology of Classical and Modern Balochi Literature*. Vol. I: *Anthology*. Vol. II: *Glossary*. Wiesbaden 1990.

6) Other Verbal Formations
There is a causative in *-ayn-*, in all respects similar to the *-ēn-* causative of other dialects. A peculiar passive formation, unique to EHB (and borrowed from Sindhi-Siraiki[8]) consists in infixing *-ījˇ-/-ējˇ-* to the present stem. It is not extensively used. Examples:
- *ā̃ marḍ ki girījˇīθ, guḍā bandījˇīθ* "If that man is caught, he will be bound"
- *ā̃ kār gõ mā kanējˇīθ* "That job will be done by me"

Syntax

1) The simple present tense is now hardly used in everyday speech, being almost completely replaced by a durative/continuous construction based on the verbal noun plus the copula, as in the following example (quoted in the Ke dialect because the phonology is simpler):
- *man gindagā-un; tō gindagā-ē; ā gindagā-int; mā gindagā-in; šumā gindagā-it; āy/hān gindagā-ant* "I am seeing, thou are seeing, etc."

The crux of the matter is of course the form *gindagā* (EHB *gindayā*) which is formed by suffixing *-ā* to the verbal noun *gindag*. The process is identical in the three dialects Ke, Co and EHB. The same sort of construction is used for a durative past/imperfect, which runs (in Ke) *man gindagā-atun; tō gindagā-atē; ā gindagā-at,* etc. "I was seeing, etc." where the 3.sg. has no ending.[9] There is often a vowel-separating consonant before the copula ending, in Ke *-y-* or *-h-*, in Co and EHB *-h-*; the *-h-* is sometimes dropped, leaving a hiatus.

The construction is confined to the 3 dialects mentioned, and is unknown elsewhere. For this reason it seemed to me in my past studies on Balochi to assign its origin to some neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages, all of which have continuative/durative constructions of a similar kind, but with the proviso that the exact details were obscure. I am now convinced that this approach was wrong; it seems that none of the possible Indo-Aryan languages has a construction of remotely similar type: they all (e.g. Siraikī, Sindhī-Siraikī, Panjābī or other "Lahndā" languages) use a construction involving the historical present or past participles, or an "absolutive" bare-stem form, which cannot be the basis of the Bal type. Pashto does not come into consideration on any account. (Balochi has of course a present participle in *-ān*, but it is not used in this type of construction.) In any case, the origin and meaning of the *-ā* final vowel is not explained by any of these languages.

It has been known however for a long time that Brahui has a similar construction, but I have always been reluctant to see in it the provenance of the Bal feature; but I am no longer so sure. The Brahui facts are these: using the

8 See CHR. SHACKLE: *The Siraiki Language of Central Pakistan. A Reference Grammar.* London 1976, §4.5.
9 The formans is *-at-* with suffixed personal endings.

standard Brahui example verb *tix-* "to put, place" with its verbal noun *tixing*, we have the present-durative conjugation: 1.sg. *ī tixingaṭī uṭ* "I am putting"; 2.sg. *nī tixingaṭī us* "thou are putting" etc.[10] There is also a past 1.sg. *ī tixingaṭī assuṭ* "I was putting", 2.sg. *nī tixingaṭī assus* "thou wert putting" etc. The critical feature, of course, is the verbal noun *tixing* with the suffix *-aṭī*; the whole conjugation is identical structurally and syntactically to the Bal one, in every respect. The *-aṭī* suffix is one of several "locative" suffixes in Brahui (so-called by BRAY) which denote "rest in or motion into" a place; thus literally the construction in Brahui means "I am into/in putting" etc. The other main locative suffix ("locative II"[11]) in *-ā/-āī* signifies "motion to or towards" a place, and cannot be used in this construction (all informants agreed that e.g. *ī tixingā uṭ* is wrong).

The importance of all this for the Bal form is that is makes *gindagā* certainly a locative; and that is in any case not so surprising, since a main use of the *-ā* case in Bal is as a locative. But I am still not entirely convinced that Brahui is the origin of the construction. Much more attractive is the possibility that it is rather a Bal feature borrowed into Brahui, a notion in itself acceptable when one thinks of the massive influence of Bal on Brahui in morphology and syntax, as well as in lexicon.

I am intrigued by the possibility that at least the idea of using a noun in the locative case in this type of construction has been noticed in some other NW Iranian languages, notably Harzānī, Tālišī and Lārī. There is naturally no implication that these languages can have influenced Bal, only that there might be an inherited element in the Bal construction; and it is still possible that the borrowing went the other way.

2) The well-known and described[12] durative/imperfective prefix *a-* to verbs (cf. Prs. *mē-*) is commonly heard also in EHB, especially in sandhi (as also in Co, Ke) but it has no semantic function, in stark contrast to Ra dialects.

3) Past transitive verbs are invariably construed passively ("ergative" construction):
- *ā̃hiyā kuθa = kuθa-ī* "he has done (it)";
- *ā̃ ǰaθa-iš* "they struck him"; *āhā̃ ǰaθā̃-ē* "he struck them";
- *rawayāθant-ī* ,they were going, they went", a mixed construction using the verbal noun (found in one narrative);
- *maṛdā waθī bač dī bādšāha bač dī buṛθā̃* "the man carried off both his own son and the king's son";
- *bādšāhēā pol kuθa* "a king asked";

Another example of a mixed construction: *guḍa šuθa-ī ā̃hī lōyā* "then he went to his house". Such mixed constructions, common in other dialects, are however rarely used in EHB.

10 For further details, v. D. BRAY: *The Brahui Language.* Vol. I. Calcutta 1909, §65.
11 BRAY 1909, §66.
12 E.g. in J. ELFENBEIN: "Balōčī" (CLI, pp. 350–362), p. 356ff. with bibliography; v. also KORN 2005, p. 341.

Remarks on other subdialects of EHB

1) Kasrānī (Ka). Examples:

Ka	MB	
piδ	*piθ*	"father"
waδī	*waθī*	"own"
rōδ	*rōθ*	"he goes"
barāδ	*brāθ*	"brother"
dāδyī	*dāθay-ī*	"he gave"

Ka	MB	
dihāδa	*dāθa*	"given"
pučδa	*pučiθa*	"clothed"
dīδa	*dīθa*	"seen"
bīδa	*bīθa*	"been"

Other peculiarities: *tē* "and"; *gwá-* > *gúa-*; 3.sg. copula *-int* > *-ī*; 3.sg. pres.-fut. ending MB *-īθ* > Ka *-ē*; MB *ōδā* "there" > Ka *ūδā*; MB *-pt-* is assimilated in Ka to *-tt-*, e.g. Ka *katta* "fallen", cf. MB *kapta*; MB *kan-* "do" > Ka *kin-*; MB *nēmayā* "towards" > Ka *nayā*.

The passive infix *-ēǰ-* (v. above, Morphology, 6) can be used in a complex construction with the oblique case of the verbal noun, e.g. *guašēǰayā* "in being called", cf. MB *gwaš-ēǰ-ay-ā*.

2) Kačč̄ē-jī-Bōlī (KJB). This dialect can fairly be described as a "Sindhified" EHB.

a) *Phonology*. EHB *θ* and *δ* become everywhere respectively *s* and *z*.[13] Note also the forms *bīsa* "been", *kusa* "done", as well as *hawōzā̄*, cf. MB *hawōδā̄* "there" (for the *-w-* v. above, Phonology, 11). *r* invariably becomes *ṛ* before a consonant (KJB *guṛk* "wolf"), consonant clusters are opened, usually with *i*: KJB *ātika, titika* "come, run", cf. MB *ātka, tatka*; there is much elision and contraction: MB *ātkā̄ mā̄ lōyā* "I arrived in the house" > KJB *mātikā̄ lōyā*; MB *pāδa-kā̄* "I shall arise" > KJB *pāz a-kā̄*; MB *zīrēθ* imv. "lift!", KJB *zīrē*.

b) *Morphology*. Noteworthy is the pret. copula infix *-as-* (common EHB *-aθ-*, CBal *-at-*; v. note 9). Si words are regularly used with Balochi morphology; the gen.sg. is usually with zero ending; and the 1.sg. pres. pron. is *mu* (EHB *man, mā*).

c) *Syntax*. The present tense is expressed, as commonly in all EHB, by the periphrastic construction described above in SYNTAX, i. It is not usually semantically a durative. Past transitive verbs are always "ergative".

Abbreviations

Bal	Balōčī	Ir.	Iranian	Ra	Raxšānī (dialect)
CB	Common Balōčī	Ke	Kēčī (dialect)	Si	Sindhi
Co	Coastal (dialect)	OIr.	Old Iranian		

13 KORN 2005, p. 230ff., seems to doubt this, but it is not for nothing that MORGENSTIERNE called this dialect the "false *-s* dialect" (v. above, Morphology, 2). The text given by GEIGER 1889 "Kissa Thōla u Mazār" is in a false *-s* dialect.

The Name of Vema Takhtu[1]

HARRY FALK, Berlin

The new king

This article tries to assemble all the known spellings of the name of the second king of the Kuṣāṇas. For its title "vema takhtu" was selected, the version which I would propose to use, since it can be shown to be the source of a wide range of variant forms in several languages, including *takho*, *tako*, *taktu*, *takhtuasa*, *takṣumasya*, TAKTOO and TAKΔOOY.

Vema Takhtu as an individual king of the Kuṣāṇa lineage became known as such only after the Bactrian inscription from Rabatak was edited by the jubilarian.[2] Seeing him mentioned as son of Kujula Kadphises and father of Vima Kadphises the question of his coinage arose. Kujula's various emissions have been well known for long, as were those of Vima Kadphises. Since it has likewise been known for a long time that the widely distributed coinage of an anonymous *sōtēr megas* comes in between Kujula and Vima Kadphises, it was natural to assume that Vema Takhtu is none other than *sōtēr megas* himself. CRIBB was the first to say so and thus paved the way out of many a calamity.[3] MAC DOWALL provided a reason for the irritating anonymity, by pointing[4] to the parallel behaviour of Octavian, who called himself "Caesar Augustus, *divi filius*, Imperator" after his victory in 31 BC. The title *devaputra*, introduced in the last years of Kujula, also derives from this haloed antetype.[5] The regular succession from

1 An early version of this paper was presented at a conference in September 2004 at Worcester College, Oxford, during a conference financed by the Neil Kreitman foundation. The discussion involving SH. BHANDARE, O. BOPEARACHCHI, J. CRIBB, E. ERRINGTON and R. SENIOR was of great help. Special thanks are due to JOE CRIBB for granting access to the British Museum collection of Kuṣāṇa coins and to MICHAEL ALRAM and OSMUND BOPEARACHCHI for providing important literature. The exchange with NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS over the years on matters Kuṣāṇa has been both a personal and an academic pleasure. Thanks also are due to the editors for accepting me in the circle of felicitators.

2 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996, pp. 652–654; 1998, pp. 81–83; SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996.

3 Cf. GÖBL, who otherwise saw clearly that Kujula was the grandfather of Vima Kadphises, wrote in 1976, p. 51: "Since the coins of Soter Megas form the only available material to fill the numismatic gap between Kujula and Vima [Kadphises HF], only he can be, in my opinion, the famous Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh [= Kujula! HF] of the Chinese source."

4 MAC DOWALL 2002, p. 167b.

5 MAC DOWALL, *ibid.*

sōtēr megas to Vima Kadphises becomes obvious through a look at the metrology of the coinage, where Vima Kadphises adds his heavy copper issue weighing 17 grams to the retained volume of issues of *sōtēr megas*, weighing 2.1 and 8.5 grams in their standard forms.[6] The coinage of his father and predecessor is thus supplemented and not replaced by Vima Kadphises, a fact confirmed by numerous coin hoards where the coppers of both kings occurs side by side.

With the Rabatak genealogy at hand it was also possible to attribute successfully a series of coins where *vema* was read before, but where the letters forming *takho* had remained enigmatic.

The coinage with names in Prakrit

Light-weight bull-and-camel, reading *maharaja*

Shortly after the Rabatak inscription was published, a large number of a new variety of coins was found, probably in Kashmir, which clearly was continuing the bull-and-camel coppers of Kujula, who himself had copied issues of the conquered Jihonika/Zeionises. The two types measure about 15 and 17 mm in diameter and weigh 3.9 and 4.9 g on average. The bull side bears an inscription in strange but unambiguous Greek letters which will be dealt with below. On the camel side two sorts of texts in Kharoṣṭhī can be found, one shorter and one longer. The short version on the smaller coins[7] reads:

Photos: Harry Falk

Fig. 1: Two "Kashmir" coppers of Vema Takhtu, reading *vema takho* and *vema takha*

maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema

We should note at this point that there is a grammatical particularity involved: The titles have a genitive ending, while the name occurs in the nominative: "of the Great king, the son of the gods, Vema" and not **vemasa* "... of Vema". This construction explains itself as an abbreviation in the light of the longer version[8]:

maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema takho
"Of Vema Takhu, of the Great King, the king over kings, the son of the gods."

6 MAC DOWALL 2002, p. 168b, "SM5".
7 SENIOR 2001, p. 221, B12.2; SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 117, variety 7b.
8 SENIOR 2001, p. 221, B12.1; SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 116, variety 7a.

The closing *takho* is occasionally followed by a dividing line (fig. 1 left). Only with the full reading do we get a form which can be understood as a genitive, being *takho*, Skt. **takhoḥ*, of a base *takhu*.

Species of both varieties continue coming to the market and it is obvious that large amounts of them were once in circulation. With regard to the personal name the usual inscriptional flaws can be observed, and so *vema* can look like *vama* or *voma*, and *takho* often comes as *takha*, the small slanting *o*-stroke having been omitted (fig. 1 right).

Heavy-weight Bull-and-Camel reading *maharaya*

This Kashmir edition must be contrasted with another series of larger coppers, weighing about 10.5 g.[9] The full legend goes:

maharayasa / rayatirayasa devaputrasa vema tako mahatasa
"Of the Great King, the Overlord of kings, the son of the gods, of Vema Taku the Great."

The reading *tako* is justified in only one case, CRIBB, type 6a, where an ordinary *ka* shows a slanting *-o*-vowel. The other cases are such that a *ko* is very unlikely, and the respective letter looks like *hi* (type 6e) or *kta* (type 6c). It can be assumed from these differences that the die-cutter was not very familiar with the letter that he was expected to inscribe. A guess at a *kto* in his exemplar can be justified, but needs a clear example for verification. In any case, none of the variants seems to contain an aspirated *kha*, so that the "orthography" is closer to the Greek versions to be dealt with below. In this one clear case known to me again a genitive is required and therefore I take *tako*, Skt. **takoḥ*, as a genitive of **taku*; for the reconstructable genitive **takto* the basic form is **taktu*.

In several cases the final *mahatasa* is truncated to *maha* or *masa* for want of space.

This series of large coppers uses a different language than the small ones; it writes *maharaya* instead of *maharaja* and, as we saw, *tako* or **takto* instead of *takho*. So, most probably, the issuing place is not identical with the one of the small variety.

The odd-one-out

The legend on the smaller coins from Kashmir was presented above. ERRINGTON/CURTIS 2007 again speak about the various issues of Vema Takhtu, with examples on p. 69, where no. 9 is supposed to show one of the Kashmir copper variety. However, in fact it does not really belong to this group. The obverse shows the bull and the legend in Greek letters with a clear OOHMO below the bull.

9 The variants are dealt with in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 115f., under "type 6" with varieties "a" to "e".

The reverse depicts the usual camel, but the inscription is not one of those given above, but completely different. It reads (fig. 2):

///japotra-mahakṣadavasa[+++]///

Photo: Harry Falk

Fig. 2: "Kashmir" copper of the Mahākṣatrapa

japotra should be restored as *maharaja-potra*, the "grandson of the Great King". This same person is also *mahākṣatrapa*. Unfortunately, his name is only preserved in the lower parts of three letters and cannot be reconstructed.

Since the obverse gives the name of the king it is to be expected that a grandson of the same Vema, for whom the same coin type was originally designed, changed the reverse legend to his own name for reasons unknown to us. There is a long tradition of mentioning the overlord on the obverse and a governor or sub-king on the reverse. This seems to be a further case.

Vema Takhtu came to power rather late because his father Kujula reigned until old age. So it is not surprising that Vema succeeded Kujula at an age when he already had grown-up grandsons. This coin also shows that some of the persons called *mahākṣatrapa* in Kuṣāṇa time inscriptions from Mathura[10] and elsewhere do not necessarily belong to ousted Kṣatrapa families, but could be of pure Kuṣāṇa descent.

The *dīpaṅkara* Buddha

The Kharoṣṭhī forms *takho* or *tako/takto* as genitives have a very clear parallel in an inscription, known since long, on the tenon of a *dīpaṅkara* Buddha turning the wheel of law (fig. 3). Presently, the statue is at home in the Army Museum, Rawalpindi, and apart from a short notice in ASIAR 1912–1913, Part I, p. 33, and its treatment in KONOW 1929, p. 134, is unpublished so far. The text has been edited by KONOW from a rubbing as *dhivhakarasa takhtidreṇa karide*, rendered as "Of Dīpaṅkara, made by Takhtidra", without being questioned.[11] I have referred to his traditional reading before,[12] which suffers from the fact that the rubbing KONOW was forced to use does not disclose that a piece of the tenon has flaked off. The *mu* and the *kho* are mutilated in their upper part, leading to more separate lines at the left end than originally cut. The text reads from the stone as:

dhivhakarasa takhto daṇamukho
"(Statue) of the Dīpaṅkara, a pious donation of Takhtu."

10 FALK 2002–2003, p. 38.
11 Cf. SALOMON/SCHOPEN 2002, p. 21.
12 FALK 2001, p. 134.

The *khto* can be questioned since the vowel-stroke traverses the whole of the *kha*-bend, so that the letter can be taken as a *khti* or a *khto*.

Since *daṇamukho*, "pious donation", always requires the donor's name in the genitive, it must be hidden in what I read as *takhto* rather than *takhti*.

For an understanding of the inscription we have to supply a "statue", *pratimā*, after *dhivhakarasa*; otherwise the person called Takhtu (or Takhti) would refer to himself as "Producer of light", which would be in line with *sōtēr megas*, who shows Mithra with the sun's rays on the obverse of his coins, but for such a surmise the piece's style looks too young. At least this inscription shows that the name Takhtu (less likely Takhti) was still in use a century or so later than our Vema Takthu.

Photo: Abdul Samad

Fig. 3: The *dīpaṅkara* of Takhtu

Stone inscriptions in Bactrian script

There are two inscriptions where Vema Takhtu is mentioned in Kuṣāṇa dynastic records. The first instance is the well-known Dasht-e Nāwur inscription, not very well preserved on top of a mountain, and reliably edited by FUSSMAN[13], who read ÞAO OOHMO TAK[PI?] at a time when this king was not known otherwise. FUSSMAN looked for a form of Kadphises, as everyone else would have done at that time, and guessed, with due reserve at a "métathèse ou erreur du lapicide".[14]

The second case is found on the Rabatak stone slab, where SIMS-WILLIAMS could read OOHMO (T)AKTOO ÞAO, with some letters not perfectly pre-

13 FUSSMAN 1974, p. 18, pl. III.
14 FUSSMAN 1974, p. 15.

served. However, comparing FUSSMAN's safe reading of the initial consonant allowed a restoration to TAKTOO. Due to the comparative research done by SIMS-WILLIAMS, it is now common knowledge that Bactrian words ending in O are pronounced without the *-o*; and therefore a written OOHMO TAKTOO ÞAO was once pronounced similar to *wem takto ša*.

Coin inscriptions in Greek language and script

Very recently, a hoard of gold coins was found in Peshawar city, mostly issued by Vima Kadphises, with a few pieces of Kaniṣka limiting the date of the deposit. Amongst the Vima Kadphises coins were two types never seen before. According to their iconography and palaeography, they have very little to do with the large number of gold coin types known so far from this king. Part of the treasure was published by O. BOPEARACHCHI.[15] On the oldest coins, Vima Kadphises calls himself "son of the king Wemo Takto the Kuṣāṇa", BACIΛEΩC OOHMO TAKTOOY KOOÞÞANOY YIOC. Removing the Greek genitive ending we are faced with a stem *takto*. On one coin a variant[16] *TAKΔOOY is found, where at first glance the *delta* looks like just another writing mistake but for which it might pay to return to the Kashmir coppers. On most of the about 30 pieces which I have seen so far, the left and bottom part is off the flan. The top starts with a sort of *theta*, derived from E+I, but often misshapen and used as a text divider. Then follows BACΛ or BAC, certainly standing for BACIΛEYC, followed by a second text divider and BAC, standing for BACIΛEΩN. Below the animal OOHMO might be expected, but it is nowhere discernible; on the left side, behind the animal the text ends in ///ΔOO, which could be the rest of TAKΔOO. The OO is present on several pieces, the Δ is preserved just once. This soft variety TAKΔOO, found in two of our variant groups, seems to show that the dental was pronounced with less impetus than the velar sound in front of it.

The so-called *grāmarakṣaka* seal

Undealt with so far in our context is a very peculiar seal lodged in the British Museum, acc.no. 1892.11–3.187. It was edited by CALLIERI 1997 as "Cat U 7.24" as read by R. GARBINI, who also published it separately in 2001, reading correctly the first line as *maharajadevaputra*. This title is sufficient to show that here we have to do with a seal used by some local official in the name of a Kuṣāṇa king. However, the name of this king written in the second line was read by GARBINI as *gramarakkhaasa*, translated as "defender of the village".

15 BOPEARACHCHI 2007 and 2008.
16 BOPEARACHCHI 2007, p. 53, no. 5; 2008, p. 6, no. 3; the variant spelling is not noted on p. 9.

Fig. 4: Seal of the *mahārāja grāmatakhtua*
(after CALLIERI 1997, "Cat U 7.24", courtesy British Museum)

This makes little sense and therefore the seal was absent from the recent discussions about Kuṣāṇa genealogy. This rather irritating reading deserves a closer look (fig. 4). It is obvious at first glace that the alleged *ra* is in fact a clearly written *ta*. The following compounded letter was taken by GARBINI as a *sa* "in its secondary form or simply a horizontal stroke" on top, below which is a *kha*, below which is a symbol which "cannot be meaningfully read though it resembles a small TRA. Taking into account the preceding character RA this conjunct symbol might be KHSA".[17]

The plate accompanying the Indian publication is not very clear with regard to the crucial letter. The plate in CALLIERI 2001 shows that there is no *sa* on top, but that the *kha* has a slightly curved upper part. We see also that the letter beneath it is not a *tra*, but a *tu*. The reading therefore is *grama-takhtuasa*.

Leaving aside the *grama*, we have a *maharaja-devaputra*, who comes by the name of *takhtua*, followed by a genitive *sa*.

If this seal has anything to do with the Kuṣāṇas, then *takthua* must refer to *Takhtu as known from the coinage. But how to account for the *grama-*? I propose to regard *gra* as a miscued version of *ṽe*, with the *ṽa* being a variant of *va*, graphically distinguished by a stroke to the right at the foot of the vertical, so that it looks almost like a *ha*, for which it is occasionally mistaken, particularly in the coin legend of Vima Kadphises.

The precise pronunciation of 𐨯 *ṽa* is not known; the *opinio communis* is to take it as similar to *w* as in *wheel*, with a slight *u* preceding it. This view can be supported by the spelling *uvima* in Vima Kadphises' name, as written in Kharoṣṭhī at Kalatse,[18] and in the Kharoṣṭhī letter *ṽa* being constantly used in *ṽima-kalpiśa* on the same king's coinage. A scribe may have developed the habit to write 𐨯 *ṽa* with a small loop at the upper bend (𐨰); when furnished with the *e*-stroke, this combination 𐨱 *ṽe* looks rather similar to an ordinary 𐨱 *gra*, for which the engraver took it.

17 GARBINI 2001, p. 196.
18 KONOW 1929, p. 81.

It seems much easier to suppose such a miswriting and end up with an intended *vema takhtuasa*, than to explain a *grama* in front of the *takhtuasa* in a Kuṣāṇa dynasty personal name, and so I read the seal as:

maharajadevaputra
(ve- → gra)matakhtuasa
"(Seal) of the Great King, son of the gods, Vema Takhtua."

It is evident from a series of seals of other kings like Kaniṣka I[19], Kaniṣka II or III[20], or Gondophares[21] that this is not a personal seal, but made to stamp goods and documents in any of the provinces. The governors responsible for their production may not have supervised their production as carefully as a real name-holder would have done for his personal use.

Startling is the extended form *takhtuasa*, as if the name *takhtu* had received a thematic ending, in order to allow inflexion parallel to a noun ending in *-a*.

Vema Takṣuma in Māṭ

The family sanctuary at Māṭ, across the river from Mathura, held at least two statues of Kuṣāṇa kings, one of them sitting on a throne, sword across his lap, the right hand raised and before its mutilation, probably, holding a flower. On the flat base between his boots an inscription[22] is found, saying in the last two of the four lines that an officer in charge of the house for the gods *(bakanapati)* had built the temple *(devakula)*, furnished with a park *(ārama)*, lotus pond *(puṣkariṇi)*, a well *(udapāna)* and a doorway *(dārakoṭhaka)*.

The first two lines describe the portrayed figure as *mahārājo rājātirājo devaputro kuṣāṇaputro* "the Great King, Overlord of Kings, Son of the Gods, son of the Kuṣāṇa". The line ends *ṣāhi vema takṣumasya*. On a partly destroyed surface, *ṣāhi* can only be read with light from a very flat angle, with a clear *ṣa*, and no trace of the *ā*-stroke left. Of the two letters *vema* the lower half is almost gone, but the upper part is preserved, showing definitely that *vema* is to be read and not *vima*.[23]

Syntactically, these last three words must be joined to the last two lines, making the *bakanapati* an officer in the service of *ṣāhi vema takṣuma*, and we are free to guess if this Vema Takṣuma is identical with the *mahārāja* or not. In any case it seems hazardous to separate *vema takṣumasya* from the already well-known *vema takho* of the coinage. And since the *bakanapati* was appointed

19 THAPLYAL 1972, p. 43.
20 SIMS-WILLIAMS/TUCKER 2005, p. 588.
21 THAPLYAL 1972, p. 42.
22 FUSSMAN 1998, p. 606f.
23 In contrast to LÜDERS, FUSSMAN (1998, p. 607) could not see either *śāhi* or the *ve* of *vema*. I can prove both by own pictures which I can send on request.

by him, the second of the Kuṣāṇas, the portrayed *mahārāja* can either be Vema Takṣuma himself or his father, Kujula Kadphises.

This open question has received different answers which need not concern us here, since we are only dealing with the name as such. Can *takṣuma* be linked to *takhu*, *taktu* or *takhtu* in any way? That a *kha*, written and pronounced, corresponds to a *kṣa* in a more polished parlance is known from a multitude of examples, e.g. original Skt. *bhikṣu* turning into *bhikkhu* in many vernaculars. The other way round is only sparingly attested, e.g. in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, where we find *ukṣa* as a "wrong" or hyper-Sanskritic form, "reconstructed" from the correct Skt. *ukhā*, denoting a certain vessel.[24] Since it would have been possible to represent an original *kṣa* in the Gandharan language and in the Karoṣṭhī script, the *kṣa* in *takṣuma* cannot stand at the root of the variant spellings. On the contrary, it must be regarded as a "learned" derivative of an original pronunciation containing a *kha*.

It is more difficult to account for the additional syllable *ma*. There is no third syllable in the genitive *takho*, but there seems to be one in *takhtua-sa* on the seal. However, both in *takṣumasya* and in *takhtuasa* we have to do with genitives in Indo-Aryan languages and it seems that the additional syllable was only used to turn *takhtu* into an *a*-stem for easy genitive formation. The *m* may be intended to bridge the hiatus between the two vowels, as it does occasionally in Pali.[25] In Gāndhārī spellings in Kharoṣṭhī script such a hiatus is rather common, while it is dreaded in Sanskritic orthography. Despite the few Pali cases, *m* as a hiatus bridger is not used in Sanskrit, where a *v* would have been used after *u*. Therefore, another solution might be found in the larger bull-and-camel coppers, where, as said above, the legend regularly ends in *mahatasa*, in some cases shortened to *maha* or *masa* (CRIBB type 6c). If such a coin was used to ascertain the correct spelling, the final *tak(t)o masa* could be read as *takomasa*, brushed up to *takṣumasya*. However, such a misreading would presuppose a rather vague knowledge on the side of the *bakanapati* about the name of his master.

Yen Gao Chen

For the sake of completeness a word may be permitted concerning the vexed question of Vema's name in Chinese.[26] In the Hu-Han-Shu the second king, succeeding Kujula Kadphises, is given as 閻膏珍 *Yan-gao-zhen*, where *yan* represents Vema, as generally admitted. *Gao-zhen*, however, does not represent Taktu, for obvious phonetic reasons, and it does not represent Kadphises, since

24 EDGERTON 1953, §2.25.
25 OBERLIES 2001, p. 124, §25.
26 Cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998, p. 90.

Kujula Kadphises name is spelled 丘就卻 in the same line. To expect a third Vema would require literary or numismatic evidence, which is absent.

A look at the Dasht-e Nawur inscriptions provides at least a possible alternative: the Bactrian text reads OOHMO TAKTOO KOÞANO,[27] whereas the Kharoṣṭhī parallel on the same stone has nothing but the genitive *vhama kuśasa*, with no *takto* at all and no space for a *na* between *śa* and *sa*.[28]

It seems possible that the Chinese envoys heard about the history of the five tribes of the Yüe Chi, including the Kuṣāṇas, spelled Kuei-Shuang (貴霜), from one source and about the ruling king in India, i.e. Vema Kuṣāṇa, from another, without realizing that both terms contain a common element. Spelling variations are more or less the rule when it comes to Indian place names in early Chinese literature. A further spelling variation in Chinese regarding the Kuṣāṇas would not surprise given the many ways Kuṣāṇa names occur even in Indian sources. Although *kuṣāṇa* or *khuṣāṇa* (Taxila silver scroll) is the most common Kharoṣṭhī spelling for the family name, another informant may have used *guṣāṇa*, as the name is spelled in Panjtar, Manikiala or Kamra. Since the form Vema Kuṣā<ṇa> was actually used at Dasht-e Nāwur by the Kharoṣṭhī scribe, this occasional variant address, when pronounced *vema guṣāṇa*, may well have lead to *yen gao chen*, if we presuppose diffent informants with different spelling habits.

Summary

The representation of Kuṣāṇa personal names in Indo-Aryan languages must have been a difficult affair judging from the numerous forms of, e.g., the name of Kujula Kadphises.[29] In its Kharoṣṭhī spellings no Kujula "Kadphises" is identical with the canonised *kalpiśa* as used by Vima Kadphises, his grandson on his coins. With regard to the first name, common to Vema Takhtu and Vima Kadphises, we have at least a hint by the seal dealt with above that the use of the *va* to start it was introduced already in the time of the father.

The first part of the name is given in Kharoṣṭhī as *vema* on the coins, probably as *vema* on the seal; the Brāhmī at Māṭ reads *vema* as well. The Bactrian inscriptions have OOHMO as do the Greek legends of the coins of his son. Every language and script concerned would be able to express an *i*, but all cases present us nothing but *e*, an expression of the quantity of this vowel. Vima Kadphises, however, used *i* on his coins consistently. From the spellings in Brāhmī inscriptions of *kaniṣka/kaneṣka* and *huviṣka/huveṣka* we know that both vowels were used convertibly; and most likely, some scribes preferred the one and others the other variety.

27 SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 95.
28 FUSSMAN 1974, pl. V, text IV, line 3.
29 FUSSMAN 1974, p. 15; MUKHERJEE 1996–1997, p. 39.

For the second part I propose to regard *takhtu* of the seal as the basic form, disregarding the thematic extention. Starting from an *-u*-noun a genitive form **takhtoḥ* would comply with Sanskrit grammar. This genitive was simplified according to Prakrit rules to *takho*, spelled /takkho/, on the Kashmir coppers and deaspirated to *tako*, spelled /takko/, on the larger bull-and-camel coppers (CRIBB type 6); forms with *kta* exist but their vocalisation is presently uncertain. The phonetically simplified basic form **takhu* most likely was used to create the Sanskritic form *takṣuma*.

The *kh* must stand for a velar sound, not a laryngeal one, since the Greek versions have little means to express the aspiration, but they would certainly have used a X *(chi)* if a laryngeal sound was to be heard, as in the case of Kharahostes, where the genitive is spelled *kharaostasa* in Kharoṣṭhī and XAPAHΩCTEIC in Greek.

The *t* was preserved on the seal in Kharoṣṭhī, in the Greek TAKTOOY genitive and in the Bactrian TAKTOO; the variant TAKΔOO seems to be present on the Kashmir coppers and on one early gold coin of Vima Kadphises and shows that the dental was pronounced rather weakly.

We now come to the closing vowel. When we disregard the clear genitive forms in *-o*, we are left with the two thematizations *takhtuasa* and *takṣumasya*, both presupposing a closing *-u*.

Since the basic form and the genitive can be so much alike in the North-Western vernaculars, attempts were made to thematise the foreign word, in order to obtain a form which could easily be recognized as a genitive by everyone. So we get *takhtu-a-sa* on the Kharoṣṭhī seal and *takṣu-m-a-sya* at Māṭ.

In short, we see three independent developments, all starting from one basic form:

a) takhtu → takhu → takṣuma
b) takhtu → taktu/TAKTOO → TAKΔOO → taku
c) takhtu → takhtua

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Les relations interlinguistiques de quelques termes de la pharmacopée antique. II

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Dans une communication au Colloque de Berlin (janvier 2006) destiné à honorer le grand spécialiste des études manichéennes, WERNER SUNDERMANN, j'ai commencé à étudier une série de 59 termes de la pharmacopée attestés dans le ms. syriaque 423 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France[1] et qui se prêtaient à un traitement interlinguistique parce qu'ils étaient glosés en syriaque par d'autres formes issues du moyen-perse, du persan ou de l'arabe. Mais un certain nombre de ces termes sont soit simplement donnés en syriaque, soit proviennent d'un calque du grec qui a fourni, comme on le sait, une énorme quantité de termes en syriaque et pas seulement dans le domaine de la pharmacopée. Je voudrais poursuivre cette recherche[2] par une série d'autres termes, non glosés mais parfois inconnus jusqu'à présent.[3] Ce texte de pharmacopée est connu par un autre manuscrit, le Mingana 594[4], sans qu'il dépende apparemment du syr. 423 et qui remonte sans doute comme ce dernier à un original perdu, puisque les gloses du second ms. ne sont pas présentées de la même manière que dans le premier. Ces nouveaux textes nous offrent des termes nouveaux, parfois inconnus jusqu'ici, et surtout la possibilité de corriger des interprétations des dictionnaires ou de BUDGE dans son édition du *Traité sur les médications* qui n'a pas été jusqu'à aujourd'hui suffisamment exploité autrement que dans la lexicographie. J'espère que ma modeste contribution intéressera tout de même NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS qui, par son immense érudition linguistique, est aussi un familier de la langue syriaque.

1. La violette

Le ms. syr. 423 fournit pour l'huile de violette un mot écrit *mnyšk'*, attesté également dans le Traité anonyme sur les médications publié par BUDGE.[5] On sait

1 Cf. BRIQUEL-CHATONNET 1997.
2 En ayant l'ambition de pouvoir, un jour lointain, publier une édition et traduction de ce ms. 423.
3 Parmi les 80 mots que j'ai retenus pour cette étude, 16 ont déjà été traités dans ma communication de Berlin et ne seront donc pas mentionnés ici.
4 Que j'ai pu collationner sur un microfilm de l'Institut d'histoire et de recherche des textes, Paris.
5 BUDGE 1913, I, p. 39.17 ; II, p. 57.24.

que la forme MP *wanafšag*[6] a donné régulièrement en persan *banafše*. Le correspondant syr. à la forme emphatique *mnyšk'* pourrait à mon avis s'expliquer comme un doublet, à lire **manašag*, car le *-y-* interconsonnantique en syr. peut noter un *-a-* bref[7]. De plus, le *m* initial constituerait une variante, comparable aux deux formes qui nous sont connues pour le nom du jusquiame : *mang/bang*[8]. Aussi le passage de *-fš-* à *-š-* est une évolution qui n'est pas rare en iranien : cf. *šubān* < **fšu-pāna-* ; av. récent *fšarema-* > *šarm* « honte, pudeur »[9]. Mais il faudrait admettre que ce changement a pu se passer à l'intérieur et non pas seulement à l'initiale, pour ce nom de la violette.

2. De la courge au cresson

D'après LAUFER[10], la courge est originaire de la Chine, mais le centre de sa culture fut d'abord en Inde. Cet auteur en reconnaît la grande antiquité dans ces deux pays.[11] Mais A. DE CANDOLLE note la difficulté à l'identifier en raison des aléas de l'onomastique :

> The history of this [the gourd] and other cucurbitaceous plants requires new and critical investigation, the difficulty of which is unfortunately enhanced by a constant confusion of terms in all languages.[12]

En persan le nom de la courge est *kadu*, mais en syr. la forme courante est *qr''*,[13] qui est attestée très souvent dans le traité publié par BUDGE.[14] Il est à distinguer du mot syr. *qtwt'*, plur. *qty*'[15], que le *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*[16] a traduit par « concombre, courge ». Associé à d'autres mots, liés à la symbolique animale, ce mot désigne plus précisément la coloquinte : ainsi syr. *qtw d-dbr'*

6 MACKENZIE 1971, p. 86.
7 GIGNOUX/JULLIEN/JULLIEN (à paraître) ; CIANCAGLINI 2008, p. 84.
8 MACKENZIE 1971, pp. 17 et 54.
9 On peut citer aussi av. *fšu-šā-* « qui conquiert le bétail » (KELLENS 1974, p. 106) mais ce mot ne semble pas avoir eu de descendant.
10 LAUFER 1919, p. 197.
11 LAUFER 1919, p. 440, note 2.
12 Cité par LAUFER 1919, p. 440, note 2.
13 Ms. syr. 423, pp. 48, 53, 67.
14 BUDGE 1913, I, pp. 58.1 ; 231.3 ; 292.15 ; 313.6 ; 404.4 ; 428.13 ; 558.2 ; 571.2 ; 575.14. En p. 559.7, on a le syr. *qr'y*, qui est sans doute une corruption du même mot, et que BUDGE a traduit par « gourd sugar », le mot étant précédé de syr. *nbt*. Cette interprétation a été reproduite dans le *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus* (PAYNE SMITH 1927), p. 205. Elle demeure à mon avis quelque peu problématique. Mais il est vrai que la courge était utilisée sous différentes formes (soupe, sucre, en plâtrage) et pour son écorce : cf. BUDGE 1913, I, p. 399.23 : « écorces de courges fraîches », et pour toutes sortes d'usages. Dioscoride avait déjà noté dans son *De materia medica*, I, p. 69, que les graines de courge sont mélangées à des amandes de pin, et à du vin de paille (cité d'après AMIGUES 2002, p. 234).
15 Ms. syr. 423, p. 48.7.
16 PAYNE SMITH 1903, p. 500a.

« courge du désert »[17] ; syr. *qty ḥmr'* « courge d'âne »[18], ou encore syr. *qtwt ḥwy'* « courge de serpent »[19]. Mais cette courge du désert est aussi appelée de son nom tiré du grec en syr. *qwlwqwnty*[20]. Ailleurs, selon BUDGE[21], la coloquinte s'appelle en syr. *gnplws*, un mot qui par sa finale révèle son origine grecque[22]. Mais il me faut corriger BUDGE à propos d'autres noms, qu'il identifie également à tort certainement avec la courge. Ainsi le syr. *grgyr'*, attesté de nombreuses fois dans le Traité des médications[23], est considéré comme la coloquinte ! Or le mot est à rapprocher du persan *jirjīr* « cresson » *(Eruca sativa)*, devenu en arabe *jirjīr* « cresson, roquette » d'après le dictionnaire d'AL-FARAÏD[24]. Mais STEINGASS[25] distingue deux termes différents : ar./pers. *jirjīr* « cresson » et ar. *jirjīr* « fève, vesce ; l'herbe roquette ». Cette dernière identification est évidemment une erreur de la part de STEINGASS, puisque l'alternative présumée devrait être soit le cresson et la roquette, soit la fève et la vesce. Quoi qu'il en soit, la forme originelle MP serait-elle **girgīr* ? Mais le cresson en MP se dit *kākīzag*[26] qui a abouti au persan **kākīj*[27], et qui est en syr. dans le ms. 423 *tḥl'*.[28] STEINGASS cite *kakiz/kakiš* qu'il traduit par « roquette »[29]. Enfin le nom de la coloquinte serait en MP **kawast(īg)* d'après le *Bundahišn*[30], puisqu'en persan le nom est *kabast*.[31] Nous avons donc là un bon exemple de la confusion qui règne parmi les phytonymes.

3. Le saule égyptien ou le fenugrec ?

Le mot syr. écrit *ḥlp'* constitue un problème important : les dictionnaires de PAYNE SMITH et BUDGE l'ont traduit par « saule égyptien », sans doute parce qu'il est précédé dans le Traité sur les médications où il est attesté en deux passages,[32] du mot syr. *šbwq'*, que BUDGE a compris comme une « branche » d'arbre. Or ce mot

17 PAYNE SMITH 1903, p. 500a.
18 Ms. syr. 423, pp. 49, 55 et 61.
19 PAYNE SMITH 1903, p. 500a. AMIGUES 2002, pp. 279–289, a mis en évidence le rôle de la métaphore, notamment animale, dans la formation des noms grecs de plantes. Il en est de même en syriaque.
20 Ms. syr. 423, p. 67. Le *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 3521, donne une autre forme plus conforme à celle du grec : *qwlwqntys*, et renvoie à Galen 34r.
21 BUDGE 1913, passim.
22 PAYNE SMITH 1927, p. 77 et *Thes. Syr.*, col. 775, utilisé pour désigner la pulpe du fruit.
23 BUDGE 1913, I, pp. 310.7 ; 361.4, 21 ; 370.8 ; 372.2 ; 378.9 ; 393.8 ; 542.2 ; 582.10. Dans le *Supplement* (PAYNE SMITH 1927), p. 79a, cette plante est l'*eruca sativa*.
24 AL-FARAÏD 1955, p. 76a.
25 STEINGASS 1947, p. 359b.
26 *Bundahišn*, chap. 16.17.
27 Ce n'est pas la forme MP attestée dans le chap. 27 du *Bundahišn*, comme l'a compris E. W. WEST, cité par LAUFER 1919, p. 192.
28 Déjà signalé dans mon article de Berlin sous le n° 47.
29 STEINGASS 1947, p. 1039.
30 *Bundahišn*, chap. 16.13 et 21.
31 LAZARD 1990, p. 330.
32 BUDGE 1913, I, p. 579.5 et 584.15.

désigne plus exactement une « pousse », une « brindille » ou une « petite branche ». Il peut donc s'appliquer aussi bien à un végétal qu'à un arbre. Le contexte dans le premier passage est une recette pour éloigner les fourmis, et associe le soi-disant saule égyptien à l'amandier amer. Dans le second passage, BUDGE n'a manifestement pas compris de quoi il s'agit : la recette porte un titre qu'il a traduit ainsi «For the ‹ moths › (syr. *ss'*) that come forth in the hands and feet, and are called ‹ *shishmânyâthâ* › ». Cela n'a pas grand sens, et le dernier mot apparaît à quatre reprises sans que BUDGE ait essayé de le traduire ! Il n'a pas même remarqué qu'à la dernière attestation[33] le mot est écrit *šwšmnyt'*. Le *Supplement* considère que le syr. *ss'* signifie plutôt une éruption « vesicles », et le mot qui le glose devrait avoir une signification semblable. Or en syr. le mot *šwšmnyt'* désigne la plante « amome »[34], ce qui ne convient pas. Mais juste avant, le dictionnaire donne le mot *šwšmn'* qui a deux sens : 1) fourmi ; 2) irritation. Ce deuxième sens conviendrait bien pour expliquer le mot *ss'*, et je propose de traduire *šwšmnyt'* (lectio difficilior à préférer) plus précisément par « picotement ». En effet, en français, lorsque l'on ressent comme de petites piqûres, notamment dans les mains (mais aussi dans les jambes ou les pieds), par suite d'une mauvaise circulation, l'on dit que « l'on a des fourmis » dans les membres en question. Cela pourrait expliquer les deux sens, manifestement hétérogènes et étranges, du syriaque, et pourquoi la seconde recette emploie aussi le soi-disant « saule égyptien ». Après tout, cette symbolique de la fourmi peut bien jouer dans plusieurs langues. Mais revenons au ms. syr. 423 qui, à mon avis, doit nous faire abandonner cette traduction du mot *ḥlp'*. Dans le passage de la page 48 où le mot apparaît, il est question d'un remède à apporter au mal de tête. Je traduis l'essentiel de cette recette :

> Nous soignons par des versements d'eau douce et chaude sur la tête fréquemment, par l'huile de rose ..., ou bien de violette ..., ou d'eau de coloquintes avec de l'eau d'écorce de courge et de l'eau vive, et de *ḥlp'* et de renouées (syr. *šbtbt'*).

Le mot que je n'ai pas traduit pourrait être le « fenugrec ». En effet LAUFER a identifié le nom de cette légumineuse en chinois sous la transcription *hu-la-pa*, qui correspond au syriaque, et dans l'arabe *hulba*, et en persan *hulbat* d'après la pharmacopée de Mansur.[35] Nous avons peut-être là une identification préférable au saule égyptien dont on ne voit pas bien ce qu'il viendrait faire en association avec la renouée ou chiendent, et dans laquelle on attend plutôt une petite plante.

4. La rue ou l'harmala

Est nommée la rue en syr. sous la forme *pygn'* qui vient clairement du grec *pēganon*[36].

33 BUDGE 1913, I, p. 584.19.
34 PAYNE SMITH 1903, p. 569b.
35 LAUFER 1919, p. 446.
36 Voir sur cette plante le livre de FLATTERY/SCHWARTZ 1989.

5. La marjolaine ou l'origan

Cette plante est appelée en syr. *mrzngwš* qui est une transcription claire du pehl./MP *marzangōš*[37] déjà connu dans BUDGE, et en persan.[38]

6. Le thym et l'épinard

Le thym, sauvage ou non, a au moins trois noms en syriaque : *sḥ'* (syr. 423, p. 49) ; *ḥš'* (p. 60) et *ṣtr'* (p. 60). Les deux premières formes sont sémitiques, la seconde écrite *ḥ'š'* (p. 43) étant la « sariette », mais la troisième ne l'est pas. Comme le syr. *ṣ* peut représenter l'ir. *č*, *ṣtr'* est probablement à expliquer par le persan *catrak* que STEINGASS a traduit par « herbe à rate »[39] (?) en mentionnant entre parenthèses le nom de la classification botanique, soit « ceterach officinarum », qui dépend du nom persan. La forme MP serait **čatrag*. L'origine iranienne du mot est confirmée par un passage de BUDGE, où l'on a *str' prsy'*, et que l'éditeur n'a pas traduit, en indiquant seulement « Persian *sathré* »[40]. Le ms. syr. 423, p. 60, qui associe les deux dernières formes a pu faire croire à PAYNE SMITH[41] que le mot *ṣtr'* désignait une autre sorte de thym, ce qui ne semble pas être le cas si l'on s'appuie sur le persan. D'ailleurs les copistes syriaques, ne comprenant pas ce mot, l'ont écrit soit avec un *s* soit avec un *ṣ*.

Un quatrième mot pour le thym (ou la sariette) est cité par PAYNE SMITH[42] sous la forme syr. *zrbwz'*. Or le même mot est attesté sous la forme *zrbwn'* dans l'édition de BUDGE et à plusieurs reprises, l'auteur le traduisant par « épinard »[43]. Il est attesté aussi dans notre ms. syr. 423, p. 53, sous la forme *zrbwz'*, associé au mot *qtp'* « l'orache », et il l'est également dans les occurrences de BUDGE, qui traduit : « ... broth of spinach, or broth of gourds, or broth of orach ». Il ne peut donc guère s'agir de thym, mais bien de différentes plantes potagères dont on peut faire une soupe. Par ailleurs, comme les copistes ont pu confondre facilement le ***z*** avec le ***n***, je pense que la seconde lecture *(zrbwn')* attestée dans BUDGE, est celle que l'on doit préférer, car elle renvoie de plus à une origine iranienne : si tel est le cas, le mot pourrait remonter au persan *zarāvand*[44] qui désigne l'aristoloche, dont les fleurs sont jaunes et de ce fait pouvait être appelée « dorée ». L'antécédent MP pourrait-il être **zard-āwand*, devenu en syr. sous une graphie défective *zrbwn'* ? Mais évidemment ce ne serait pas exactement l'épinard

37 MACKENZIE 1971, p. 54. Syr. 423, pp. 50 et 72.
38 PAYNE SMITH 1927, p. 200b.
39 STEINGASS 1947, p. 388.
40 BUDGE 1913, I, p. 162.3 ; II, p. 175.
41 PAYNE SMITH 1903, p. 485b, qui a traduit le mot par « satureia thymbra, wild thyme ».
42 PAYNE SMITH 1927, p. 115b, qui propose plusieurs équivalences et cite la forme *zrbwn'*.
43 BUDGE 1913, I, pp. 39.19, 231.3, corrigé entre parenthèses en *zrbwz'* dans la trad. II, p. 256. Mais en I, p. 351.21, la liste des légumes est encore plus longue : « soupe de courge, ou soupe d'épinard, ou soupe d'orache, ou soupe de pois, ou soupe d'oseille, ou soupe de chou » (II, p. 400).
44 LAZARD 1990, p. 217.

comme l'a pensé BUDGE. D'autre part, l'aristoloche en syr. se dit *splwl'*.[45] La seule certitude, c'est qu'il ne peut pas s'agir de thym.

7. Le lis

Le syr. *šwšn'* (pp. 49 et 58) doit s'apparenter au MP *sōsan*, avec une alternance *s*/*š* qui n'empêche pas de les rapprocher, mais sans savoir laquelle des deux langues est tributaire de l'autre.

8. Le jasmin

Le nom du jasmin bien connu sous la même forme dans nos langues modernes a été étudié in extenso par LAUFER[46] qui a montré que la plante avait été importée en Chine à partir de la Perse. Le nom en pehlevi est *yāsaman*[47], mais la forme que donne le ms. syr. 423, p. 51, *ysmyn* est peut-être issue directement du grec *yasmè, yasminon*.

9. Le jujube

Le nom du jujubier en syr. *šyzq'* (p. 51 du ms. 423) était apparemment jusqu'ici inconnu à ma connaissance, en tout cas non répertorié dans les dictionnaires, mais il s'agit clairement d'un emprunt au MP : en effet le persan *šīz-gūn* a été relevé avec cette signification par STEINGASS[48]. La forme MP reconstruite à partir du syr. serait **šēzag*, différente du persan dont le sens n'est pas clair, tant que l'on n'aura pas défini ce que veut dire le premier élément du composé.

10. Le *'lyqbr* glosé par *kyr šnbr*

Le mot syr. paraît venir de l'arabe al-..., glosé par un mot arabo-persan, comme l'indique STEINGASS[49] qui fournit deux formes presque identiques : *xyār-cambar* et *xyār-šambar*, traduit par Cassia fistularis. Ce doit être une sorte de concombre comme le suggère le premier élément bien connu dans tout l'Orient.

11. Le nénuphar

Le nom syr. de notre ms. 423 est *nylwpr* qui reproduit exactement la forme persane *nīlōfar*, connue aussi depuis longtemps en MP et que MACKENZIE[50] transcrit *nīlōpal*, alors que toutes les formes se terminent en *-ar*. Mais c'est sans doute par rapport au sanscrit *nīlōtpala*[51] que cette transcription fut proposée.

45 BUDGE 1913, I, p. 390.2.
46 LAUFER 1919, pp. 192–193 et 329–333.
47 MACKENZIE 1971, p. 97, l'orthographie ainsi, par contre Laufer le transcrit *yāsmīn*.
48 STEINGASS 1947, p. 775a.
49 STEINGASS 1947, p. 490b.
50 MACKENZIE 1971, p. 60.
51 Cf. LAUFER 1919, p. 585.

12. Le bois de santal

Le syr. *ṣndl* vient directement en raison du *ṣ* initial correspondant au *c* iranien, du MP *candal*. Le persan a *candal, candān*, arabe *ṣandal*, arm. *candan*. LAUFER 1919, p. 552, propose que le nom de cet arbre originaire de l'Inde soit issu du sanscrit *candana*.

13. Le camphre

Ici encore le nom syr. du camphre *kpwr* est un emprunt au persan et à l'arabe *kāfūr*, que LAUFER a aussi inventorié parmi les noms de la pharmacologie persane ayant des éléments indiens. Le mot en sanscrit est *karpūra*.[52]

14. La fève (ou haricot)

Le syr. *gwm'* semble être un mot sémitique, puisque le persan *gūmā* a conservé un *-ā* final. Quoi qu'il en soit, le ms. syr. 423 nous permet de considérer le mot comme un vrai légume, et non pas simplement comme un terme imagé de mesure, ainsi que le rapporte PAYNE SMITH qui le traduit par « a bean used as a measure »[53], ou STEINGASS qui lui donne un sens vague : « Name of a plant used as a topic »[54]. Or dans deux passages du ms. 423, il ne peut s'agir d'une mesure : p. 53, il est question de « farine d'orges et de *gūmā* », et p. 72, la chose est encore plus claire, puisque le texte parle de « farine de *gūmā* : dix drachmes ».

15. Le narcisse

D'après les sources chinoises[55], l'habitat du narcisse serait la Syrie, mais dans la pharmacopée persane, l'huile de narcisse était très employée. Ainsi le syr. *nrqs* (pp. 53–54 : « huile de narcisse ») peut être un emprunt au MP *nargis*, attesté en persan et dans nos langues européennes.

16. Le myrobalan

Le syr. *hlylq'* (p. 54) est un emprunt au MP *halīlag*, de même que syr. *šhtrg* < MP **šāh-tarrag*[56].

52 LAUFER 1919, p. 585. Voir R. A. DONKIN : *Dragon's Brain Perfume. An Historical Geography of Camphor*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999. Review by E. CIURTIN : « Notice sur le camphre en Asie », in : *Studia Asiatica* 7 (2006), pp. 197–205.
53 PAYNE SMITH 1927, p. 69b.
54 STEINGASS 1947, p. 1105.
55 Commentées par LAUFER 1919, pp. 427–428.
56 GIGNOUX 1998, p. 730.

17. L'aloès *zyzkg prwg'*

L'aloès, dont le nom vient du grec[57], est suivi au bas de la page 54 de deux mots qui semblent le qualifier puisqu'ils n'en sont pas séparés par la conjonction « et », mais il peut s'agir plutôt d'une autre plante. Cette expression peut s'expliquer par le persan *zīzag* « oxyacanth-fruit »[58], pourvu d'un second suffixe **-ag* de diminutif (?) et du mot syr. au pluriel *parūgē* « petits oiseaux » : ce fruit aimé des oisillons ne me semble avoir rien à faire avec celui de l'aloès dont on utilise d'ailleurs seulement les feuilles.

18. L'iris

Le syr. *'yrs'* (p. 55) est un emprunt au grec *'iris*, mais il a été traduit à tort par « lily » dans PAYNE SMITH.[59]

19. Le borax

Le nom syr. du borax, écrit p. 66 : *'lbwrq* est clairement emprunté, en raison de l'article *al-* au début du mot, à l'arabe *bwrq* « borax, nitre »[60].

20. Le cannabis

A la page 64, est attesté le nom syr. du cannabis : *šhdng* qui représente le MP *šāh-dānag*[61].

21. La noix de galle

Ce parasite du chêne est cité p. 66, sous deux formes : le nom syr. *'pṣ'* précédé du mot écrit *qyqs* qui est un emprunt au grec *kèkis*, attesté chez Théophraste et Dioscoride [62].

22. Le liseron

Un mot étrange, écrit en syr. sous la forme *ḥblbl'*, attesté plusieurs fois dans le ms. syr. 423 (pp. 59, 78, 83) n'a pas été traduit par BUDGE qui le transcrit seulement par *khebelbelé*[63], mais ailleurs il l'a identifié avec l'arabe *lbl'b* « eryngium »[64], qui est traduit par « liseron plante grimpante » dans le dictionnaire d'AL-FARAÏD[65]. L'identification d'un tel nom onomatopéique est toutefois loin d'être assurée.

57 GIGNOUX, communication de Berlin 2006.
58 STEINGASS 1947, p. 634.
59 PAYNE SMITH 1903, p. 14.
60 AL-FARAÏD 1955, p. 47.
61 MACKENZIE 1971, p. 79.
62 Cité par LAUFER 1919, p. 367.
63 BUDGE 1913, II, p. 400 [= I, p. 352.8].
64 BUDGE 1913, II, p. 725.
65 AL-FARAÏD 1955, p. 719b.

Annexe

Liste des noms de produits médicinaux non traités dans l'article:

1. Aneth : syr. *šbt'* (pp. 48 et 71)
2. Mélilot : syr. *klyl mlk'*, litt. « couronne royale » (pp. 49, 50, 72)
3. Camomille : syr. *qwbl'* (pp. 49, 50, 72) ; syr. *'qrqḥ'* (pp. 57, 61)
4. Lin/coton : syr. *'mr gwpn'*, litt. « laine des vignes » (p. 50)
5. Moutarde : syr. *ḥrdl'* (pp. 50, 56, 69)
6. Anis : syr. *'nyswn* < grec *anison* (pp. 50 et 81)
7. Tamaris : syr. *shy'* (p. 50)
8. Prune : syr. *ḥḥ'* (p. 51)
9. Raisin : syr. *'pšt'* (pp. 51, 57, 58)
10. Belladonne : syr. *'nby t'l'*, litt. « baies de renard » (pp. 52, 53)
11. Orgeat : syr. *my 'rsn'* (p. 53)
12. Grenade : syr. *rwmn'* (pp. 53, 59, 71), cf. arabe *rmn, rm'n, rm'nt*
13. Mauve : syr. *mwlky'* (p. 53) < grec *molokhè*
14. Myrte : syr. *mwry'* (p. 53) < grec *muria* ; syr. *'s'* (p. 55), arabe *as*, cf. LAUFER 1919, pp. 460–461
15. Plantain : syr. *lšn 'mr'*, litt. « langue d'agneau » (pp. 53, 70, 85)
16. Althéa : syr. *ntpt'* (p. 53)
17. Arbre de chasteté : syr. *šwny'* (pp. 54, 72)
18. Olives : syr. *zyt'* (p. 54) > MP *zayt*, cf. LAUFER 1919, pp. 415–419
19. Glands : syr. *blwt'* (pp. 5' et 69), arabe *bālūt*
20. Dattes : syr. *tmr'* (p. 54)
21. Oignon : syr. *bṣl'* (p. 54), arabe *baṣṣal*
22. Absinthe : syr. *'psntywn* (p. 54) < grec *absinthos*
23. Sel ammoniaque : syr. *mlḥ' 'mwnyqwn* (p. 55) < grec *ammoniakos*
24. syr. *swpr'* (? ?) < arabe *safarjil* « coing » ?
25. Caroube : syr. *qyrwty* (p. 55) < grec *keratea* (= syr. *qrt'* dans PAYNE SMITH 1903, p. 518b)
26. Cyclamen : syr. *'rtnyt'* (p. 55)
27. Nitre rouge : syr. *nytrwn swmq'* (p. 55) < grec *nitron*
28. Saponaire : syr. *'dry'* (p. 56)
29. Oxymel : syr. *'kswmly* (pp. 57, 64) < grec *oksumeli*
30. Origan sauvage : syr. *qwrnyt'* (p. 60)
31. Storax : syr. *'stwrk'* (p. 61) < pers. *istarak* < grec *sturaks*
32. Gomme ammoniaque : syr. *'wšq* (p. 62) ; arabe *'š'q/wšq* : PAYNE SMITH 1927, p. 11b

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An Etymological Trifle

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With the decipherment of the "Albanian" palimpsests from St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, Iranianists have gained one more *Nebenüberlieferung* that witnesses to the spread and use of Middle Iranian lexical material in the Southern Caucasus in the early Middle Ages. As in the case of Old Georgian, many of the items concerned pose the question whether they were borrowed into the Caucasian "Albanian" language directly from a Middle Iranian vernacular or *via armeniaca*, i.e. with an Armenian loan as an intermediary. The latter assumption seems all the more probable since there is good reason to believe that the Biblical texts contained in the palimpsests were translated from Armenian models.[1] Nevertheless there are clear indications that the Caucasian "Albanians", ancestors of the present day Udi people, did have direct contacts with Middle Iranian languages, too, given that some of the Iranian words they used differed considerably from their Armenian equivalents (such as *marġaven-* "prophet" vs. Arm. *margarē*)[2] or had no matching counterpart in Armenian at all (such as *bamgen-* "blessed" vs. Arm. *erani*).[3]

One of the less clear cases is the equivalent of the Armenian verb *xortakem* 'to break, crack, grind', which has for long been regarded as a denominal formation built upon an unattested adjective **xortak*, in its turn related with MPers. *xwurdag* 'something small, particle', NPers. *xurda* 'small, fine, minute'.[4] Arm. *xortakem* does have a counterpart in the "Albanian" palimpsests, in the formation *xarṭak-biyesun*, which occurs three times in Jo. 19,31–33 rendering Arm.

1 Cf. GIPPERT 2007 and GIPPERT/SCHULZE 2007 for details as to the palimpsests and their contents. The *editio princeps* is at present being prepared by Z. ALEKSIʒE (Tbilisi), J. GIPPERT (Frankfurt) and W. SCHULZE (Munich) in cooperation with J.-P. MAHÉ (Paris) and will be published in the series "Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi" (Brepols, Turnhout) in 2008. The edition project has been supported by the Volkswagen Foundation since 2000; cf. http://armazi.uni-frankfurt.de/armaz04.htm. For preliminary reports cf. ALEKSIʒE 1997, 2001 and 2003, and ALEKSIʒE/MAHÉ 2001.

2 Cf. GIPPERT 2005 and below for details as to this word.

3 Cf. GIPPERT 2007 for details as to this word.

4 Cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1895, p. 57, no. 507 (contra HORN 1893, p. 112) and 1897, p. 161, no. 286, for details; for the MPers. lemma cf. MACKENZIE 1971, p. 96, for the NPers. lemma, STEINGASS 1977, pp. 454a (s.v. *khurda*) and 484a (s.v. *khwurda*).

xortakem (Greek κατάγνυμι 'to break, smash')[5] and once in Mt. 2,16 in the position of Arm. *kotorem* 'to slay' (Greek ἀναιρέω 'to remove'). As a compound verb, "Alb." *xarṭaḳ-biyesun* contains, besides the otherwise unattested nominal base *xarṭaḳ-*, the usual transitive auxiliary *biyesun* 'to do, make', thus matching the formation of NPers. *xurda kardan*.[6] The present-day meaning "to change money" of this latter compound must have derived from a less specific "to make small", cp. German *kleinmachen* used in the same sense to denote the changing of banknotes into coins. The same meaning is also conveyed by Georgian *(ga)da-xurda-v-eb-*, a denominal verb built upon the noun *xurda-* which is primarily used in the sense of "small change, cash money" today.[7]

There can be no doubt that the Georgian noun directly reflects NPers. *xurda*. This is clearly suggested by its late attestation, none of its occurrences preceding the 15th century, even though the original meaning of Georgian *xurda-* is hard to ascertain from the few instances we find in the literary works of the Middle Georgian period.[8] The least problematic case is met with in the so-called *Saamiani*, which is a 15th–16th century prose derivate of the Persian epic tradition on Sām son of Narīmān and part of the Georgian *Šāhnāme* adaptation.[9] Here the word is obviously still used as an adjective denoting something "small" or "minute"; cf.

> Saam. 11 (p. 308, ll. 5–6):
> მივიდა იმ ციხესთან, თავისი ცხრაასი ლიტრიანი გურზი ხელთა აიღო ფრიდონმა და ერთი ასეთი დაჰკრა იმ ციხის კარებს, რომ ხაშხაშივით ხურდა ხარშირი გახადა.
>
> "He, Pridon (Pers. *Firēdūn*) went to that castle, took up his 900 litre cudgel (*gurz-i*, Pers. *gurz*) with his hands and stroke such a blow at the gate of that castle that he turned it into a rocket plant (?)[10], minute like a poppy (*xašxaš-i*, Pers. *xašxāš*)."

Unfortunately, the Persian model of the given passage has not yet been determined[11] so that the source for the wording remains uncertain.

5 The other NT verses containing *xortakem* (Mk. 5,4; Lk. 9,39; 20,18; Rom. 16,20) are not contained in the "Albanian" palimpsests, nor is any one of the 147 OT attestations.
6 Cf., e.g., STEINGASS 1977, p. 484a s.v. *k͟hwurda kardan*.
7 Cf. TSCHENKELI 1974, p. 2410; RAYFIELD 2006, p. 1709.
8 The Middle Georgian period extends from about the 12th to the 18th century AD.
9 Cf. the edition by KOBIZE 1974, pp. 295–443. The text is not called *Saamiani* but "Çigni Saam Palavnisa", i.e. "The Book of Saam The Hero" in the edition.
10 The meaning of *xaršir-i* is uncertain. For the proposal to regard it as a synonym of Georg. *gongola-* '(London) rocket' (RAYFIELD 2006, p. 433) cf. KOBIZE 1974, p. 649; the Persian word *xakšīr* mentioned there as a source of Georg. *xaršir-i* has not been verifiable so far.
11 There is no matching passage in the corresponding chapters of the Persian *Šāhnāme* (on the struggles between Ẓuḥḥāk and Firēdūn, chs. 5–6 according to the numeration system used in WOLFF 1935). According to KOBIZE 1974, p. 55ff., the Georgian text is relatively close to the prose version of the Persian *Sām-nāme*.

In a verse of the poem on "the customs of Georgia" *(Sakartvelos zneobani)* by the 17th century king Arčil, part of the so-called *Arčiliani*,[12] *xurda-* is used with a totally different meaning, in a context which obviously refers to polo or another game with horses but is quite obscured by several hapax legomena. Here, Georg. *xurda-* might reflect NPers. *xurda* in another meaning still persistent today, viz. denoting "small stones" or "gravels";[13] cf.

> Arčil. Sak. Zn. 27 (vol. I, p. 6, ll. 5–8):
> ჩოგნის მოხვრეტა, მობანდვა, სწორის ბურთისა გამოჭრა,
> ბურთობის დროსა ასპარეზს პირმხიარულად გამოჭრა,
> ცხენის მოხტომა უხელოდ, იმის დროს ფიცხლად გარდმოჭრა,
> და მოპაიტრობა, სახმობის ამორთმა, ხურდის ამოჭრა.
>
> "Perforating the stick, wattling it, forming a smooth ball,
> dashing out happily on the playground, in the time of the ball-game,
> leaping up on the horse without using hands, at the same time cutting swiftly across,
> and acting as a horseshoer(?)[14], taking (it) out for drying(?)[15], cutting out the gravel(?)[16]."

The least comprehensible attestation of *xurda-* in the Middle Georgian period is found in the poem on the "Seven Planets", also called the *Baramguriani*, i.e., the 17th century adaptation of the Persian story on Bahrām Gōr and the Seven Princesses by Nodar Cicišvili.[17] Here *xurda* occurs in an idiomatical combination with *ḥila*, another hapax legomenon obviously representing (Pers. *ḥīla* ←) Arab. *ḥīla*^{t} 'trick, stratagem, ruse';[18] cf.

> Šv.Mt. XIX, 1192 (p. 147, ll. 9–12):
> ყმამ თქვა: "პირველ თუმცა მეცან, შენი ხლება რად მომსურდა?
> ოდეს მქონდა მე შენებრი საზრდო, შენთვის არა მშურდა;

12 Cf. the edition BARAMIZE/BERZENIŠVILI 1936–1937.
13 Cf. ČIKOBAVA *et al.* 1964, VIII, col. 1529 s.v. *xurda*: "çvrili an namṭvrevi kva; xmaroben ḳedlis ašenebisas savseb masalad, – ġorġi" ("a little or crushed stone; it is used as filling material in the construction of a wall, – grit").
14 The hapax legomenon *mopaiṭroba-* is not accounted for in Georgian lexicography (the lexicon provided in BARAMIZE/BERZENIŠVILI 1936–1937, p. 183, lists the word but gives no explanation); the proposal to interpret it as "acting as a horseshoer" is built upon Arm. *paytar* 'horseshoer' *(→ mo-paiṭr-oba-)*.
15 Georg. *saxmob-i* usually denotes a place or area where something is dried *(sa-xmob-i)*; a second meaning "ethmoid hæmatoma" is given in RAYFIELD 2006, p. 1177. The ethmoid bone (of horses) itself is usually named *cxav-is ʒval-i*, i.e. "sieve bone" in Georgian (cp. German *Siebbein*), so that this cannot be meant here.
16 It is hardly probable that Georg. *xurda* might match NPers. *xurda* meaning "that part of a horse's leg round which the fetter passes" here (cf. STEINGASS 1977, pp. 454a and 484a).
17 Cf. the edition ḲEḲELIZE 1930.
18 ḲEḲELIZE 1930, p. 246, proposes the meaning "veragoba, xriḳebis močḳoba, inṭriganoba" ("perfidy, performing dirty tricks, intriguing") for *hila xurda*, without referring to the Arabic word.

ვსჭამდით, ვსვემდით ჩემსა ერთად, დამელია, აწ მომწყურდა,
და მართლად გმშობდი, არ მეგონა შენი ესრეთ ჰიღა ხურდა."

"The knight said: 'If I had known you earlier, why should I have wished to be with you?
If I had had the same nourishment as you, I should not be envious of you.
We ate and drank mine together, it was exhausted, now I am hungry;
and I was truly close friends with you, I could not imagine your being so tricky (?)."

As no exact model of the given passage has been found in Niẓāmī's *Haft Paikar* or any other Persian adaptation of the Bahrām Gōr story,[19] it must remain uncertain whether *xurda* is at all related to NPers. *xurda* (in the sense of "mean"?) in this idiom.[20]

These problems notwithstanding, we may safely maintain the assumption that Georgian *xurda-* is a relatively recent borrowing from NPers. *xurda* denoting "something small" such as "pebbles" or, later, "coins". In contrast to this, Arm. *xortak-* and "Alb." *xaṛṭaḳ-* must represent an older stratum, and it is by no means certain that they represent the same formation as the NPers. (and Georgian) word and its alleged MPers. ancestor, *xwurdag*. The problem consists in the vowel of the first syllable. It was PAUL HORN who first drew attention to the fact that the NPers. word contains a *u* vowel as its rhyming behaviour shows; he therefore read its MPers. cognate as *χurtak*, too, and proposed to separate the word from the root *χ^{v}ar* 'to eat, drink' with its full grade *a*.[21] In spite of the different vowel, both HORN and HÜBSCHMANN[22] seem to have regarded Arm. *xortak* as a direct representative of MPers. **xurtak*. While the vocalism of the Persian word is now confirmed, at least for New Persian, by the evidence of the Georgian loan, "Alb." *xaṛṭaḳ-* can hardly be assumed to represent a MPers. **xurtak*, and even its derivation via Arm. *xortak-* is anything but probable, given that the language did possess an *o* vowel[23] which regularly occurs in loan words; cp., e.g., *angelos-* 'angel' ← Greek ἄγγελος or *hetanos* 'gentile, heathen' ← Arm. *het'anos* (= Greek ἔθνος). This is also true for Armenian words for which an Iranian origin can be assumed.

19 The passage is located within the story told by the sixth princess, ch. 37 in the edition by RITTER/ RYPKA 1934 of the *Haft Paikar*; in general the Georgian text shows a "remarkable agreement" with Niẓāmī's in this chapter (cf. RUDENKO 1975, p. 37: "разительное сходство").

20 A comparable quasi-compound *hīla-xurda* seems not to be attested for Persian. Arab. *ḫurda* 'iron part, pellet' and *ḫurdaq* 'pellet' (WEHR 1958, p. 210: "Eisenteilchen; Schrot") are likely to be derived from NPers. *xurda* themselves.

21 HORN 1893, p. 112, no. 507.

22 HÜBSCHMANN 1895, p. 57, no. 507, and 1897, p. 161, no. 286; cf. also SCHMITT 1987, p. 453a, who explicitly derives "xortak-em 'I break into small pieces' from Mid.Pers. xurdag 'small'".

23 Additionally it even seems to have had a second *a* vowel different from plain *a* as in *xaṛṭaḳ-*, with a more back articulation.

One example is Arm. *xoran* 'tabernacle, hut, tent' which is rendered by the totally identical stem *xoran-*[24] in the "Alb." palimpsests in Heb. 9,3.6, and 13,10 (Gk. σκήνη); additionally, "Alb." *xoran-* occurs in Ps. 83,2 (84,1)[25] as the equivalent of Arm. *yark* 'tabernacle' (Gk. σκήνωμα).[26] It is true that for Arm. *xoran*, an Iranian origin seems not to have been proposed so far, different from its two quasi-synonyms, *vran* and *taṙavar* which have for long been derived from Parthian sources: *taṙavar*, which is also mirrored by "Alb." *ṭalavar-* occurring once in Mt. 17,4, reflects Parth. *talawār* <tlw'r> 'hall, tabernacle',[27] and *vran*, Parth. *wiδān* <wd'n> 'tent'.[28] Considering the similarity of *xoran* with the latter, both containing the element *-ran*, there is good reason to assume an Iranian etymon for *xoran*, too. Starting from *vran* ← *wiδān-*, *xoran* might well reflect a compound with the same second member, **-δān*, which can be deduced from an OIr. **dāna-* meaning "construction, building" or the like (IIr. √dhā); the same element is also present in Avest. *uz-dāna-* 'rack, stand', lit. 'superstruction' (Vd. 6,50 and 8,74) and OPers. *apa-dāna-* (→ Arm. *aparan*) 'palace'. In *xoran*, then, **-dāna-* might have been composed with **xᵘa-* 'self',[29] thus denoting the "separate" or "detached" construction of tents or huts. With its *xo-*, Arm. *xoran* would show the regular outcome of MIr. **xwā-* as in *xortik-kʿ* 'food' ← **xwartīk* (MPers. *xwardīg*), Avest. *x^{v}arəiti-*, or *xost-* 'confess' ← **xwāst-* (Parth. *wxāstwānīft*, MPers. *xwastūg*); "Alb." *xoran* would share this development.

A slightly more problematic case is Arm. *xoršak* 'heat'. Different from *xoran*, this word has an exact counterpart in Georgian, viz. *xoršaḳ-*, which is attested several times in NT and OT texts, e.g. in Lk. 12,55, Is. 49,10, and Deut. 28,22. In the "Alb." palimpsests we meet a word *xoʿaḳ* in Jac. 1,11 in the position of Arm. *xoršak* and Gk. καύσων, which obviously represents the same etymon and is identical with its Arm. counterpart except for the medial consonant.

24 AČAṘYAN 1973–1979, B, p. 406b, mentions an Udi word *xoran* 'sanctuary' ("Owt. *xoran* «ekełecʿi xoran»") which he regards as a borrowing of Arm. *xoran*. This word may well continue its "Alb." predecessor.

25 In the "Alb." lectionary, Psalms are numbered according to the Septuagint model, the present Psalm being introduced by no. "83".

26 *xoran* has no counterpart in Georgian, its regular equivalent being *ḳarav-i*. – The place name *xoranta* mentioned in the Old Georgian chronicle *Kartlis Cxovreba* (I, 5, 11 ed. QAUXČIŠVILI 1955) may well reflect the "Alb." word, given that the town in question lies in *hereti*, i.e. "Albania".

27 Cf., e.g., SCHMITT 1985, 452a; the Parthian word is attested five times in the Parthian Manichaean texts contained in BOYCE 1975, viz. at (2), ax (3), bc (1), bh (3), and bp (3).

28 Cf., e.g., SCHMITT 1987, p. 452a, and BAILEY 1987, pp. 463a and 465a, who further refer to MPers. *wiyān*, NPers. *gayān*, and Judeo-Pers. *by'n*. The Parthian word is attested in ac (1) of BOYCE 1975, the Middle Persian word, in the *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān* (32ff.; cf. JAMASPASANA/ORIAN 1992, p. 204f.). Cf. also Sogd. *wy'n* ("LW from MP", cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 58) and Bal. *gidān* (KORN 2005, p. 98, after MORGENSTIERNE 1932, p. 44).

29 Cf. already GIPPERT 2005, p. 163, for this proposal.

As a matter of fact, a similar constellation – Armenian and Georgian *-(r)š-* vs. "Albanian" *-ˢ-* – occurs in two other words that are shared by the three languages.[30] One of them is "Alb." *vaˢamaḳ* 'cerecloth' occurring in Jo. 20,7 as the equivalent of Arm. *varšamak* and Georg. *varšamag-i*. While this triad can be established with no doubt, the second one is less certain as far as the "Albanian" partner is concerned. The word in question appears two times in Mt. 20,1 and 2, and in both cases it has not been preserved entirely due to damages of the manuscript. What we can read is <mo-> in the latter and <-ˢaḳ->, in the former verse. Taken together, these scraps permit to reconstruct a word <mowˢaḳ->, i.e. *muˢaḳ-*,[31] as the equivalent of Arm. *mšak* and Georg. *mušaḳ-i* 'worker, labourer'.

Nevertheless the correspondence of "Alb." <ˢ> and Armenian and Georgian *(r)š* remains hard to account for. It is true that the "Alb." letter here transcribed <ˢ> (the 14th letter of the "Alb." alphabet, with a numerical value of 50) bears the name *šā* in the alphabet list contained in the Armenian ms. Echm. 7117[32], a name which suggests a *š*-like articulation offhand. In the three words discussed above this would well match the corresponding Armenian and Georgian forms. In the (few) words that have clear equivalents in modern Udi, there is no such correspondence though. Instead we find pharyngealised vowels where "Albanian" words have a sequence of *šā* plus a vowel letter; cp., e.g., "Alb." *vˢan* ≈ Udi *vạn* 'you (pl.)' or *bˢeġ* ≈ Udi *bẹġ* 'sun'. The only exception seems to be "Alb." *iˢa* 'near' which is obviously reflected in Udi *i̯ša*, i.e. a constellation with both a pharyngealised vowel and a sibilant.[33] The letter <ˢ> is therefore likely to have represented a sound with a pharyngeal articulation or, at least, co-articulation.

For the three triads discussed above, this does not help very much, given that neither the Armenian nor the Georgian equivalents have any pharyngeal features. However, starting from *xoˢaḳ / xoršak* and *vaˢamaḳ / varšamak*, one might consider such a feature to have developed from *-r-* in the sequence *-rš-*, a suggestion first made by WOLFGANG SCHULZE.[34] As there are no words with a consonant cluster *-rš-* in the whole "Albanian" corpus and plain *-š-* seems to have been preserved in loans of the same sphere in "Albanian" – cf., e.g., *ašarḳeṭ-* 'disciple, pupil' ≈ Arm. *ašakert* – this would imply that *muˢaḳ* would have to be derived not from an older **mušak* as underlying Arm. *mšak* and

30 The following considerations were discussed in detail by J. GIPPERT and W. SCHULZE in the course of the edition of the palimpsests.

31 In the "Albanian" script, the vowel *u* is always denoted by a digraph <ow> as in the Armenian and Old Georgian scripts.

32 Cf. the facsimile of the ms. provided in ŠANIŻE 1938, tables between pp. 16–17.

33 Udi possesses two series of postalveolar sibilants, usually transcribed <š/ž> vs. <ś/ź> (plus the corresponding affricates). The same must have been true for "Albanian" <š, ž, ś, ź> which are clearly distinguished by different letters.

34 Personal communication of Dec. 19, 2007. For the "pharyngealisation" effect of *-r-* one might compare similar effects (retraction of the tongue and contraction of the uvular or pharyngeal region) in German dialects (Swabian, East-Middle-German); this, however, seems to presuppose a uvular articulation of *-r-*.

Georg. *mušaḳ-* but from a preform **muršak-* not attested otherwise. Such a preform is – as a local variant of the same word – all the easier to argue for as at least for one of the terms in question, viz. Arm. *varšamak*, there is good reason to assume that its *-rš-* is due to a secondary development, given that the word was obviously borrowed from an Iranian model which had plain *-š-* instead (cf. NPers. *bāšām(a)/wāšāma*, Khwarezm. *v'š'myk* and Sogd. *v'š'my*).[35] Even though the inner-Iranian etymology of this set of cognates remains unclear, its distribution among both West and East Iranian languages excludes the alternative hypothesis that *-š-* was reduced from an older *-rš-* here.

Unfortunately, neither for **mu(r)šak-* nor for **xoršak-* there is any reliable etymological perspective. With their common suffix *-ak-*, both words suggest an Iranian origin offhand, and for Arm. *mšak* and Georg. *mušaḳ-i* an Iranian cognate has been suggested indeed; the connection "with Khot. *miṣṣa-* 'field,' later *muṣa-*, base *maiz-* 'to cultivate'" proposed by H.W. BAILEY[36] is anything but trustworthy, however, as there is no trace of the internal *-i-* of that root in the Caucasian words[37] and both the word formation and the semantics would remain doubtful (both Arm. *mšak* and Georg. *mušaḳ-* denote a "labourer, worker", not a "farmer" as BAILEY claims). The proposal to join the word with NPers. *mušāq* 'servant, domestic' and Kurd. *mišāq* 'house servant, worker' discussed in H. AČAṘYAN's etymological dictionary[38] seems more fruitful then but only if these words can be proven to have been secondarily influenced by the Arab. root *šaqq* and formations such as *mašaqqa*^{t} 'pains, difficulties, troubles' or *mušāqq* 'schismatic' pertaining to it,[39] the attestation of the Caucasian terms being much too early to admit the assumption of a direct Arabic loan here (see below). In any way, the origin of **mŭšăk-*[40] remains doubtful even under these conditions.[41]

For Arm. *xoršak* and its counterparts, the etymological prospects are not much brighter. H. AČAṘYAN was certainly right in drawing our attention to

35 For the Pers. word cf. STEINGASS 1977, pp. 147a/1451a; for the Khwarezm., HENNING 1956, p. 432 [= 496]; for the Sogd. word, SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 229a. Cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 300ff., for details concerning the etymology.

36 Cf. BAILEY 1987, p. 461a.

37 For the same reason we must exclude a connection with Av. *mīžda-*, MPers. *mizd* 'salary, wages', which would also be hard to argue for because of the consonant cluster involved. – The "very doubtful" Av. adjective *mišāk-* (BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 1187: "Sehr zweifelhaftes Wort"), which probably pertains to the root *myas-* 'to mix', must as well be kept separate.

38 Cf. AČAṘYAN 1973–1979, G, p. 335b s.v. *mšak*.

39 Cf., e.g., WEHR 1958, p. 435f., for *šaqq* and its derivatives. – Note that Pers. *musāq* is marked with an "a" denoting an uncertain relationship with Arabic in STEINGASS 1977, p. 1243a.

40 None of the three Caucasian languages distinguishes long and short vowels *ā/a* and *ū/u*.

41 There is but a vague chance that the word might be derived from PIr. **mūš* 'mouse' (→ 'muscle worker'?) or from the secondary "root" **muš-* 'to rub' as present in Balōčī (cf. KORN 2005, p. 92).

Hebr. חֲרִישִׁית, i.e. *ḥārīšīt*, occurring as a hapax legomenon in Jon. 4,8 together with *rūḥ qādīm* 'East wind' where the Arm. Bible has *hołm xoršak tapaxařn*, i.e. "a hot combusting storm", matching Gk. πνεῦμα κάυσωνος σύγκαιον;[42] cf.

Jon. 4,8
... ויהי כזרח השמש וימן אלהים רוח קדים חרישית ותך השמש על־ראש יונה

եւ եղեւ՝ ի ծագել արեւուն հրամայեաց ա(ստուա)ծ հողմոյ խորշակի տապախառնի, եւ անկաւ արեւն զգլխովն յունանու ...

καὶ ἐγένετο ἅμα τῷ ἀνατεῖλαι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι καύσωνος συγκαίοντι, καὶ ἐπάταξεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ιωνα· ...

"And it happened (together) with the rising of the sun (that) God gave order to a hot burning wind, and the sun fell upon Jona's head ..."

AČAŘYAN's proposal to further connect the Hebrew word with the root *ḥrš* 'to cut, engrave' and its Semitic cognates (Syr. *ḥrt*, Arab. *ḥrt*)[43] remains more than doubtful, however, all the more since the Syriac OT has only *rwḥ' d-šwb'*, i.e. 'hot wind' in the given passage. And of course it would be more than hard to assume that a Hebrew hapax legomenon might have been borrowed into Armenian (and other languages of the Caucasus) on the basis of but one OT verse and become the general term for "heat" there. Instead, textual attestations like the one treated above suggest a connection of *xoršak* with the Iranian word for "sun", MPers. *xwar*, and its derivatives such as MPers. Parth. *xwarāsān* 'East' or *xwar(x)šēd* 'sun (light)'.[44] If this is right, the word would be another example for the regular substitution of MIr. *xwa-* by Armenian *xo-*, in this case shared by both the neighbouring Caucasian languages, and the *-rš-* cluster would have to be assumed to be genuine.

An alternative solution as well suggested by the attestations would consist in connecting *xoršak* with ManMPers. *hōšāg* 'hot, parching wind'[45], with *-rš-* having developed secondarily as in *varšamak*. Tempting as it is,[46] this solution is problematical as it would presuppose MIr. **hō-* (root **huš-* 'to dry') to be represented by Arm. *xo-*, which is not what we expect for early (Arsacid) loans in

42 Cf. AČAŘYAN 1973, p. 410b s.v. *xoršak*.

43 Sic, not Syr. "xraš" = *ḥrš* (which pertains to another Hebr. root *ḥrš* 'to be mute' instead) and not Arab. "ḫarð" = *ḥrṯ* as in AČAŘYAN, l.c.

44 Cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI 1966, p. 412f., who connects Georg. *xoršak-i* with NPers. <xrš'> 'sun' drawing upon the dictionary Borhān-e Qāte'; according to STEINGASS 1977, p. 455a, this term ("khurshā") alternates with <xrš'd> ("khurshād") "in Zand and Pāzand" so that its derivation from an older **xwaršāk* remains doubtful. – Should *xwar(x)šēd* be disguised directly in Hebr. *ḥārīšīt*?

45 Proposal by AGNES KORN (personal communication); for the MPers. word cf. BOYCE 1977, p. 49 s.v. *hwš'g*.

46 Note that the MPers. word is attested in the list of terms denoting the "Dark Elements" in text y (25) in BOYCE 1975, p. 68.

Armenian.[47] It must therefore be stated that the actual formation of the etymon of *xoršak* remains unclear for the time being.

Returning to the divergence between Arm. *xortakem* and "Alb." *xarṭak-biyesun*, we must now take into account the question of different routes of borrowing. For one of the items treated above, Georg. *varšamag-i*, I have argued elsewhere that it is likely to have been borrowed *via armeniaca*, not only because of its shape but also because of the distribution of its attestations in the Old Georgian literature which show a clear affinity to Armenian sources.[48] Applying the same criterion to Georg. *xoršaḳ-i*, we may at once state that this word behaves quite similar as *varšamag-i* in that its appearance within the NT is limited to but one attestation (Lk. 12,55) in but one Gospel manuscript, viz. that of the so-called Adishi redaction (C),[49] whereas both the older Khanmeti redaction (represented in the VIth century palimpsest A-89 of Tbilisi) and the so-called Protovulgate (the Xth century Gospel mss. of Ksani, Berta, Ǯruči, and Ṗarxali) use the genuine Georg. word *sicxe-* 'heat' instead;[50] and it is the Adishi manuscript (of 895 AD) which shows the most notable coincidences with the Armenian Gospels in general. In Jac. 1,11 where the "Alb." palimpsest has *xoʿaḳ-* agreeing with Arm. *xoršak*, the Georgian version has the genuine *sicxe-* in all its redactions, none of which shows any striking affinity with the Armenian tradition. Other occurrences of *xoršaḳ-i* in the Old Georgian Bible are confined to a few verses in the OT that may well have had Armenian models, viz. in the list of plagues in Deut. 28,22 (where the word occurs, as the equivalent of Arm. *xoršak* and Gk. ἀνεμοφθορία 'blasting', side by side with *sicxe-* rendering Gk. πυρετός and Arm. *ǰermn* 'fever', but also with the rare stem *goin-* in the position of Gk. ὤχρα 'mildew', which clearly reflects Arm. *goyn* 'jaundice' and thus speaks in favour of an Armenian source for the given verse), Is. 49,10 (in the version of the so-called Ošḳi Bible of the XIth century; the text of the XVIIth century Mtskheta Bible has *sicxe-* instead), and in Hiob 15,30 (where the Arm. vulgate text has not *xoršak* but *hołm* 'wind', obviously remodelled after Gk. ἄνεμος). In Jon. 4,8, the Georgian Bible text has not *xoršaḳ-i* but *kar-i cxel-i* 'hot wind' (in the Ošḳi Bible; the Mtskheta Bible has *sul-i cxel-i* 'hot breath');

47 It is true that New Persian has *xō-* in *xōšīdan* 'to dry up' etc. (cf. STEINGASS 1977, p. 487b s.v. *khoshīdan*). The change from *h-* to *x-* might have emerged earlier, but we would expect the pretonic *-ō-* to be reduced to *-u-* in the Arm. loan. The proper name *Xosrov* is hardly comparable here (← **hōsraw-*? But cf. NPers. *xusraw*).

48 Cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 300ff. – The form *varšamang-i* (with *-n-*) noted in some dictionaries is a secondary variant that emerged within Georgian (cf. ib.).

49 The facsimile edition of the ms. in TAKAJŠVILI 1916 (tabl. 132) clearly shows that the verse in question must have been added later (by the same hand?), possibly after erasure of a previous text.

50 Cp. the occurrence of *varšamag-* in Jo. 20,7 C where the Protovulgate text has *sudar-* (← Gk. σουδάριον).

xoršaḳ-i does occur in a lectionary variant of that verse, however.[51] Besides the noun *xoršaḳ-* itself, its derivative *xoršaḳeul-* 'burnt by heat' is also preserved in the Old Georgian OT tradition where it coincides with Arm. *xoršakahar* (Gen. 41,6.7.23.24.27); this is also true for Prov. 10,5 where the equivalent of the noun *xoršak* is replaced by *sicxe-* again. All in all, there is thus a clear preponderance for Georg. *xoršaḳ-* to have been borrowed *via armeniaca*; this assumption is not disproved by the fact that the word is also attested in a few autochthonous texts from the XI[th] century on.[52]

The case of Georg. *mušaḳ-* is very different from this. This word is already attested in the Khanmeti Gospel ms. A 89, in Mt. 20,1 where the fragments of "Alb." **muʿaḳ* are found as well. Here it is the Protovulgate redaction which has *mušaḳ-* too, while the text of the Adishi ms. uses the genuine formation *mokmed-* 'active, working (person)' corresponding to Gk. ἐργάτης. In Mt. 20,2, it is the Khanmeti text again which has *mušaḳ-ta mat* 'to the workers' (Gk. μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν, Arm. *mšakacʿn*) while the two later redactions have only the pronoun (*mat* 'them'). In Mt. 10,10, however, the Khanmeti text agrees with the latter redaction in using *mokmed-* while the Protovulgate alone has *mušaḳ-*. All in all, the distribution of *mušaḳ-* in its earliest attestations does not speak in favour of its having been borrowed *via armeniaca*.[53]

It goes without saying that the philological method of distinguishing lexical layers according to their textual distribution cannot be applied to "Albanian", given that the text corpus we have is much too small and homogeneous. Nevertheless the phonetic peculiarities of the words discussed above admit of hypothesising a scenario. Taking into account that an Armenian background is likely for Georg. *xoršaḳ-* and *varšamag-* but not for *mušaḳ-*, we may assume the same for "Alb." *xoʿaḳ-* and *vaʿamaḳ-* on the one hand and "Alb." **muʿaḳ-* on the other; in the case of the latter, the assumption agrees with the necessity to reconstruct a preform **muršak-* which cannot underlie Arm. *mšak* (or Georg. *mušaḳ-*) and which must have developed independently in the vernacular the "Alb." loan was taken from.

51 In the so-called Paris lectionary; cf. the edition DANELIA *et al.* 1987, p. 371. This verse is alluded to in an apophthegm of the so-called alphabetic collection (Agathias no. 4: p. 19, l. 23 of the edition DVALI 1974).

52 Cf. the Vita of Grigor of Xancta, 20 (p. 268, l. 29 of the ed. ABULAƷE 1963) with *sul-i xoršaḳ-isa-* 'breath of heat' and the Vita of Giorgi the Athonite, XXII (p. 165, l. 20 of the ed. ABULAƷE 1967) with *kueqana- xoršak-* 'hot land'. The only occurrence in a Middle Georgian text is found in the so-called *Abdulmesiani*, an ode to David Soslan (husband of the XII[th] century queen Tamar) where *xoršaḳ-* rhymes with *mušaḳ-* (IX: 62,3a; p. 137 of the ed. LOLAŠVILI 1964).

53 The fact that the first syllable vowel was syncopated in Armenian before the beginning of literacy cannot be argued with here as the result of the Armenian syncope was a shewa vowel which may well have been (re-)substituted by Georgian *-u-* in contact with a labial; cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 277f., for examples.

For the pair of *xortakem* vs. *xarṭaḳ-biyesun*, all this suggests that these two words were as well borrowed independently. On the other hand, they may nevertheless have had a common source, viz. a MIr. preform **xwartak-*; in Arm. *xortak-*, the **xwa-* would have left its usual trace, i.e. *xo-*, while in "Alb." *xarṭaḳ-* the initial consonant cluster **xw-* was reduced to *x-* as clusters of this type do not exist in the "Albanian" language.[54]

It is clear, then, that the MIr. preform reconstructed here cannot be the ancestor of NPers. *xurda* and (Sasanian) MPers. *xwurdag* as there is no reason to assume that an older **xwa-* should have developed into *x(w)u-* in this word while it remained stable in, e.g., *xwardan* 'to eat, drink'.[55] However, MIr. **xwartak* may well have been a dialectal (NWIr.) cognate of (SWIr.) **xwurtak*, provided that both forms derive from an older stem with a syllabic *-r̥-*. **xwartak-* vs. **xwurtak* would then show the typical divergence we also find in other doublets such as MPers. *murw* vs. NWIr. **marɣ* 'bird'[56] ← **mr̥ga-*, with the latter form being represented in Arm. *siramarg* 'peacock' (**sēnamarɣ-*, vs. MPers. *sēnmurw* 'fabulous bird'), Georg. *paršamang-i* 'id.' (**frašamarɣ*, MPers. *fraš(a)murw* 'id.')[57] or Arm. *margarē* and "Alb." *marġaven-* 'prophet', lit. 'augur, Vogelschauer'.[58]

On this basis we may lastly give an answer to the question first raised by PAUL HORN as to whether NPers. *xurda* and MPers. *xwurdag* pertain to the verb *xwardan* 'to eat, drink' or not.[59] The difference between the stem of the latter infinitive form (together with derivatives such as **xwarti-* 'food' → Av. *xᵛarəti-*, MPers. *xwardīg*, ⇨ Arm. *xortik-kʿ*) and the ancestor of the former (together with the unextended MPers. <hwldy> = *xwurd* occurring in the Pahl. Psalter in

54 A sequence of *x+v* does not occur in "Alb." words, neither initially nor in other positions. – Note that the development of MIr. **xw* to plain *x* is met with in Armenian, too; cf., e.g., *xah* noted as a (later?) variant of *xoh* "food" ⇨ Av. **xvarəθra-* in HÜBSCHMANN 1895, p. 160 (no. 279) or, word-internally, *kaxard* "sorcerer" ⇨ Av. *kaxvarəδa-* (ib. p. 162 no. 291) or *naxarar* ← NW-MIr. **naxwaδāra-* (cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 152ff.). If this is not due to a special inner-Armenian development (cf. BENVENISTE 1929, p. 5ff. who argues that a MIr. sequence **axva-* is always substituted by *-axa-* in Armenian loans) it might reflect a dialectal divergence within the NorthWest Middle Iranian dialect continuum (cp. the development of **xwV-* to *whV-* in Parthian, matched by **xwV-* → *wV-* in Zazaki; cf. GIPPERT 1996, p. 151f.).

55 The modern pronunciation which is [xord-] in both words has of course developed secondarily; the rhyming behaviour in the Early NPers. period clearly shows the divergence. – The reading *xᵛartak* proposed for MPers. <xwrdg> 'small, insignificant' in NYBERG 1974, p. 221b, is as unjustified as the notation *xᵛardah* for the NPers. form (ib.); note that NYBERG himself mentions the Pazend form *xurdak*.

56 It must remain open whether the NWIr. idiom in question was "Median" as proposed by GERSHEVITCH 1989, p. 118, n. 10.

57 Cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 190ff., for details.

58 Cf. GIPPERT 2005 for details.

59 Cf. HORN 1893, p. 112 (no. 507).

Ps. 123 [124],7[60]) obviously consists of mere ablaut (zero-grade *-r̥-* vs. full-grade *-ar-*), and **xwr̥ta-* may well represent the original past participle "eaten" of the root **xwar-*.[61] For the semantics we can then compare the derivation of words denoting "trifles" like Engl. *bit*, Germ. *bisschen* from a verb meaning "to bite".[62]

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60 In the syntagmatic combination with *būd* (<hwrdy bwty>, cf. Andreas/Barr 1933, p. 104a) rendering the (passive) concept of "(the snare) is broken"; note that the Syriac text of the passage uses the same verbal root (*tbr* 'to break') as in Jo. 19,31–33 where the "Alb." palimpsest has the (active) verb *xarṭaḳ-biyesun*.

61 For the alternative proposal by Morgenstierne 1927, p. 92, to derive Bal. *hūrt* 'tiny' (and, consequently, the Persian word) from an underlying **hu-r̥ta-* 'well ground', cf. Korn 2005, p. 122, n. 246.

62 It would be tempting to add the Old Georgian designation of the "bridle bit" (also "iron ring"), *xarṭuḳ-i*, to this Iranian lemma. The word occurs, e.g., in Is. 37,29, IV Reg. 19,28, and Hiob 40,20 (28); the latter verse is obviously quoted in the VIII[th] century legend of St. Habo of Tpilisi (ch. 1; p. 54, l. 28 of the ed. Abulaʒe 1963; the reference to Ez. 29,4 ib. n. ******* is misleading). In some sources, we find the word spelt *xraṭuḳ-* instead; this is true for the long version of the Georgian legend on Barlaam and Josaphat, the so-called *Balavariani* (p. 161, n. A1 of the ed. Abulaʒe 1957) as well as the Mtskheta Bible edited by the XVII[th]-century scholar Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani and, accordingly, the dictionary compiled by the same author (vol. 2, p. 416, n. 2 of the ed. Abulaʒe 1966). *xraṭuḳ-* must certainly be regarded as the "forma difficilior" here; the word might therefore rather be a borrowing of a MIr. **xratuk-* representing a derivative of **xratu-* 'will, intellect' (→ 'prudence' → 'taming'?). – It would as well be tempting to connect the doublet of Ud. *xarṭ* and Georg. *xarṭ-i* (not attested in Old or Middle Georgian) denoting a "whetstone" or "grindstone" to NW-MIr. **xwart-*. This would presuppose that the meaning of "gravel, pebble, small stone" we have noted for Georg. *xurda* would have emerged in the unextended NW-Ir. PP formation as well. Note, however, that *xa-* rendering MIr. *xwa-* seems not to be attested elsewhere in Georgian.

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Some Notes upon the Religious Significance of the Rabatak Inscription

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One might wonder whether after G. FUSSMAN's considerations on the parallels between Surkh Kotal and Rabatak referring to the dynastic temples and the religion of Kaniška[1] there is any point in dedicating any new notes to the historical-religious significance of the Rabatak inscription, which was so masterly studied by our colleague.[2] However, the relatively large number of objectively obscure or unresolved points, which were honestly not concealed in his considerations, and the uncertainties inherent in the interpretation of a partially incomplete and difficult text, as emerged from the comparison with the edition by B. J. MUKHERJEE[3] and a recent contribution by M. L. CARTER[4], perhaps justify and render of some interest the attempt to present a few supplementary notes dedicated, as a token of friendship and deep-rooted admiration, to N. SIMS-WILLIAMS.

1. The dynastic sanctuaries of the Kushans in Bactria

Although it is a quite current idea that the sanctuaries of Surkh Kotal and Rabatak are to be considered dynastic sanctuaries, some clarification is required. The actual adjective "dynastic" has often been used to define also the art or the worship of the Kushans. This is probably inappropriate, as has been correctly pointed out,[5] as far as both art and religion are concerned. The images of kings present in the *bagolaṅgo* in Bactria and in the *devakula* in India, such as that of Māṭ, do not prove the existence of their actual worship as gods. Nevertheless, the definition of dynastic sanctuaries may be retained, but only in the sense suggested by FUSSMAN, namely as places of worship "consacrés aux

1 FUSSMAN 1998, pp. 582–594.
2 SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996; 1998.
3 MUKHERJEE 1995.
4 CARTER 2006.
5 VERARDI 1983, in particular pp. 225–228, 234–235, with relevant bibliographic references.

dieux qui protégeaient la famille royale, représentée par les ancêtres masculins de l'empereur dont le temple contenait les portraits"[6].

The comparison with Surkh Kotal is enlightening. The Rabatak inscription refers to statues of the gods mentioned in it – Nana, Omma, Aoromozdo, Mozdooano, Srošardo, Narasao, Miiro[7] – and to statues of kings, mentioned by name: Kujula Kadphises, the great-grandfather of Kaniška, Vima Taktu[8], his grandfather, Vima Kadphises, his father, and Kaniška himself. In this context, FUSSMAN claims that the presence of Iranian deities at Surkh Kotal is not certain, but that "celle de dieux indiens, appartenant notamment à la mouvance shivaïte avait été suspectée, tout comme à Māṭ"[9]. He infers from this that Kaniška, ever since the early years of his reign, was wont to build sanctuaries that were probably present, as well as in Surkh Kotal and Rabatak, also in other sites in Bactria, such as Airtam, where a Bactrian inscription was found containing the word βαγαλαγγο, and perhaps also on one of the tepe or hills on the right bank of the Qunduz-āb. He actually wonders whether, in the toponym Baghlan, explained by HENNING, we do not see the trace of a further *bagolaṅgo* located 30 km from Surkh Kotal, rather than a "lointain souvenir" of Surkh Kotal. He concludes that Bactria "pourrait avoir été couverte d'un véritable réseau de temples dynastiques"[10].

In any case the Rabatak inscription lends decisive weight to the definition given by FUSSMAN of the "dynastic sanctuaries". The deities named in it, in addition to Nana, Omma, Aoromozdo and Mozdooano – to which we shall return below –, are obviously protective divinities of Kaniška and of the Royal Household. The presence of Srošardo (Av. *sraošō aŝiiō*, MMPers. *srwšhr'y*, Sogd. *srwšrt*), Narasao (Av. *nairiiō.saŋhō*; MMPers. *nrysh*) and Miiro (Av. *miθra*, MPers. *mihr*),

6 FUSSMAN 1998, p. 589. Cf. *id.* 1983, pp. 74–75; 1988, p. 199. See also HUYSE 2003, p. 184, n. 18, and, for the Armeno-Arsacid and Kushan correspondences, pp. 178–183.

7 And not also Pharro, as MUKHERJEE claims (1995, pp. 9, 15, 17, 41), as φαρρο (l. 9) should probably be interpreted not as a proper noun but as part of μα..ο[φ]αρρο, a compound adjective, epithet of Omma, according to a proposal by SIMS-WILLIAMS (SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 92; 1998, p. 82) which FUSSMAN (1998, p. 586, n. 30) is inclined to accept. And therefore not Αθšo either: with reference to the presence of the latter among the Rabatak divinities (l. 10), SIMS-WILLIAMS himself, who had postulated "par scrupule plus que par conviction" (FUSSMAN 1998, p. 586) as being a "less likely alternative" (αθþο μοζδο instead of αορομοζδο, as "Fire (and) Mazda" or perhaps "Fire (son) of Mazda", referring to Av. *ātarš aburahe mazdā*), subsequently rejected it as "it is highly doubtful whether the pregnant use of the genitive would have survived into Bactrian" (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1997a, p. 336, n. 5).

8 On Vima Taktu and Soter Megas (for whom see also MACDOWALL 2002) see FUSSMAN 1998, p. 612, and more recently BOPEARACHCHI 2007, who showed that the two characters are not the same.

9 FUSSMAN 1998, p. 584. In note 24, which contains a reference to one of his contributions (chap. XIV) in SCHLUMBERGER/LE BERRE/FUSSMAN 1983, p. 152, points out that in both cases the evidence is still weak.

10 FUSSMAN 1998, p. 590.

often associated with each other in the Avesta, as has already been pointed out,[11] reinforces the purely Iranian (and more exactly Zoroastrian) nature of the Rabatak pantheon. However, even more may be said in order to appreciate the possible reason for their presence in our inscription. Indeed their presence is no coincidence. It is quite significant, in fact, that a sanctuary housing the images of three deceased kings and of the living one should be characterized by the presence of deities linked to the *post mortem* period, to the final judgment and the reverence owed to the souls of the deceased or to their *frauuašis*, which is so important in the Zoroastrian tradition in all its manifestations and during the various periods of its history. Sraoša, the *yazata* of religious obedience, is the guardian of the soul after death and "le psychopompe par excellence"[12]; Nairyō. saŋha, the messenger of Ahura Mazdā, who in *Mihr Yašt* is associated precisely with Sraoša and Mithra (Yt. 10.52), is a *yazata* of prayer, whose various functions include that of cooperating with the future saviour Pešōtan, of helping Wištāsp to carry out his journey to Paradise and to protect the *frauuaši* of Zoroaster; Mithra is the great Judge of the souls at the Činvat Bridge. It is therefore not without a specific reason that these divine images are present in a place of worship where the statues of kings are present, the *frauuašis* of which cooperate with the divine beings in protecting the reigning emperor.[13]

2. ια αμσα νανα οδο ια αμσα ομμα

The goddess Nana, who appears also as νανα þαο "Nana the ruler" in the monetary legends,[14] is the great goddess who, together with "All-the-Gods" (see below), invested Kaniška with his regality. The inscription presents her in a close relationship with Omma, probably Umā, the companion of Śiva (ομμο on a Huviška monetal series). SIMS-WILLIAMS, in endeavouring to explain the presence of the group *-mm-* in her name, suggested interpreting it as an assimilation from **-β-μ-*, comparing it with Av. *upəma-* "highest". He pointed out that the identification as Umā "fits the context", aptly adding that, as the name or epithet of a female deity, ομμα/ομμο "was perhaps conflated with Umā on account of the phonetic similarity of the two names".[15] FUSSMAN accepted SIMS-WILLIAMS's proposal regarding the possible Iranian etymology of ομμα suggesting the consideration of a name that was believed to conceal that of Ardoxšo "absente de R(abatak) bien que tous les souverains kouchans depuis Kaniṣka aient

11 FUSSMAN 1998, p. 586, n. 32.

12 GRENET 1986, p. 106. Cf. KREYENBROEK 1985, pp. 133–134, 180.

13 CARTER (2006, p. 356), on the other hand, sees Srošardo, Narasao and Miiro as being the "guardians and personifications of sacred fire" and the "warlike protective deities and communicators between heaven and earth".

14 GÖBL 1984, p. 43.

15 SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 84, 9.

frappé des séries, parfois très abondantes, à son éffigie"[16]. MUKHERJEE, for his part, identifies Omma with the Indian, and Śivaite, Ambā (Amma > Ommo),[17] that he had already identified with *Umā*, "another name of Durgā or Ambā"[18], a consort of Śiva, like the Nana of the above-mentioned Huviška coin series, in which the pair ναναο-ηþο appears.

The Rabatak inscription is decisive proof of the close connection between Nana and Omma. The fact that Nana is the deity mentioned at the outset as the source of Kaniška's regality and the fact that Omma seems to appear in this as she who leads the service of the gods "here" (μαρο) – namely in that sanctuary – obviously means that they were considered to be equivalent, and among other things interchangeable in their relationship with Oēšo/Śiva, as may be inferred from the above-mentioned numismatic evidence. This is perhaps precisely the interpretation to be given to the phrase ια αμσα ναναο οδο ια αμσα ομμα (ll. 9–10) which SIMS-WILLIAMS proposed to translate as "the above-mentioned Nana and the above-mentioned Umma"[19], and which could equally be translated as "the same Nana and the same Umma".

In any case, there seems to be no justification for the customary claim[20] that Nana is the principal deity in the Kaniška pantheon except in the sense that she was probably the deity to whom the Rabatak sanctuary was dedicated thanks to her function of regality-dispensing goddess and her special nature of regal deity (ναναο þαο). Such a claim would not be less incorrect than that in which Anāhīd is considered the principal deity of the first Sassanians on the sole basis of the fact that a sanctuary located at Staxr, in the centre of Persian power, is dedicated to her as *Anāhīd ī bānūg*, "Lady Anahīd"[21]. This parallel is particularly

16 FUSSMAN 1998, p. 592. FUSSMAN (*ibid.*, p. 587, n. 34) observes that SIMS-WILLIAMS unreservedly accepts ομμα and ομμο as being the same, without considering that GÖBL (cf. DAVARY 1982, p. 249) preferred to read οημο rather than ομμο (but see BANERJEA 1956, pp. 126–127; MARICQ 1958, p. 425; ROSENFIELD 1967, p. 94, with valid arguments), although comparison with another Huviška coin (GÖBL 1984, p. 43, series 167, tab. 14), in which the pair ναναο-ηþο occurs and the unlikely nature of the interpretation οημο proposed by GÖBL, who is inclined to assume a wholly improbable deification of Vima (Kadphises), as ROSENFIELD (1967, p. 94) correctly objected, suggest that the identification ομμα-ομμο should certainly be retained.

17 MUKHERJEE 1995, p. 41. FUSSMAN disagrees also owing to the fact that the form that would be expected should be **amma* in his opinion.

18 MUKHERJEE 1969, p. 14. On the Nana-Durgā relationship now see also GHOSE 2006, pp. 102–103.

19 On the basis of a new interpretation of αμσα: "f. of *(υ)αμ(α)γο 'same', i.e. 'above-mentioned' (< **hamaka-*, cf. Av. **hama-*)" (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998, p. 85), as he had abandoned a previous explanation.

20 See for example: FUSSMAN 1998, pp. 585, 588–589, 591; DE JONG 1997, pp. 273–274; CARTER 2006, p. 353; GHOSE 2006, pp. 97, 102.

21 MACKENZIE 1989, pp. 42, 55, 58; GIGNOUX 1991, pp. 59, 69 and n. 133. See also GNOLI 1989, pp. 127–128 with notes 33 and 34 for the principal bibliographical references, and HUYSE 2003, p. 185.

significant in view of the well known relation between Anāhitā and Nana,[22] the goddess of remote Elamite origins,[23] which was recently incorrectly questioned.[24] It is not by chance that, at the time of the Sassanian Kušānšāhs, Nana was identified (βαγο ναναο on a Pērōz I coin), depicted as the huntress Artemis, with "Lady Anāhid" (MPers. 'n'hyt ZY MROTA on a Hormizd II coin).[25]

3. οισποανο μι βαγανο

Kaniška claims to have received regality (þαοδανο) "from Nana and from All-the-Gods" ασο ναναο οδο οισποανο μι βαγανο (l. 2). Our "All-the-Gods" translates what FUSSMAN aptly defines as a "formule-type" corresponding to the Ved. *viśve devāḥ* (in Rabatak in the oblique case). With reference to Nana, it is believed to indicate "une masse collective anonyme" of deities that would later be mentioned by name (lines 9–10).[26] This, however, is not certain.

This formula actually dates back to early times and survived in the Iranian world with the normal replacement of *daiva-* with *baga-*, both in Old Persian and in Bactrian, or with *yazata-*, and may sometimes simply refer to the deities in general, without a specifically technical value.[27] In a Persepolitan inscription of Darius I, for example, the expression *hada visaibiš bagaibiš* "with All-the-Gods" – "a transformation of Proto Indo-Iranian **u̯iću̯ai daiu̯ā́s*"[28] – referring to the deities from which the king is imploring protection, requested in the first instance from Ahura Mazdā, occurs without any reference to a specific deity. The same may be said for the phrase, reported here in Middle Persian, of the

22 GRENET/MARSHAK 1998, p. 8. See also BOYCE 1982, pp. 29–31; 1985, p. 1006; 1988, p. 280, n. 10; CHAUMONT 1985, p. 1008; RUSSELL 1987, pp. 235–260 (on the Kushans: pp. 239–240).

23 POTTS 2001. On Nana see also more recently GRENET/MARSHAK 1998, pp. 7–9, 10ff.; MODE 2003, pp. 150, 152–157, 164; GHOSE 2006.

24 The negative position of KELLENS (2002–2003, in particular p. 318) in this connection should be discussed in detail elsewhere. In any case, it should be noted that there is no doubt that the Persian goddess possesses regal and warlike characteristics (GNOLI 1971, pp. 245–248; 1974, pp. 31–36). As for the quest for a proper name for the goddess (disregarding for the moment the hypothesis of a western **Anāhiti*: BOYCE 1982, p. 29; 1985, pp. 1005–1006), I honestly fail to see the logic or the utility of considering Av. *hī-* (PIRART 1997, pp. 156–159) or Av. *āp*.

25 GRENET/MARSHAK 1998, p. 8 with figs. 4 (Hormizd II gold coin) and 5 (Pērōz I bronze coin) and with references (*ibid.*, p. 17, n. 4) to the numbers 25, 17 and 16 of CRIBB 1990 for Anāhīd on bronze coins. See CRIBB, *ibid.*, pp. 184f., n. 5, 186, nos. 16 and 17, 187, n. 25, and for Nana p. 188, n. 31 (again made of bronze).

26 FUSSMAN 1998, p. 585.

27 Cf. RENOU 1958, p. 6; GONDA 1960, p. 99. SCHLERATH 1968, p. 153 detects an echo of this formula in the Gāthic *daēuuā vīspāŋhō* of Y. 32.3 (cf. also Y. 34.5) which would refer to (bad) deities in general.

28 DPd 14, 22, 24. See SCHMITT 2000, p. 59, and cf. *id.* 1987, pp. 138–146; 1991, p. 70.

Paikuli inscription (§ 19): *pad Ohrmazd ud wispān yazdān ud Anāhīd ī bānūg nām* "in the name of Ohrmizd, of All-the-Gods, and of Anāhit the Lady"[29]. It should be noted that here, too, the great Persian goddess who, like the Bactrian Nana, performs an obvious function of dispenser of regality has a special relation with "All-the-Gods" (albeit of course naturally secondary with respect to the one Ohrmazd has with them).

Line 2 is therefore believed to contain a reference to Nana and to "All-the-Gods" in general, as dispensers of regality to the reigning king, while in lines 9–10 it is thought that only those deities to whose worship the sanctuary was specifically dedicated are mentioned: "these gods" (ϕαρειμοανο βαγανο of lines 8–9; ειμοανο βαγανο of l. 11), which only partially coincide with "All-the-Gods".

4. μοζδοοανο

Credit goes to SIMS-WILLIAMS for a new and plausible interpretation of μοζδοοανο (l. 10), the presence of which in the Kushan pantheon is thus no longer limited to a group of rare Kaniška gold coins[30]: no longer 'Mazdā the victorious'[31] nor 'Winner of Wisdom'[32] *(*mazdā-wana-)*, but **mižd*wan- 'the Gracious one', a name "virtually synonymous with that of Śiva (Ved. *śivá-* 'kind, benevolent, auspicious')"[33], related to a 'Bactrian Rudra' closely associated with the figure of the Kushan god, the male counterpart of Umma, that is of Umā Haimavatī, the benevolent spouse of Mīḍhvān, as J.C. WRIGHT[34] proposed in his wake. This identification, which SIMS-WILLIAMS quite honestly terms "speculative", at the current state of our iconographic knowledge,[35] would, among other things, solve the problem of the absence of οηþο/Śiva in the Rabatak inscription.

However, the interpretation proposed by SIMS-WILLIAMS is fraught with problems owing to an implication that, on closer scrutiny, is seen to be by no means necessary and that is due solely to the fact that, on the one hand, he agrees with HUMBACH's hypothesis of Bactr. οηþο (Av. *vaiiuš*, MPers. *way*, Sogd. *wyšprkr*)[36] and, on the other, in his opinion, the portrait of μοζδοοανο (holding a trident, the symbol of Śiva, and riding a two-headed horse)

> could possibly be related to the dual nature of the god Vayu, the *way ī weh* "Way the better" and *way ī wattar* "Way the worse" of the Pahlavi texts, *and more distantly* [my italics] to the three-faced *wyšprkr* of the Sogdian *Vessantara Jātaka* and the three-headed οηþο/Śiva portrayed on certain Kushan coins.[37]

SIMS-WILLIAMS also points out, at the suggestion of GRENET, a convinced and staunch supporter of HUMBACH's thesis concerning οηþο,[38] that "the third face of *wyšprkr* may correspond to a third 'neutral' aspect of the god"[39]. However, this is not convincing for two reasons: 1) the three aspects of Vayu imagined by HUMBACH actually do not exist; 2) the identification of οηþο with **wēš* of Sogd. *wyšprkr* is probably incorrect.

The first of these two points is based on an arbitrary interpretation of a passage from chapter one of the *Bundahišn* which reads: *U-šān mayān tuhīgīh būd. Ast kē Way gōwēd, kē-š nūn gumēzišn padiš* "And between them [= Ohrmazd in the light and Ahreman in the darkness] was a void {Some say 'Way [Atmosphere]'}, in which (there is) now the Mixture".[40] Clearly the alleged triple aspect of Vayu is merely the product of an unjustified inference: the Mixture is only the place in which Way the better and Way the worse coexist. Therefore the idea suggested by GRENET to SIMS-WILLIAMS, precisely on the basis of HUMBACH's assumption,[41] is not acceptable, in my opinion.

With regard to point two, there is objectively no reason except pure linguistic coincidence (see below) to link the Bactr. οηþο with the Sogd. *wyšprkr*, which

29 HENNING 1952, p. 518 and n. 2, in which "All-the-Gods" is interpreted as *višve devā* . SKJÆRVØ (in HUMBACH/SKJÆRVØ 1983, p. 53), declaring that it was not clear to him what HENNING implied, considered a meaning such as "all the (other) gods".

30 ROSENFIELD 1967, pp. 82–83 and pl. VII, 132 and 133; GÖBL 1984, p. 42.

31 DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN 1960, pp. 213–214. Cf. MUKHERJEE 1995, pp. 41–42, and already MARICQ 1958, p. 424.

32 HUMBACH 1975a, p. 139. See also DAVARY 1982, p. 234.

33 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1997a, p. 338. And see previously SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, pp. 79, 85, 93. See also HUYSE 2003, p. 186.

34 WRIGHT 1997.

35 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1997a, p. 338.

36 HUMBACH 1975b, pp. 402–408. HUMBACH recognized Av. *vaiiuš uparō.kairiiō* in the Sogd. *wyšprkr* which appears in Manichaean (M 178/v/9: HENNING 1948, pp. 312, 317) and Buddhist (*Vessantara Jātaka* l. 910ff.: BENVENISTE 1946, p. 57ff.; Sogdian texts 8.41–42: BENVENISTE 1940, p. 107) texts. Subsequently, the Sogdian god was also recognized in 8th century Panjikent mural paintings (MARSHAK 1990, pp. 307–309 and fig. 16, with the name read by LIVŠIC; GRENET 1994, pp. 43–44; 1995–1996, p. 278; *id.* in GRENET/MARSHAK 1998, p. 10; MODE 1991–1992, pp. 182, 189, n. 29; 2003, pp. 151, 156–159, 195, fig. C; MARSHAK 2002, pp. 110, 119).

37 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1997a, p. 338. With reference to μοζδοοανο see also CARTER 2006, pp. 353–354, who sees in it rather "an ancestral royal hero of the Kushan clan", also citing HUMBACH 1975a, p. 139, and pointing out that, in her opinion, the 'trident' of μοζδοοανο is different from that of Śiva and similar instead to the staffs of the figures of Zeus on Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coin reverses and also of some figures of Kushan kings on their coin obverses. However, she fails to take into account the article by GAIL (1993) as well as that of GIULIANO (2004).

38 See GRENET in note 36 as well as *id.* in LAZARD/GRENET/LAMBERTERIE 1984, p. 218; and *id.* 1995–1996, p. 277; 1997.

39 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1997a, p. 338, n. 18.

40 Bd. I, 5 (but I, 4 in HUMBACH 1975b, p. 405) in the new edition of the text in CERETI/MACKENZIE 2003, p. 33.

41 See HUMBACH in the previous note and also TANABE 1991–1992, p. 56, with reference to an alleged "Zoroastrian notion of three kinds of wind: good, bad and mixed winds".

is also to some extent likened to Śiva, but appears many centuries later. It is quite possible that a three-headed Śiva influenced the iconography of oηþo (albeit only partially, as it is found in only 7 [7–8, 10–14] of the 21 types of coin reverses distinguished by GÖBL) and to a much greater degree that of 'Vayu' in Sogdian; it is also possible that the iconography of the latter possesses some elements that may be suited to a god of the atmosphere and – we might add – to a deity such as Way ī weh, or Rām, who as a psychopomp[42] could easily blow the trumpet (Av. *suβrā-*) of Yima and Sōšyans[43]; but it is unfounded that oηþo, despite the various considerations made by TANABE[44] and GRENET[45] has the typical features of a wind-god. It is therefore preferable to rely on MARSHAK's correct conclusion: "as far as iconography is concerned, Bactrian Vesh [which oηþo is in any case for him] is undeniably Shiva himself and, judging by the attributes, there is no evidence of his connection with Iranian Vayu"[46]; the same conclusion is reached by CRIBB, who nevertheless agrees with the identification *wyšprkr*–oηþo/Śiva.[47]

That the Iranian Vayu (in the nominative case Av. *vaiiuš*) is the origin of a Bactr. *wēš*, represented by oηþo, is a hypothesis therefore based on an exclusively, and it might be said, abstractly, linguistic argument. In actual fact, both the Sogdian deity and the Bactrian one might have in common only their specific links with Śiva which developed in several different religious and cultural contexts. Nothing excludes the possibility that oηþo was the name or epithet of a proto-Śiva figure characteristic of the Gandhāra region and deeply rooted in a complex and composite religious world that was essentially Indian, in which *Gandhāra* and *Gandhārī* were respectively the names of Śiva and the Devī, as significantly emerges also for the god called Γάνδαρος which Hesychius glossed as ὁ ταυροκράτης παρ' Ἰνδοῖς.[48] Indeed, above all in the light of the masterly

42 Cf. WIKANDER 1941, p. 18; LINCOLN/SCHLERATH 1982, pp. 456–457.

43 DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN 1980. In *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram* XXX, 20, there is a parallel between the golden horn of Yima and Sōšyans' trumpet, which had a similar function to that of the Judgement Day trumpet played by the angel Isrāfīl in Muslim eschatology.

44 TANABE 1991–1992, p. 62, refers to the hair-style of oηþo on several coins of Vima Kadphises and βοϱζοοανδο ιαζαδο (see below) on several Kushano-Sassanian coins which, in his opinion, are "depicted as either standing on end or dishevelled". But see GÖBL 1984, p. 43: "Details der Kopfzier unklar", with reference to his types 1 and 2. On this subject see also LO MUZIO 1995–1996, pp. 166–170, n. 18.

45 GRENET 1994, p. 43, who describes the god depicted on the Kushano-Sassanian coins (see previous note) "with dishevelled hair on the top of his head", that is, with a detail that "reminds one that the Indian Vāyu, the homonym and counterpart of the Iranian Vayu, is described as dwelling in Śiva's hair". The latter hypothesis is not convincing, if for no other reason than it does not explain the absence of this iconographic motif from the normal typology of oηþo.

46 MARSHAK 1995–1996, p. 305.

47 CRIBB 1997, p. 31.

48 Cf. CALLIERI 1996, p. 213. See BANERJEA 1956, p. 129, and also TARN 1951, p. 135, n. 5; TUCCI 1963, p. 160.

analyses made by G. TUCCI of the spread through Gandhāra and adjacent countries of the worship of male gods later identified with the polymorphic Śiva, it is quite likely that oηþo should be viewed precisely as the result of a long evolution, which made Gandhāra a Śivaite centre and Swāt, in particular, as later also Kashmir, the environment in which some peculiar Śaiva schools (like Krama Śivaism)[49] developed.

Despite the occasionally unconvincing Indological etymologies given for oηþo, such as that of Prakrit **haveṣo* or **haveśo* (< Skt. *bhaveśa* 'Lord of being')[50] and that of *viṣa* (< Skt. *vṛśa* 'bull'), previously shared also by the present writer[51], a fresh proposal seems to approach the solution of the problem. A.J. GAIL has indeed shown how oηþo may have reflected the name under which Śiva was worshipped at Mathurā: *Bhūteśa*, for Bhūteśvara "Lord of the demons".[52] This proposal, duly deemed by FUSSMAN as philologically and theologically plausible[53], was rejected by GRENET solely on the strength of the conviction that it was not possible, neither linguistically nor iconographically, to separate oηþo and *wyšprkr*.[54] This is not enough as, on closer scrutiny, it seems to be a *petitio principii*.

So leaving aside the alleged distant relationship with the three-faced *wyšprkr* and the three-headed oηþo/Śiva, we may return to μοζδοοανο and his two-headed horse. The latter may reflect the dual nature, benign and terrible, of a deity of the Rudra/Śiva type, and it may not be necessary to involve the Iranian Vayu.

49 TUCCI 1958, p. 283f.; 1963, pp. 160–163, 171, 177–179; 1968, p. 292, with reference, among other things, to several works published by M. TADDEI in the early 1960s. For these and later studies see now TADDEI 2003, pp. 3–31; 159–164; 255–264; 271–287.

50 RAPSON 1897, p. 322. Cf. BANERJEA 1956, pp. 126, 135–136.

51 MARICQ 1958, p. 425; MUKHERJEE 1969, p. 14; GNOLI 1980, p. 82, n. 128. Not to mention that of DAFFINÀ (1977, p. 194: *viśa* as a metathetic form of the name of Śiva).

52 GAIL 1991–1992, p. 44: "Bhūta = middle Indian hūa or hua (...) When combined with īśa, which survives in its ancient Indian form, it results in hueśa". GAIL (*ibid.*, p. 48f., n. 6) does not stop short of challenging HUMBACH's thesis concerning the identification of oηþo with **Wēš* in *wyšprkr*: he challenges it also with regard to the interpretation of the latter in *Vessantara Jātaka* (*Viśvakarman* for BENVENISTE and HENNING: see above, n. 36), without however addressing the problem from a linguistic standpoint (*wyšp* instead of *wysp*: *wyšpšy* 'prince', adduced by HENNING 1948, p. 317, is in any case explained by assimilation of the first to the second *š* in GERSHEVITCH 1961, p. 68, n. 450).

53 In a letter, a portion of which is presented, see GAIL 1991–1992, p. 49, n. 13. The possible correspondence *ś–ṣ* (oηþo–*Bhūteśa*) still needs to be explained, a problem already perceived by RAPSON (1897, pp. 323–324) and recently raised by CRIBB (1997, p. 31), – since the three Old Indian sibilants are already included among the "archaïsmes spécifiques" in Gāndhārī (FUSSMAN 1989, p. 441).

54 GRENET 1994, p. 42; 1997. However, it is not clear why GRENET claims that GAIL was careful not to propose such a dissociation (on the other hand, see what the latter observes on p. 43 and in n. 6 of the cited article).

5. Final considerations

Bearing in mind that much remains to be clarified and much is uncertain and hypothetical, an attempt may now be made to bring these notes to a conclusion with several final considerations.

The Rabatak inscription displays a mainly, and more specifically Zoroastrian[55], Iranian pantheon. There is no reason to believe that Nana dethroned Ahura Mazdā simply because she was named before him, in her function of dispenser of regality. Moreover, Srošardo, Narasao and Miiro are three typically Zoroastrian divine beings, both in their specific individuality and in their reciprocal connections, which are particularly significant in a "dynastic sanctuary" in which a vivid memory of the ancestors was retained (see above). The worship practised in the sanctuary was characterized to some extent by Nana, the protagonist, associated with Umma, both of whom, one Iranian and the other Indian, are aspects of the Great Goddess.

Mozdooano, whose name immediately follows that of Ahura Mazdā, probably reflects a separate divine figure called "Muzhduwan", from **mižd<u>w</u>an-* "the generous, the gracious one", probably linked to Rudra/Śiva, with a Bactrian name that exactly reproduces the Indian term Mīḍhvān denoting the god whose benign spouse was Umā Haimavatī. Behind Muzdhuvan and behind Umma it is perhaps possible to discern the couple Oēšo-Ommo, namely Śiva-Umā (see above).

The Rabatak inscription has an Iranian pantheon which, presumably to satisfy the requirements of religious policy, does not however exclude several *interpretationes indicae*. One of them, which refers to the Great Goddess, may be considered explicit (Nana-Umma); another, regarding the supreme god (Aurmuzd-Muzhduwan or, if one prefers, Ahura Mazdā-Śiva or Rudra/Śiva), is also comparatively explicit if it is true that in this case the Bactrian name faithfully duplicates the Indian one. And several *interpretationes*, probably dating to the Huviška era (see below), occur also outside the main text of the inscription. In particular, the Indian names Mahāsena and Viśākha appear in Bactrian transcription in the interlinear text inserted between lines 9 and 10, at the level of the third letter from the end of the name ναρασαο to the third last letter of l. 10,]ο οδο μαϩσην[ο] ϱιζ(δι) οδο βιζα(γ)ο ϱιζδι "... and he is called Mahāsena and he is called Viśākha"[56].

55 Despite the opinion of FUSSMAN 1998, p. 588f.: there is no doubt that 'Zoroastrian' is still meaningful and there is no reason to consider Kaniška's religion as an Iranian religion, which was moreover unknown at the time, other than Zoroastrianism. The same may be said for the considerations offered by ROSENFIELD (1967, p. 82), HUMBACH (1975a, p. 139) and more recently by CRIBB (1997, p. 28). The old definition given by STEIN (1887) of 'Zoroastrian deities' on Indo-Scythian coins retains its validity.

56 SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 79, n. 1; 1998, pp. 80, fig. 1, 82, n. 2. He merely observes cautiously that "Since one cannot read the whole of the interlinear text it is not clear to which Iranian god or gods the names μαασηνο 'Mahāsena' and βιζαγο 'Viśākha' are intended to refer" (SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 85). MUKHERJEE (1995, p. 9) reads a longer phrase, with the name *(ko)ma(ro)*. Both GRENET, in a letter to SIMS-WILLIAMS dated 28 January 1998 (cf. FUSSMAN 1998, pp. 581, 588) and FUSSMAN (*ibid.*, pp. 588, 593f., n. 56) do not consider it a matter of *interpretationes*. The former, pointing out how, in his opinion, in the main text no mention is made of the Iranian deities (for him: Oēšo and Orlagno) to which μαασηνο and βιζαγο possibly refer, believes that the intercalated phrase actually represents the trace of a palimsest; the latter, regarding this proposal with some skepticism, is more inclined to see it as an addition, in any case subsequent to the carving of the main text and the actual reign of Kaniška, as being contrary to the 'intentions profondes' of this king as "On a clairement l'impression d'un réfus de tout ce qui ne peut être rattaché aux religions iraniennes (bactrienne?), bouddhisme excepté" (FUSSMAN 1998, p. 594). On the problem of the interlinear text see also HUYSE 2003, p. 187, n. 28.

Here MUKHERJEE's interpretation seems highly feasible (regardless of his interpretation of the name Kumāra, κομαρο, not read by SIMS-WILLIAMS), linking these names to a single divine figure, Skanda or Kārttikeya,[57] corresponding to the Iranian Srošard.[58] Among other possible hypotheses[59] the one that Maasēno and Bizago are names denoting a single divine group should not be disregarded. It is possible, again quite hypothetically, to conceive of an integration of these two names with reference to the Skando Komaro-Maasēno-Bizago group, which appears on the Huviška coins, perhaps postulating that the intercalation actually dates back to the era of this king. The *interpretatio indica* with these war gods might in this case refer solely to the figure of Srošard, following MUKHERJEE's proposal, and such an integration, [σκανδο κομαρ]ο, would be feasible in view of the amount of space it occupies as it possibly begins at the very level of the name σροϸαρδο, which is perhaps the least comprehensible to non-Iranian subjects. It is not in contradiction with FUSSMAN's considerations concerning the period in which it was carved, subsequent to Kaniška's reign.

In any case the intercalated line confirms the impression that the Rabatak pantheon was fundamentally Iranian in view of the fact that someone subsequently felt obliged to interpret it in an Indian way. Moreover, it is believed to

57 MUKHERJEE 1995, pp. 9, 15, 17, 42. For Maasēno, Skando Komaro-Bizago and Skando Komaro-Maasēno-Bizago on Huviška coins cf. ROSENFIELD 1967, pp. 79, 99f.; GÖBL 1984, pp. 41, 45. On Mahāsena, Skanda Kumāra/Kārttikeya and Viśākha see BANERJEA 1956, pp. 85, 106, 117, 140f., 146, 200, 265, 338, 362, 364f.

58 MUKHERJEE 1995, p. 42. FUSSMAN (1998, p. 588, n. 43) is skeptical about this proposal, pointing out how Sraoša "est effectivement un dieu des batailles mais dont l'arme paraît être la prière plus que la glaive (Boyce 1975, 61 et 1991, 252–253)". However, Sraoša's warlike character is certainly confirmed, among other things, by his epithets (ELSAS/COLPE 1982, p. 437), by the "sharp-edged weapon, good to thrust against the evil heads of the demons" (Y 57.31: KREYENBROEK 1985, p. 55 and cf. pp. 77 and 166), by the cock (cf. the cock or the peacock of our Indian war gods: BANERJEA 1956, pp. 106, 140f., 356, etc.; ROSENFIELD 1967, p. 79) and by the figure of *Sraošauuarəz* (*ibid.*, p. 160f.).

59 In theory μαασηνο and βιζαγο could refer to two distinct deities, for example, Mahāsena/Śiva and Viśākha/Skanda (thus FUSSMAN 1998, p. 588, who actually does not believe in this *interpretatio indica*). On this point, see n. 56 above.

show how the identifications with deities belonging to different religions, or associations among them, were essentially dictated by the similarity of their specific and principal functions in their respective pantheons.

The latter point is of particular importance and is itself confirmed in a later Kushan era, when Ardoxšo (cf. Av. *Aši̯š vaŋuhī*), a Bactrian Great Goddess and a Kushan Τύχη,[60] ultimately absorbed other female deities,[61] with which, as with Nana, Hāritī, Śrī Lakṣmī, relatively obvious associations had already occurred.[62] The case of βοῤζαοανδο ιαζαδο (Pahl. *burzāwand yazd*) "the exalted god" of the Kushano-Sassanian coins[63] is significant in this context, as it proves that a kind of convergence occurred between Oēšo/Śiva and Ahura Mazdā, as supreme deities of two different pantheons, associated by obvious reasons of a political-religious nature in an "oberster Gott eines synkretistischen Pantheons"[64]. The Iranian god, in view of the adherence of the Sassanians and of the Kushano-Sassanian kings, to Mazdaism, could only be Ahura Mazdā himself.[65] The existence in the eastern Iranian world of an ancient worship of Vayu "Hochgott"[66] or, more generally, of a Vayu that was originally a supreme deity,[67] which are arguments in a complex discussion,[68] was revived *ad hoc* by HUMBACH[69] for the sole purpose of enhancing the credibility of his theory on the Sogdian *Wēš-parkar* and on the Bactrian **Wēš*. A different case is that of *wyšprkr* in Buddhist Sogdian texts which, in *Vessantara Jātaka*, name him after Adhvagh,[70] the "Supreme God", corresponding to Śaka/Indra and Ohrmazd, or in Manichaean Sogdian texts (M 178), which identify him with the *Spiritus*

60 GNOLI 1963, pp. 33–36.
61 GÖBL 1984, p. 19; BUSSAGLI 1984, pp. 124, 132 as well as p. 268, citing other studies by BUSSAGLI of the importance for the relations between Nana, Umā and Ardoxšo.
62 ROSENFIELD 1967, pp. 72–75, 94, 166, 246–247.
63 BIVAR 1956, pp. 20–21 (with HENNING's opinion); 1968, pl. VIII, 1, 2. Cf. DAVARY 1982, p. 179.
64 HUMBACH 1975b, p. 407, and cf. *id.* 1975a, p. 140 and n. 21. See also LUKONIN 1967, pp. 20, 26; BELENITSKI/ MARSHAK 1971, p. 11; BRUNNER 1974, pp. 148–149.
65 While it is not impossible that this syncretic phenomenon is not completely extraneous to the figure of Kushan Mithra, also because of the ample space that Miiro (or Miuro) had on Kushan coins (BIVAR 1979, pp. 745–747; cf. GRENET 1991, p. 149), the idea that this epithet referred to Vayu/*Wēš (οηβο) is merely speculative, and even contradictory (TANABE 1991–1992, p. 61; GRENET 1994, p. 43). If in βοῤζαοανδο ιαζαδο, we were actually to see the alleged *Wēš, what would be the reason for such a new denomination, which would refute any syncretic hypothesis? Moreover, the suspicion that it might truly reflect Av. *uparō.kairiia-* or Pahl. *abargar* is legitimate.
66 NYBERG 1938, p. 300f.; WIDENGREN 1938, pp. 188–215; WIKANDER 1941.
67 ZAEHNER 1955, pp. 82f., 90, 125f.
68 DE JONG 1997, p. 44ff.; PANAINO 2002, p. 23.
69 HUMBACH 1975b, pp. 405f., 407. See also TANABE 1991–1992, pp. 61–64.
70 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1983, p. 138f., citing, in n. 63, also the opinion of J. BROUGH. *Ἄδβαγ* ultimately derives from Buddhist Sanskrit *adhideva-*, Pali *atideva-*. On this topic see in particular already LIVŠIC 1962, pp. 104, 106; HUMBACH 1975b, pp. 338–402.

Vivens, Parth. *Wād žīwandag*.[71] If it was possible to recognize Śiva against the background of this divine figure, it would nevertheless always be a deity that belonged to a Buddhist or Manichaean environment. He would not be a supreme god, as Oēšo/Śiva of the Kushans certainly was, and who, together with his paredra, was placed at the top of a true pantheon of the Śivaite type, in the Indian component of their composite religious world,[72] in which also Buddhism naturally had its place.[73]

The Rabatak inscription, with Nana as dispenser of regality, associated with the paredra of Oēšo/Śiva, with Ahura Mazdā,[74] probably associated with a Bactrian Rudra/Śiva, and with Sraoša, Nairyō.saŋha and Mithra, three Zoroastrian guardians, protectors, escorts and judges of the souls of the kings depicted in the sanctuary, thus clearly shows Kaniška's intentions of referring to Iranian religious tradition. If it is thus viewed in the more general context of the substitution of Greek with Bactrian, as is explicit in l. 3 and has its exact parallel in the coin legends,[75] and of the foundation of a new era (lines 2, 4, 19, 20);[76] and if it is compared with the gold coins, having a more evident political content,[77] one gets the distinct impression that, as far as the religion of the Kushan élite is concerned, at least at the time of Kaniška I, it provides the most satisfactory confirmation of the thesis of the "renouveau iranien" in the Kushans, so brilliantly taken up again on several occasions by FUSSMAN starting from the 1970s.[78]

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71 SUNDERMANN 1979, pp. 100, 121, ns. 82–84.
72 HUMBACH himself actually showed he was well aware of this problem, wondering whether Oēšo had inherited this position of supreme god for the Kushans from a Vayu "Hochgott" (see above and cf. n. 66) or from the Indian Śiva (HUMBACH 1975b, p. 407).
73 Cf. among others: EMMERICK 1990, p. 492f.; FUSSMAN 1994; 2003–2004a, pp. 929–933; TREMBLAY 2007, pp. 82–88, to mention only recent studies.
74 Present in an archaic spelling, ωοῤομοζδο compared with ωοῤομοζδο on a Huviška coin: SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 85; 1997a, p. 336, n. 5 (also for the proper nouns).
75 SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, pp. 78, 82f.; 1996, p. 635; 1997b, p. 5; 2004, p. 2. See also FUSSMAN 1998, pp. 596–598; GNOLI 2002.
76 In particular see FUSSMAN 1998, p. 595f.; 2003–2004b, p. 510.
77 FUSSMAN 1998, pp. 590–594.
78 FUSSMAN 1974, p. 37f.; 1977; 1991–1992, pp. 659–667, etc. An appreciation of the thesis of the "renouveau iranien" among the Kushans (or rather the Kushan *élite* than in the Kushan *empire*) may be found already in GNOLI 1989, p. 134, n. 8.

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The Pahlavi Text *Māh ī Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād*

A Source of Some Passages of Bīrūnī's *Chronology*

Frantz Grenet, Paris

For a long time the Pahlavi pamphlet *Māh ī Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād* has received little attention. In 1892 James Darmesteter first published a translation of its final, eschatological, paragraphs, as a footnote in *Le Zend-Avesta*.[1] In 1900 Kaikhoshroo Jamaspji JamaspAsana produced an annotated English translation,[2] which, considering its date, was fairly reliable, and in 1913, his father, Jamaspji Minochehrji JamaspAsana, published (posthumously) a full critical edition.[3] This was reprinted by Said 'Oriān[4] who also provided a supplementary transcription, requiring only minor corrections, which conformed with the system used in D.N. MacKenzie's *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (Oxford 1971).

This text presents, in a condensed form, what purports to be a full account of events which have and will happen on the sixth day of Nowrūz, from the creation of the vital souls *(gyān)* till the end of Time. In the form in which it has come down to us, it seems to represent a sort of *aide-mémoire*, on the basis of which priests could extemporize during popular gatherings at New Year. On further scrutiny, however, the composition appears quite balanced, with Zoroaster's vision set exactly in the middle (paragraph 24 of a total of 47). Moreover, on some points it departs from accounts in other Pahlavi texts, and for a few important details it offers precise (and so far unnoticed) parallels of contents and wording with Bīrūnī's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*[5], each text helping to understand the other. This suggests that Bīrūnī, who also attributes an immense importance to this particular day, had access, probably indirectly, to this text or to a close variant.

1 Darmesteter 1892–1893, II, pp. 640–641, fn. 138.
2 K.J. JamaspAsana 1900.
3 J.M. JamaspAsana 1913. This edition uses the four extant manuscripts, all more recent that the archetype manuscrit MK (J 1), copied in 1322/1323, in which this text is missing.
4 'Oriān 1992, pp. 102–108 (text), 321–326 (transcription).
5 References are given to Sachau 1878 (edition) and 1879 (translation). The recent edition by Aẓkā'ī 2001, which supplements Sachau's text with passages subsequently discovered, does not add anything new for our specific purpose. I wish to thank Yuri Karev for his help in checking the Arabic text.

I give here the transcription based on J.M. JAMASPASANA's edition, with a translation and a commentary limited to those paragraphs where the text presents some originality.

Text

1	*Pursīd ahlaw Zarduxšt az Ohrmazd kū čē rāy mardōmān māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād az abārīg rōzihā pad meh ud weh ud grāmigtar dārend?*	The blessed Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd: "Why do people hold the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn as superior, better and dearer than other days?"
2	*Ohrmazd passox dād kū Spitāmān Zarduxšt māh ī Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād gyān ī gēhānīgān dād bēm.*	Ohrmazd answered: "Zoroaster the Spitamid, on the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, I created the vital souls of the wordly creatures.
3	*Māh ī Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Ēr-iz ud Anēr-iz bun paydāg būd.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, both Iranian and non-Iranian races appeared.
4	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Gayōmard andar gēhān ō paydāgīh āmad.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Gayōmard appeared in the world.
5	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Gayōmard Arzūr bē *ōzad* (YKTWNt')	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Gayōmard killed Arzūr.
6	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Mihrīh* (myhlyh) *ud Mihryānīh* (myhly'nyh) *az zamīg frāz rust.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Mihrīh and Mihryānīh sprang up from the earth.
7	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Hōšang ī Pēšdād andar gēhān ō paydāg[īh] mad.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Hōšang the Pēšdādian appeared in the world.
8	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Tahmōrub Ahreman ī druwand pad bārag grift 30 sāl.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Tahmōrub took the cursed Ahriman as his mount for 30 years.
9	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Jam gēhān abē-marg kard abē-zarmān kard.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Jam made the world deathless and ageless.
10	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Jam paymōzān az dušox bē āwurd ud andar gēhān ō paydāgīh mad.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Jam brought the measures from Hell and appeared in the world.

11	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Jam astōdānīhā kand, ō mardōmān framūd kandan, ka-šān framūdag ī Jam dīd rōz pad nōg-rōz kard ud Nōg-rōz nām nihād.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Jam razed the bone-containers, he ordered people to raze them. When they saw Jam's order they made (this) day the new year and named it "New Year".
12	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Frēdōn baxšišn ī gēhān kard.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Frēdōn made the partition of the world.
13	*Hrōm ō Salm dād ud Turkestān ō Tōz dād, Ērānšahr ō Ērēč dād.*	He gave Rome to Salm and Turkestan to Tōz, Iran to Ērēč.
14	*Ud sē duxtar [ī] Bōxt-Husraw Tāzīgān-šāh bē xwāst ud pad zanīh bē pusarān dād.*	And he asked for the three daughters of Bōxt-Khosrow, king of the Arabs, and he gave them as wives to his sons.
15	*Salm ud Tōz andar pidar a-burd-framān šud hēnd ud Ērēč ī brād ī xwēš rāy bē ōzad hēnd.*	Salm ud Tōz became disobedient to their father and killed their brother Ērēč.
16	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Manūščihr abar kēn ī Ērēč bērōn mad ud Salm ud Tōz rāy pad kēn ī *Ērēč bē ōzad.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Manuščihr came out to avenge Ērēč and killed Salm and Tōz to avenge Ērēč.
17	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Sām ī Nīrīmānān *Snāwizag* (sn'yck) *dēw rāy bē ōzad.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Sām son of Nīrīmān killed the demon Snāwizag.
18	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Sām ī Nīrīmānān Až ī Dahāg rāy bē ōzanēd* (YKTWNyt)	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Sām son of Nīrīmān will kill Aždahāg.
19	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Gayōmard Arzūr [ī] Ahreman hunušak bē ōzad.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Gayōmard killed Arzūr, Ahriman's offspring.
20	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Kay-Husraw [ī] Siyāwaxšān Frāsiyāg ī Tūr pad kēn ī pid ī xwēš bē ōzad.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Kay-Khosrow son of Siyāwaxš killed Frāsiyāg the Tūrānian to avenge his father.
21	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Kay-Husraw [ī] Siyāwaxšān pad škōh ō <ī> garōdmān šud.*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Kay-Khosrow son of Siyāwaxš went majestically to Paradise.
22	*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Manūščihr ud Ēreš ī š[ē]bāg-tigr*	On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Manūščihr and Ēreš the

zamīg az Frāsiyāg ī Tūr abāz stad. swift-arrowed took back the land from Frāsiyāg the Tūrānian.

23 *Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Kay-Husraw [ī] Siyāwaxšān pādixšāyīh ō Lōhrāsp abespurd, xwad pad pērōzgarīh ō garōdmān šud.* On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Kay-Khosrow son of Siyāwaxš entrusted the kingship to Lōhrāsp, while he himself went victoriously to Paradise.

24 *Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Zarduxšt ī Spitāmān ō wēnišn ud ham-pursagīh [ī] Ohrmazd ī xwadāy rasēd* (YHMTWNyt). On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Zoroaster the Spitamid reaches the vision and conversation of Ohrmazd the Lord.

25 *Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Zarduxšt ī Spitāmān Dēn ī Māzdēsnān az Ohrmazd ī xwadāy bē padīrift.* On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Zoroaster the Spitamid received the Mazdaean Religion from Ohrmazd the Lord.

26 *Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Kay Wištāsp šāh Dēn az Zarduxšt bē padīrift.* On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, King Kay Wištāsp received the Religion from Zoroaster.

27 *Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād 18 čiš pad 18 sāl ō Husraw [ī] Ohrmazdān rasēd* (YHMWNyt). On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, eighteen things will reach Khosrow son of Hormizd over eighteen years.

28 *Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Wahrām ī warzāwand az Hindūgān ō paydāgīh āyēd.* On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Wahrām-with-miraculous-power will appear from among the Indians.

29 *Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Pišyōtan ī Wištāspān az Gangdiz ō Ērānšahr āyēd ud Dēn ī Māzdēsnān rawāg kunēd.* On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Pišyōtan son of Wištāsp, coming out of Gangdiz, will go to Iran and make the Mazdaean Religion current (again).

30 *Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Xwaršēdar ī Zarduxštān ō wēnišn ud ham-pursišn ī Ohrmazd [ī] xwadāy rasēd, ud Dēn ī Māzdēsnān az Ohrmazd [ī] xwadāy pad ēw-bār bē čāšēd ud warm bē kunēnd, ud xwaršēd rāy pad mayān ī asmān bar nēm-rōz 10 rōz-šabān abāz gīrēd, ud mardōmān rāy pad Dēn ī Māzdēsnān abē-gumān bē kunēd,* On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Xwaršēdar son of Zoroaster will reach the vision and conversation of Ohrmazd the Lord, all at once he will teach the Mazdaean Religion (received) from Ohrmazd the Lord and they will memorize it, he will hold back the Sun in the middle of the sky at its zenith for ten days and nights, he will make people without doubt concerning the Mazdaean Religion, and this will be the beginning of the millenium of Xwaršēdar and the end of that of Zoroaster.

ud hazārag ī Xwaršēdarān bun bawēd ud ān ī Zarduxštān pad sar bawēd.

31 *Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Sām ī Nīrīmānān Až ī Dahāg rāy bē ōzanēd ud xwad pad haft kišwar xwadāyīh bē nišīnēd, čand Kay Husraw pad dīdār āyēd ud Sām pādixšāyīh ō Kay Husraw abespārēd.* On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Sām son of Nīrīmān will kill Aždahāg, he himself will sit in the sovereignty of the seven climes, for some time Kay Khosrow will come into sight and Sām will entrust him with the kingship.

32 *57 sāl Kay Husraw haft kišwar xwadāy bawēd ud Sōšans mowbed ī mowbedān bawēd.* For fifty-seven years Kay Khosrow will be lord of the seven climes and Sōšans will be his *mowbedān mowbed.*

33 *Ud pas ān ka Wištāsp šāh rāy kālbodōmand kunēnd, Kay Husraw pādixšāyīh ō Wištāsp šāh abespārēd ud Sōšans mowbedān mowbedīh ō Zarduxšt pid ī xwēš abespārēd.* And after King Wištāsp will be made corporeal (again), Kay Khosrow will entrust King Wištāsp with the kingship and Sōšans will entrust his father Zoroaster with the dignity of *mowbedān mowbed.*

34 *Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād Ohrmazd ī xwadāy rist-āxēz ud tan [ī] pasēn kunēd, gēhān a-marg ud a-zarmān ud a-bēš ud a-petyārag bē bawēd.* On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, Ohrmazd the Lord will make the Resurrection of Corpses and the Future Body, the world will be deathless, ageless, without pain, without adversary.

35 *Ahreman abāg dēwān ud druzān ud hunušakān ud sāstārān ud kayakān ud karbān a-kār bē bawēd, Āz dēw dēwān ud druzān rāy hamāg bē xwarēd ud Srōš ahlaw Āz dēw rāy a-kār bē kunēd.* Ahriman together with the devils, the demons, (their) offsprings, the tyrants, the *kayaks*, the *karbs*, will be powerless, Āz the devil will eat the devils and demons, all of them, and Srōš the righteous will make Āz the devil powerless.

36 *Ohrmazd ī xwadāy Ahreman rāy bē zanēd ud stard ud a-kār bē kunēd,* Ohrmazd the Lord will smite Ahriman, he will make him stupefied and powerless,

37 **kē* (AMT) *nē pas az ān Gannāg Mēnōg nē az ān ī ōy dām ud dahišn abar zamīg pādixšā nē bawēnd.* so that subsequently neither the Evil Spirit nor any of his creatures and creation will have authority on the earth.

38 *Ahreman pad ān ham sūrāg ka andar dwārist ānōh nayēnd ud sar bē brīnēnd ud dušox pad 7 *ayōxšust bē hambārēnd.* Ahriman will be led to that same hole through which he had burst in, his head will be cut off and Hell will be filled up with the seven metals.

39 *Ēn zamīg abāz ō star-pāyag šawēd ud garōdmān az ān gyāg *kū* (AMT) *ast abāz ō star-pāyag āyēd ud hamāg gyāg garōdmān bē bawēd.*

This earth will return to the star station and Paradise, from the place where it is, will come to the star station, and the whole place will be Paradise.

40 *Mardōm a-marg ud a-zarmān bē bawēnd ka pas az ān xwarišn nē abāyēd.*

Men will be deathless and ageless, when thereafter they will have no need for food.

41 *Ud ka gōšt xward estēd pad dād ī 40 sālag abar hangēzēnd ud ka gōšt nē xward estēd pad dād ī 15 sālag ul hangēzēnd.*

And when they will have eaten meat they will be raised up at the age of forty, and when they will not have eaten meat they will be raised up at the age of fifteen.

42 *U-šān az ān gyāg ul hangēzēnd kū-šān gyān az tan bē šud.*

And they will be raised up in the place where their soul had left the body.

43 *Har mard kē zan nēst Spandarmad zan dahēd ud har zan kē šōy nēst Ohrmazd šōy dahēd.*

To each man who has no wife Spandarmad will give a wife, and to each woman who has no husband Ohrmazd will give a husband.

44 *Andar 57 sālag awēšān rāy frazand zāyišnīh bawēd.*

At the age of fifty-seven a child will be born to them.

45 *Ān mard rāy kē hagriz zan nē kard ud ān zan rāy kē hagriz šōy nē kard, pas az ān wēš hagriz frazand zāyišnīh nē bawēd.*

Afterwards, to the man who never had taken a wife (before) and to the woman who never had taken a husband (before), no more children will be born.

46 *Mard ud zan ēk abāg did āsāyēnd be-šān frazand zāyišnīh nē bawēd.*

The man and the woman will sleep together, but no child will be born to them.

47 *Ud pad hamāg gāh sagr ud padēx bē bawēnd ud čiš-iz xwarišn ārzōg nē bawēd ud gēhān abēzag bē bawēd ud mardōm a-petyārag tā hamāg ud hamāg rawišnīh ahōš bē bawēnd.*

And in every place they will be sated and flourishing, and there will be no desire to eat anything, and the world will be pure, and people, without adversary, will be immortal in the eternal course (of time)."

Commentary

§5: Ahriman's son, killed by Gayōmard, cf. MX 27.5 (where the link with Ahriman is not mentioned) and Bīrūnī, *Chronology* (text p. 108, transl. p. 100), who gives the name under the form *xrwr'* ultimately corrupted from MP *'rzwr*. In Ferdowsī the "Black Demon", son of Ahriman, kills Siyāmak, Gayōmard's son, and is himself killed by Hōšang, Siyāmak's son. In the present text the episode reappears in §19, with the added information that Arzūr is Ahriman's "offspring" *(hunušak)*. This is the first of a long series of murders of demons which constitutes a large proportion of the events supposed to occur on the sixth day of Nowrūz. The elimination of demons is indeed one of the cyclic functions of Nowrūz. For his own part Bīrūnī insists more on the associations of this day with the mythical and Sasanian royalties.

§6: Mihrīh and Mihryānīh, variant forms of Mašyag and Mašyānag, close to those in the *Indian Bundahišn (mtr W mtry'n)*.

§§9–11 are devoted to Jam (Yima), with striking similarities in Bīrūnī's chapter "On the festivals in the months of the Persians":

§9: "Jam made the world deathless and ageless", Bīrūnī (text p. 218, transl. p. 202): "No being was sick or died, as long as he ruled".

§10: "Jam brought the measures from Hell and appeared in the world", Bīrūnī (text p. 218, transl. p. 203, modified): "On the same day *(6th Frawardīn)* Jam took out all the measures of things *(wa fī haḏā al-yaum akhraǧa Ǧamm maqādīr al-ašyā')*; therefore the kings considered his way of counting as a good omen". The same myth is summarized with some more detail in MX 27.33: *ka-š paymān ī gētīgīg ī ōy duǰdānag druwand ōbārd ēstād ā-š az aškom abāz āwurd* "when (Jam) brought back from his belly the wordly measures this cursed ignorant *(Ahriman)* had swallowed".[6] Measures had to be fetched from the demons, like the writing under Tahmōrub, Jam's predecessor. Royal control on weights and measures is well attested under the Achaemenids[7].

§11: "Jam razed the bone-containers *(astōdānīhā)*, he ordered people to raze[8] them", Bīrūnī (text p. 217, transl. p. 202): "On the same day (Jam) issued a proclamation to those who were present, and wrote to those who were absent, ordering them to destroy the old mausoleums and not to build a new one on that day (or: place)" *(bi-an yukharribū al-nawāwīs al-'atīqa wa lā yabnū fī-hi nāwūs-an ḥadīṯ-an)*. Here SACHAU's translation "old temples" has to be

6 K.J. JAMASPASANA 1900, pp. 123–124, fn. 8 (with an unconvincing comparison with another story on Jam told in a Persian *Rivāyat*).

7 BRIANT 2002, p. 414 (Aramaic documents mention "the royal standard").

8 K.J. JAMASPASANA 1900, p. 124, reads krt, *kard*, "made" instead of knt, *kand*, "razed", which though equally possible paleographically is excluded by Bīrūnī 's text. 'ORIĀN gives the correct transcription.

corrected in accordance to the Pahlavi text. For his part, M. E. SAL'E, though not having the latter at his disposal, left *nawāwīs* untranslated but obviously took it in its specific meaning "Zoroastrian mausoleums"[9]. The purpose of Jam's order was probably to demonstrate that funerary structures have become useless, as from now onwards death has been abolished. Alternately, and less probably, it enforced the prescription set out in *Vīdēvdād* 7.49–52, according to which old *dakhmas* (places of exposure) must be destroyed (after fifty years according to the Pahlavi commentary), in order to avoid pollution.

§ 13: Tōz *(twč)*, written as elsewhere in the Pahlavi texts, while Ferdowsī gives the etymologically correct form Tūr < av. *tūiriia-*. Ērēč *('ylyc)*, Pers. Ēraj, is a regular derivation from av. *airiia-*, with the suffix *-ēz (-ēč)* < **a-iča-* attested in some Middle Persian personal names.[10]

§ 14: The name Bōxt-Husraw, "saved is Khosrow" (corrupted in *Dēnkard* 8.13.9), suggests that the form of this episode was influenced by the Arabian conquests of Khosrow I or Khosrow II (for the influence here of the late Sasanian context in the rewriting of the myths, cf. §§ 32–33, with the Sōšans as *mowbedān mowbed*). Ferdowsī calls this character Sarv ("Cypress"), king of Yemen.

§ 16: Manūščihr's "coming out" *(bērōn mad)* is not mentioned in other texts. This is most probably an allusion to the legend of his secret birth, recounted only in *Abdīh ud sahīgīh ī Sīstān*[11]: his mother, daughter of Ērēč, was brought by Frēdōn to the lake Frazdān, under the protection of Anāhīd and the other gods, "and he kept her hidden until the tenth generation, when a son was to be born from the girl". This myth clearly anticipates that of the Sōšans.

§§ 17–19: Sām, i.e. Garšāsp. §§ 18–19 seem out of place, as § 19 almost repeats § 5, while § 18 (with the verb in the present-future) anticipates § 31. The purpose is probably to stress the parallel between the first and the last murder in the history of mankind.

§ 21: Here again the passage is paralleled in Bīrūnī (text p. 217, transl. p. 201): "On the same day ... Kaikhusrau ascended into the air" *(wa 'araǧa Kaykhusraw ilā al-hawā')*.

§ 22: Here Bīrūnī (or his source) departs from the Pahlavi text (text p. 220, transl. p. 205), as he attributes this episode to the day Tīr of the month Tīr, probably because of the archer's function of Tīr and the folk-etymology Tīr < *tigr, tīr* "arrow". But as the passage is out of place in our text (it should have followed § 16), it could be an interpolation.

9 SAL'E 1957, p. 228. This meaning of *naus*, pl. *nawâwīs*, had been established in Russian scholarship since the pioneering article by INOSTRANCEV 1909.

10 See GIGNOUX 1986, p. 8. *Pace* KELLENS 2005, p. 239: "Ēric et Īraj remontent sans nul doute à *airiia-*, mais avec une dérivation inexplicable".

11 UTAS 1984.

§ 24: "Zoroaster the Spitamid reaches the vision and conversation of Ohrmazd the Lord", Bīrūnī (text p. 217, transl. p. 201, modified): "On the same day the fate occured to Zoroaster to converse with God face to face" *(wa fī-hi waṣala sahm Zarādušt ilā munāǧā(t) Allāh)*. SACHAU, in a quite complicated manner, translates "the *Sors Zarathustrae* came to hold communion with God". In our text the verb is in the present tense, probably to be undestood as a present, not a future, for Zoroaster's conversation with Ohrmazd is supposed to be taking place (see §§ 1–2). The following two paragraphs are again in the past, then the present-future is used consistently.

§ 27: Khosrow son of Hormizd, i.e. Khosrow II Parvīz (591–628). This strange piece of information should be considered in the light of Ṭabarī ii.1042, according to whom, in 607/608, Khosrow ordered the treasure accumulated during the first eighteen years of his reign to be transported to his new palace in Ctesiphon.[12] He gives the figure as 420 million *mithqāl*, i.e. 600 million dirhems, which cannot be reconciled with 18 × 18 = 324. So what can the "eighteen things" be? They hardly represent the respective contributions of the provinces, as there were more provinces in the Sasanian empire.[13] Possibly they refer to eighteen categories of offerings presented to the king by his subjects as *ēwēn* "customary gifts". According to Bīrūnī (text p. 219, transl. p. 204), on the sixth day of Nowrūz the Sasanian king "ordered to be brought before him the whole amount of presents, arranged according to those who had presented them, ... (then) he deposited what he liked in his treasury". The exceptional enrichment of the Iranian royal treasure under Khosrow II is the only historical episode which our text has found worthy of mention.

§ 30: Xwaršēdar *(hwlšytl)* instead of Ušēdar *('wšytl)* < *uxšiiaṯ.ərəta-*, a word-play on *xwar* "Sun".

§ 32: The second Saviour Ušēdarmāh is omitted.

§ 33: There is a *crescendo* in the miraculous reappearing of primeval heroes: Sām is asleep, Kay Husraw has ascended alive to Paradise (or, according to other traditions, hides in Gangdiz), Wištāsp is dead.

§ 35: *kayak*, a category of villains the name of which is derived from *kay* in order to take over the negative aspect of the Avestan Kavis. *karb* < av. *karapan*, a category of priests hostile to Zoroaster.

§ 38: The "seven metals", instead of the one melted celestial dragon Gōčihr in *Bundahišn* 34.31, seem to reflect an original doctrine of the final melting of the seven planets, considered as demonic as far as their material form is concerned.

12 CHRISTENSEN 1944, p. 465, fn. 2, mentions our text in relation with other treasures of Khosrow also described in numerical series (the "seven marvels", the "twelve treasures"), without referring to Ṭabarī.

13 Ammianus Marcellinus, 23.6.14, gives a list of 18 provinces, but it is arbitrarily compiled from Ptolemy's *Geography*.

§41: One of the rare attestations of an advantage of vegetarianism[14]: only those who will have abstained from meat will be resurrected at the ideal age of fifteen.

§§44–46: Human reproduction in Paradise will be kept to a minimum, in order to avoid repeating the overpopulation of the earth which had occured under Jam.

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MX = *Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad*

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14 See SHAKED 1994, pp. 43–44, where our text is quoted as the main evidence.

Disseminating the Mazdayasnian Religion

An Edition of the Avestan Hērbedestān Chapter 5*

ALMUT HINTZE, London

Introduction

The twenty chapters of the Hērbedestān (Hēr.),[1] as well as the ninety-one of the Nērangestān, have come down to the present in two manuscript traditions: the Indian line of HJ and the Iranian line represented by TD. HJ derives its name from that of its scribe and previous owner, Hoshang Jamasp of Poona, who in 1727 CE copied it from a ms. that was brought from Iran to India in 1722 by Jāmāsp Velāyatī.[2] However, as far as chapter 5 is concerned, the manuscript HJ is incomplete because on fol. 6r l.11 in Hēr. 3.5 the text breaks off after the words *harw tis* but continues in Hēr. 6 with the words *ka ham-xānag*. All mss. descending from HJ share this deficiency.[3] As a result, for chapter 5 we are entirely dependent on the single manuscript TD.[4]

The latter, which is now held in the Cama Oriental Institute Library, Mumbai, was brought to India by the Iranian mobed Khodābaxš Farōd Ābadān. In 1876 he passed it on to mobed Tehmuras Dinshaw ANKLESARIA (1842–1903), after whom the ms. is named. TD was written by Gōbedšāh Rūstām Bōndār

* The Pahlavi text has been edited by MARIA MACUCH in this volume.

1 While DARMESTETER, *ZA* III, pp. 78–91 divides the Hērbedestān into eighteen chapters, both H/E and K/K distinguish twenty.

2 A facsimile edition of HJ was published by SANJANA in 1894. On the impact of Dastur Velāyatī's visit on the Parsis and especially on the transmission of the Vīdēvdād, see A. CANTERA/M.A. ANDRÉS-TOLEDO: "The transmission of the Pahlavi Videvdad in India after 1700 (I): Jāmāsp's visit from Iran and the rise of a new exegetical movement in Surat." In: JCOI 2008, pp. 81–142.

3 One of the mss. decending from HJ is J55, which belongs to the collection of Dastur K M JAMASPASA. We are grateful to him for giving us access to it.

4 KOTWAL/BOYD 1980 (pp. 3, 5) mention three copies of TD: F21 in the Meherji Rana Library, Navsari, and D46 in the Cama Oriental Institute Libray, Mumbai, both made by Dastur Erachji in 1882, and one apparently made by mobed Tehmuras for E.W. WEST. SANJANA 1894 (p. 5) refers to a copy made in 1881 and held in the Mulla Firuz Library (at the Cama Oriental Institue). This is probably D46, since the dates may differ slightly when they are converted from one era date to another.

around 1530 CE. The first 103 folios, which have now been separated from the rest of the ms., contain the Iranian Būndahišn and were followed by 112 folios of the Hērbedestān and Nērangestān. That the text of the latter two originally belonged to a separate, independent volume emerges not only from the fact that it is written in a different hand but also, as noted by KOTWAL/BOYD 1980, p. 1f., from the numbering in the corner of the upper left margin, where the folios are counted in Persian from 1 *(yek)* to 112 *(sad-o-duwāzdah)*. The Hērbedestān occupies fols. 1r5 to 20r3 and is immediately followed by the Nērangestān on fol. 20r.3.[5]

While chapters 12 to 20 of the Hērbedestān concern various aspects of the study of sacred texts under the guidance of a teacher *(aēϑrapaiti-)*, the first eleven deal with the conditions under which family members (men, women or children) may leave home *(para-i)* for the purpose of an activity described as *aϑauruna-*. In the case of married women or minors, they need to be accompanied *(para-hac)* by a male escort, the relevant circumstances being discussed in chapter 6 with regard to a woman and in chapters 7–11 with respect to a child.

The question as to which member of a household should leave home for *aϑauruna-* is raised in the first chapter of the Hērbedestān. The answer is that, regardless of age, the one with the highest esteem for truth should go:

1.1 **katāmō*[1] *nmānahe*[2] *aϑaurunəm pāraiiāṯ*[3]
1.2 *yō aṣāi bərəʒiiąstəmō*[4]
1.3 *huuōištō*[5] *vā yōištō*[6] **vā*[7]
1.4 *yim vā ainim *haδō.gaēϑa*[8]
1.5 *hazaōšiiā*[9] **sāŋha*[10] *caiiąn*[11]

1 *knmō* TD
deest HJ J55 T58
2 *nmānahe* TD
...*hē* HJ J55 T58
3 *pāraiiāṯ* TD
paraiiāṯ HJ T58 J55
4 *bərəʒiiąstəmō* TD
bərəiʒiiąstəmāō HJ J55 T58 (ą.s)
5 *huuōištō* TD
huu ... HJ T58 J55
6 *yōištō* TD HJ J55 T58
7 deest TD HJ J55 T58
8 *hapō.gaēϑa* TD
... *gaēϑa* HJ (gap of 4 cm) J55 (gap of 3 cm) T58 (gap of 4.5 cm)
9 *hazaōšiiā* TD
azaōšiiā HJ J55 T58 *(ao)*
10 *paāŋha* TD HJ J55 T58
11 *caiiąn* TD HJ T58 *(ą)*
caii. ąn J55

5 The ms. is described as TD1 by B.T. ANKLESARIA in T.D. ANKLESARIA 1908, pp. vii–ix and by KOTWAL/BOYD 1980, pp. 1–12, who also offer a facsimile edition of the Hērbedestān and Nērangestān.

1.1 Which one[6] of a household should go away for priestly service?
1.2 The one who has the greatest esteem[7] for truth
1.3 – be it the eldest[8] or the youngest –,
1.4 or any other person whom the co-owners[9]
1.5 shall select by unanimous vote[10].

Chapter 5 discusses the question as to whether the lord or the lady of the house should leave home for *aϑauruna-*. The unexpected answer is that either may do so, but that the one who is more capable of looking after their domestic affairs and property *(gaēϑā-)* should remain behind. The view that looking after one's possessions takes priority over leaving home for *aϑauruna-* is also expressed both in Vd 13.22, where *aϑauruuan-* 'priest' ranks third below the masters of large (Vd 13.20) and medium-sized households (Vd 13.21) and in chapter 3 of the Hērbedestān, quoted below, p. 183.

6 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 433 emends the reading *knmō* to **katāmō*, while K/K 26 edit *kō*. The latter is also the form preferred by H/E 16, although they consider *katāmō* as an alternative.
7 On *bərəʒiiąstəma-* and the root noun *bərəʒ-* see HINTZE 2007, pp. 50–53.
8 On *huuōišta-* 'oldest, eldest, most important', see N. SIMS-WILLIAMS/E. TUCKER: "Avestan *huuōišta-* and its cognates." In: G. SCHWEIGER (ed.): *Indogermanica. Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt. Indische, iranische und indogermanische Studien dem verehrten Jubilar dargebracht zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag.* Taimering 2005, pp. 587–604, esp. pp. 594–596.
9 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1759 convincingly emends the ms. TD *hapō.gaēϑa* to **haδō.gaēϑa*. The compound is also attested in Yt 10.116, where it denotes two persons bound by a contract *(miϑra-)*. GERSHEVITCH 1959, p. 267 notes that *haδō.gaēϑa-* is "of almost identical formation" with Choresmian *angēδ*, Parth. *h'mgyḥ* and Aram. *hngyt* (A. COWLEY: *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1951, no. 43, l. 9 and E. BENVENISTE: "Éléments perses en araméen d'Égypte", in: JA 1954, pp. 297–310, esp. p. 298 fn. 3), all from the possessive adj. **han-gaʇϑa-* 'having property in common; partner'. A derivative of the adj. is the fem. abstract substantive **han-gaʇϑʇākā-* which is found in 'γyδy' in a Chr.Sogd. fragment (N. SIMS-WILLIAMS: *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*, Berlin 1985, pp. 187, 204) and in Sogd. 'nγyδy' 'association, partnership' (N. SIMS-WILLIAMS/J. HAMILTON: *Documents turco-sogdiens du IX^e–X^e siècle de Touen-houang*, London 1990, p. 70).
10 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1796, followed by K/K 28, 29 fn. 8 (but differently H/E 18) emends the ms. TD reading *hazaōšiiā paāŋha* to *huua zaoša uta sāŋha* after the Pahlavi translation. This could be supported by Yt 13.33 *hauuāi kāmāica zaošāica* 'according to their (i.e. the Fravashis') own wish and will'. Alternatively, one could read *hazaōšiiā* and consider it to be either the instr.sg. (agreeing with **sāŋha*) or the nom.pl. of an adj. **hazaošiia-* 'unanimous', cf. *hazaoša-* 'of one will'. The thematic verb *caiiąn*, which BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 441 interprets as a 3rd pl. subj.pres., belongs in fact to the root aor. subj. stem *caiia-* (= Ved. *caya-*) of *ci* 'to pile; select', see KELLENS 1984, p. 353. P. HORN: "Nīrangistān Aw. fragm. 1", in: *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 34 (1897), pp. 582–584, esp. p. 583f. reads *hazaōšiiāpāŋha* and suggests the nom.pl. of a compound consisting of *hazaošiia-* and *apah-* 'working together' ("gemeinsam zu werke gehend").

Edition of the Avestan Hēr. 5 and commentary[11]

5.1 *katārō aθaurunəm *pāraiiāṯ*[1] *nāirika vā nmānō.paitiš vā*
5.2 *yezica *uua*[2] *gaēθā̊ vīmā *katarasciṯ*[3] *pāraiiāṯ*[1]
5.3 *nmānō.paitiš gaēθā̊ nāirika *pāraiiāṯ*[1]
5.4 **nāirikā*[4] **gaēθā̊.viš*[5] *nmānō.paitiš *pāraiiāṯ*[1]
5.5 *nōiṯ *aēuuō*[6] **cina*[6] *dāitīm *vīnāθaiiāṯ*[7]

Av. quotation in the Pahl. commentary:
**nōiṯ*[8] **aēuuō cina*[9] *dāitīm *vīnāθaiiāṯ*[10]

1	*paraiiāṯ* TD	4	*nāirikāi* TD	7	*vīnāṯ* TD	10	*vinānθaṯ* TD
2	*vā* TD	5	*gaēθā̊. viš* TD	8	deest TD		
3	*katār* TD	6	*auuacinō* TD	9	*aēuuācina* TD		

5.1 Which one of the two should go away[1] for priestly service[2], the wife or the master of the house?
5.2 If both administer[3] the possessions, either should go away.[1]
5.3 (If) the master of the house (administers) the possessions, the wife should go away[1].
5.4 (If) the wife looks after the possessions[3], the master of the house should go away[1].
5.5 Not even one[4] will infringe[5] the law.

1 **pāraiiāṯ* 'he/she should go away'

The ms. TD transmits the form *paraiiāṯ* four times. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 65, 152 adopts this reading, but marks it as an emendation, presumably in order to distinguish it from the form *parāiiāṯ* emended by DARMESTETER, *ZA* III, p. 81 in its first and second occurrences in Hēr. 5. By contrast, K/K read *paraiiāṯ* the first and third times, but *pāraiiāṯ* the second and fourth, while H/E 40 suggest *pāraiiāṯ* throughout the chapter.

Since the syntactic function is consistently that of a voluntative subjunctive,[12] it is clear that the form should be the same in all four occurrences. Morphologically a thematic 3sg. subj.pres. of the verb *para-i* 'to go away', one would expect **parāiiāṯ* (< **para-aṯa-a-t*). According to BARTHOLOMAE, *GIrPh* I 1 §268.3b, the first contracted *-ā-* of **parāiiāṯ* was shortened, thus producing *paraiiāṯ*, while KELLENS 1984, p. 99 n. 2 suggests that **parāiiāṯ* became *pāraiiāṯ* by a secondary

11 The numbers following words in the Av. text refer to the manuscript readings, those following words in the translation refer to the commentary. The sign * before a word indicates a reading with manuscript support, the sign * an emendation without manuscript support.
12 In the deliberative interrogative clause of the first occurrence the voluntative subjunctive entails a shift of volition from the speaker to the addressee, see E. TICHY: *Der Konjunktiv und seine Nachbarkategorien. Studien zum indogermanischen Verbum, ausgehend von der älteren vedischen Prosa.* Bremen 2006, p. 268f. with fn. 194.

redistribution of the long vowel. The latter form is in fact attested in Hēr. 1.1 by the ms. TD, and without variants in Vd 9.39 and 15.9. On the basis of this and other forms, DE VAAN proposes a rule according to which **a* in an open initial syllable in front of two or more syllables containing *a* or *ə* became *ā*.[13]

2 *aθaurunəm* 'priestly service'

With the exception of chapter 2, each of the first seven chapters of the Hērbedestān contains one of the six attestations of *aθauruna-*. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 64 posits its meaning as 'priestly function, priestly service' ("priesterliche Funktion, Priesterdienst"). In the Pahlavi version it is translated as *āsrōīh*. The way in which the Middle Persian commentators understood the term emerges from Hēr. 1.1 and 3.1 in the gloss *hērbedestān kardan*. That this expression refers specifically to the study of the Avesta and the Zand is stated in Dk 6.C27 (SHAKED 1979, p. 154f.), where *hērbedestān ī pad abastāg ud zand* 'religious education in the Avesta and the Zand' contrasts with *abārīg-iz frahang ī pad pēšag pēšag* 'the other instruction in each profession'. K/K 16–18 convincingly conclude that *hērbedestān kardan* implies attendance at schools that provide religious education for all Mazdayasnians, including the laity.

Presumably in the light of this gloss, K/K 27 etc., 87, 88 render the Av. phrase *aθaurunəm para-i* as 'to go forth (to pursue) religious studies', but its Middle Persian version *pad āsrōīh raftan* 'to go for priestly work', while H/E 17 etc. translate the Av. expression as 'to go forth for Āθrauuanship', leaving *aθauruna-* untranslated, and the MP 'to go forth to the (religious) centre for Āsrōship'. The underlying assumption seems to be that family members leave home for a certain period of time in order to study the Mazdayasnian religion at a particular place. The Av. term for the latter activity, however, is *aiβišti-*, the *ti*-abstract derived from the well-attested verb *aiβi-ah* 'to study' (*AirWb.* 95, 277f.) and rendered in Pahlavi as *ōšmārišnīh* 'study'. It is distinct from and contrasts with *aθauruna-* in Hēr. 4:

4.1 *cuuaṯ nā āθrauua aθaurunəm haca *gaēθābiš*[1] **pāraiiāṯ*[2]
4.2 *yaṯ hiš θriš *yā̊*[3] **ahmāṯ*[4] **aiβiiāiti*[5]
4.3 *cuuaṯ *aiβištīm*[6] **pāraiiaṯ*[7]
4.4 *θrixšaparəm haθrākəm *xšuuaš*[8] *xšafnō āca paraca*
4.5 *θrišūm*[9] *āsnąm xšafnąmca*
4.6 *yō baoiiō*[10] *aētahmāṯ parāiti*
4.7 *nōiṯ *pascaēta*[11] **anaiβištīm*[12] *āstriianti*

13 DE VAAN 2003, pp. 63, 106, 609. While *pāraiiāṯ* clearly belongs to *para-i* in Vd 9.39, KELLENS 1984, p. 276 n. 4 considers the possibility that it is from *³par* 'to pass through, cross', pres. *pār-aiia-* in Vd 15.9. However, in both contexts the verb is followed by the pres. ind. *parāiti*, which is from *para-i*: Vd. 15.9 *mā ... daxštəm pāraiiāṯ*, Vd. 15.10 *yezica ... daxštəm parāiti*. Since *para-i* is intransitive, the acc. it governs in Hēr. 5.1 denotes not the object but the goal or purpose, as indicated by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 152 (bottom).

1	*gāδābiš* TD	4	*hmā* TD	7	*paraiiaŋ* TD	10	*baōiiō* TD
2	*paraiiāŋ* TD	5	*aiβiš. iti* TD	8	*xšauuaš* TD	11	*pascaita* TD
3	*yā* TD	6	*aiβištəm* TD	9	*θrišūm* TD	12	*anaiβnštīm* TD

4.1. How far shall a priest[14] depart from his possessions[15] for priestly service?
4.2. So (far) that he can return[16] to them from it[17] three times a year[18].
4.3. How far away shall he go for studying[19]?
4.4. Three nights, altogether six nights there and back.
4.5. (One should travel) during a third of the days and nights.
4.6. If one goes farther away than that
4.7. then[20] they do not commit the offence of not studying.

14 The nom.sg. *nā* 'man, person' occurs here in an enclitic position, as noted by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1049, and functions as an attributive substantive like Ved. *nárō víprāḥ* 'the singers' (B. DELBRÜCK: *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen.* Strassburg 1893 [repr. Berlin 1967], vol. I, p. 421). As in the Pahlavi version, it may be left untranslated.

15 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 477, 479 n. 8 rightly corrects the TD form *gāδābiš* to **gaēδābiš*.

16 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 95 emends the TD form *aiβiš. iti* to **aiβišūiti* which he regards as an inf. from the verb *šauu*: 'coming towards' ("herzukommen, heimzukehren"). BENVENISTE 1935, p. 30 accepts BARTHOLOMAE's restoration, but considers the passage to be too corrupt for the form to be of any use ("un passage bien trop incertain pour rien valoir"). K/K 36f. also accept BARTHOLOMAE's reading. H/E 34, by contrast, restore **aiβi.šūite* and translate 'he can visit' (p. 35). Unfortunately they offer no commentary, but one assumes that they consider the form to be the 3sg.ind.mid. of the root present of the verb *aiβi.šauu-*, which is found only here, although there is a verb *auui-frā-šauu-* 'to depart for' ("fortgehen zu", *AirWb.* 1714f.). While *šauu-* normally forms a thematic present *šauua-*, KELLENS 1984, pp. 92, 93 n. 3 considers there to be a root present in Y 29.3 *šauuaitē* – assuming it is a 3pl. rather than a 3sg. However, even if the root present is admitted, there is the problem that the root is expected to have a full grade middle instead of the zero grade in H/E's **aiβi. šūite*. One may therefore consider the alternative possibility that *aiβiš. iti* is a corruption of **aiβiiāiti*, the 3sg.ind.pres. of *aiβi-i-*, also attested elsewhere (*AirWb.* 149).

17 H/E 34 and K/K 36 emend the ms. reading *hmā* to *aētahmāŋ* 'from there'. Although the demonstrative pronoun of the second person is semantically more satisfactory, the near-deictic **ahmāŋ* is closer to the transmitted form. The dem. pronoun would then be used as a substantive (*AirWb.* 4–6) and refer back to *aδaurunəm*. DARMESTETER, *ZA* III, p. 80, who disregards the preceding *yā*, interprets *hmā* as 'par été', a suggestion rightly rejected by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1842, who notes that the word *hmā* is not translated in the Pahl. version.

18 On the basis of the Pahlavi translation *sāl*, BARTHOLOMAE connects the form *yā* of the ms. TD with *yār-* 'year'. His emendation of a nom./acc. *yārə* (*AirWb.* 95, 1842) is accepted by K/K 36f. In *AirWb.* 1287 with n. 3, however, he cautiously interprets *yā* as the gen.sg. of the same stem but queries the reading. HUMBACH 1961b, p. 110f. identifies *yā* as a corruption of *yā̊*, the expected gen.sg. (< IIr. **yān-s*) of the heteroclitic noun *yār-* 'year', and H/E 34 consequently emend *yā̊*, cf. HINTZE 2007, p. 125 fn. 41 (where 1971 is to be corrected to 1961).

19 H/E 36 followed by K/K 36 emend the transmitted form *aiβištəm* to **aiβištōe*, the dat.sg. of *aiβišti-* f. 'studies', esp. of the sacred texts of the Mazdayasnian religion, also attested in Y 9.24 quoted below, p. 178. To be preferred, however, is BARTHOLOMAE's, *AirWb.* 95 emendation of the acc.sg. **aiβištīm*, since it is not only closer to the ms. but also syntactically parallel to *aδaurunəm* in Hēr. 4.1 and supported by the form **anaiβištīm* 'non-studying' in Hēr. 4.7.

Hēr. 4 indicates that going away for *aδauruna-* entails both a greater distance and a longer time away from home than doing the same for *aiβišti-* 'studying'. This explains the emphasis found in Hēr. 5.2–4 on proper estate management during the period of absence and its priority over leaving home for *aδauruna-*. Since the latter, which corresponds to Ved. *átharvaṇá-*,[21] is a thematic derivative denoting that which is carried out by an *aδauruuan-*, more insight into that activity can be gleaned from an investigation of that well-attested noun.

In the Avesta, and as noted by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 65, *aδauruuan-* is a general term for 'priest'. It thus differs semantically from the eight priestly titles listed, for instance, in Gāh 3.5, which describes a number of distinct ritual functions, such as *zaotar-* (literally: 'pourer'). The *aδauruuan-* knows the sacred texts and is on hand in a variety of daily-life situations that require a priest. For instance, Vd 8.14–22 discuss the question whether Mazdayasnians may walk on a path along which the dead body of a person or a dog has been carried. The rule is that they are not allowed to do so until a 'four-eyed' dog has been sent down the path, three times if the dog goes willingly, but six or nine times depending on the force applied to make it go. Failing that, an *aδauruuan-* is required to purify the path by walking on it while reciting the Avestan prayers quoted in Vd 8.19–21. Afterwards the Mazdayasnians are free to use it.

That *aδauruuan-* is a general term for 'priest' also emerges from the fact that it denotes one of the three social classes alongside that of the 'warrior' *(raδaēštar-)* and 'cattle-breeding herdsman' *(vāstriia- fšuiiaṇt-)*.[22] Zarathustra is praised as the prototype of all three (Yt 13.89):

yō paoiriiō āδrauua	(Zarathustra,) who (was) the first priest,
yō paoiriiō raδaēštā̊	the first warrior,
yō paoiriiō vāstriiō fšuiiąs	the first cattle-breeding herdsman.

The role of Zarathustra as the first *aδauruuan-* is linked to the spreading of the Mazdayasnian religion, as stated in Yt 13.94:

ušta nō zātō āδrauua	Hail to us, (for) the priest
yō spitāmō zaraθuštrō	Spitama Zarathustra has been born!
frā nō yazāite zaoθrābiiō	Zarathustra will worship[23] for us with libations,
stərətō.barəsma zaraθuštrō	with strewn sacrificial straw.
iδa apąm vījasāiti	From here then
*vaŋ*hi daēna māzdaiiasniš*	the good, Mazdā-worshipping religion
vīspāiš auui karšuuąn yāiš hapta	will spread over all seven regions.

20 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 884 notes that the diphthong *-aē-* of the adv. *pascaēta* is frequently written *-ai-* in the mss. of the Hērbedestān and Nērangestān.

21 Ved. *átharvaṇá-*, fem. *átharvaṇī-* (which characterizes the plants in AV 11.4.16), is a thematic vṛddhi-derivative with zero grade suffix from IIr. **átharu̯an-* (*AiGr.* II 2, 125).

22 On the three social classes see M. BOYCE: *A History of Zoroastrianism.* Vol. I. Leiden 1975 [repr. 1989], p. 5f.

23 On the translation of the *yaz* as 'to worship' see HINTZE 2007, pp. 156–162.

That it was the *aδauruuan's* task to travel the country and spread the religion is indicated in Y 9.24:

haomō təmciṯ yim kərəsānīm	Haoma ousted that Kərəsāni
apa.xšaθrəm nišāδaiiaṯ	from the position of power,
yō raosta xšaθrō.kāmiia	him who wailed in his desire for power
yō dauuata nōiṯ mē apąm	and sobbed: "Henceforth
*āθrauua aiβištiš *vərəδaiie*	the priest will not go about in my land
daŋhauua carāt	to promote[24] the studies[25] (of the religion)."

The *aδauruuan-* is characterized by the adj. *dūraēfrakāta-* 'desired, welcome far away' in Yt 16.17:

yąm yazata	(Insight), whom the priest, desired far away,
āθrauua dūraēfrakātō	worshipped,
marəmnəm isəmnō daēnaiiāi	seeking the memorising for the religion,
amәm isəmnō tanuiie	seeking strength for the body.

Y 42.6 both explicitly states that the *aδauruuan-* go abroad to teach the religion to the 'truth-seekers' and celebrates their return home:

apąmcā fəraxšaostrəm yazamaidē	We worship the cascading of the waters,
vaiiąmcā fərafraoθrəm yazamaidē	we worship the gliding forwards of the birds,
aδaurunąmcā paitī.ająθrəm yazamaidē	we worship the return of the priests
*yōi *iieiian dūrāṯ aŋ̊ō.išō daxiiunąm*	who will have gone[26] far away to the truth-seekers of the countries.

These passages suggest that *aδauruuan-* represents a trained priest who goes far away from his own home (*dūrāṯ* Y 42.6, *dūraēfrakātō* 'desired far away' Yt 16.17),

24 While GELDNER, *Avesta* I, p. 45 edits *vərəiδiiē*, BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1420 follows the mss. K5 Mf2 etc. in reading *vərəiδiie*, which he interprets as an inf. of the verb *vard* 'to increase, enlarge, augment'. He translates *aiβištiš vərəδiie* as 'studia (sacra) ut augeat'. BENVENISTE 1935, p. 38, who questions BARTHOLOMAE's grammatical analysis, points out the nominal function of **vərəiδiie* and rightly connects the form with the gen.pl. *vərəiδinąm* at the end of Y 9.24. However, he then considers **vərəiδiie* to be a gloss that should be deleted from the text for the sake of an octosyllabic verse line, although he is aware that such an excision renders the acc.pl. *aiβištiš* syntactically isolated. The stem *vərəiδi-* is an action noun derived with suffix *-i-* from the zero-grade root *vard*. Vedic offers numerous examples of such *i*-stems. They form datives in *-áye* that function as infinitives, see *AiGr* II 2, 297ff. The expected Av. form with full grade suffix is in fact attested in the readings *vərəiδaiie* J2 and *vərəδaiie* K6, cf. *vərəziδaiie* in the Sanskrit Yasna ms. J3.

25 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 95, followed by DE VAAN 2003, p. 277, identifies the form *aiβištiš* as the acc.pl. (instead of *aiβištīš*) of *aiβišti-* 'study', of which the acc.sg. **aiβištīm* (corrected from *aiβištəm*) occurs in Hēr. 4.3 (see above, fn. 19) and its antonym *anaiβištīm* in Hēr. 4.7.

26 There is a great variety of readings of this form in the mss. On the basis of the Iranian Vendidad Sāde (*iieuṇ* Mf2, *iieiiṇn* K4), K. HOFFMANN (in KELLENS 1974, p. 13 fn. 1. and in HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989, p. 45f.) emends **iieiian*, the 3pl.subj.perf.act. (Proto-Aryan **iyajan*) of the root *i-* 'to go', cf. KELLENS 1984, pp. 400, 402 n. 10 and KÜMMEL 2000, p. 613f.

travels throughout the land (*daŋhauua car* Y 9.24) and promotes the study of the religion (*aiβištiš vard* Y 9.24). The model for all *aδauruuans* is Zarathustra, whose priestly office results in the Mazdayasnian religion being spread over all seven regions (Yt 13.94). The terms *daŋhāuruuaēsa-* 'moving inside the country' and *pairijaδan-* 'itinerant', both of which are praised as qualities of a young person *(yuuan-)* together with *x*aētuuadaθa-* 'next-of-kin marriage' in Vr 3.3 and Vyt 17, probably also belong in this context, although they do not occur as epithets of *aδauruuan-*.

The term *aδauruna-* then refers to the activity of an *aδauruuan-* who leaves home for a certain period of time for the dual purpose of instructing others in the Mazdayasnian religion and carrying out various religious and ritual services, as described, for instance, in Vd 8.14–22 summarized above, p. 177. The texts thus support BOYCE's suggestion that *aδauruuans* act as Zoroastrian missionaries.[27] Such a meaning would fit in well with K. HOFFMANN's explanation of IIr. **athar-yan-* as 'itinerant priest', though unfortunately the formation of **athar-* remains unclear.[28]

27 M. BOYCE, "āδravan." In: EIr III (1989), pp. 16–17. Misson may also be implied in Y 40.4 *aδā *haxāmąm xiiāṯ yāiš hiščamaidē* 'may thus be the fellowships with which we shall associate ourselves', if the passage refers to the situation in which Zarathustra's followers approach other communities in order to convert them to their religion, see HINTZE 2007, p. 303 with references.

28 While it is obvious that both Av. *aδauruuan-* and Ved. *átharvan-* continue IIr. **athar-yan-* 'provided with *athar-*', the identity of **athar-* is subject to debate, see MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* I, p. 60. K. HOFFMANN *apud* MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* I, p. 805 derives *athar-* as 'walk, trail, footpath' ("Wanderweg") with suffix **-h₂ar-* from the root *at* 'to go constantly, walk' (IIr. **h₂at-*); according to him *athar-* also constitutes the first term of the compound *athar-vī-* 'pursuing the path', see SCARLATA 1999, p. 497. By contrast, A. LUBOTSKY ("The Indo-Iranian Substratum", in: CHR. CARPELAN/A. PARPOLA/P. KOSKIKALLIO [eds.]: *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations. Papers presented at an international symposium (Tvärminne, 8–10 January, 1999)*, Helsinki 2001, pp. 301–317, esp. pp. 303, 310) suggests that IIr. **athar-yan-* was borrowed by Indo-Iranians from the non-Indo-European substratum of the Central Asian urban oasis cultures. Similarly, G.-J. PINAULT ("Une nouvelle connexion entre le substrat indo-iranien et le tocharien commun", in: *Historische Sprachforschung* 116 [2003], pp. 175–189, esp. p. 183 and [with less detail] "Further links between the Indo-Iranian substratum and the BMAC language", in: H. HETTRICH/B. TIKKANEN [eds.]: *Themes and Tasks in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan Linguistics*, Delhi 2006, pp. 167–196, esp. pp. 171–175) argues that IIr. **athar-*, which according to him means 'force supérieure', and Common Tocharian **etre* (Tochk. A *etre*, A *atär* 'hero') were borrowed independently from the non-Indo-European language of the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC). According to LUBOTSKY, non-Indo-European origin is indicated by the variation *-ar-/ra-* in Ved. *átharvan-* vs. Av. *āθrauuan-*. However, the latter, which is confined to the strong cases, could equally be explained by inner-Avestan processes and attributed either to an analogical influence of the gen.sg. *āθrō* 'of fire' (HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 2004, pp. 56, 145 and HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989, p. 90 fn. 14) or to a phonetic lengthening of the initial *ā-* in the longer forms (DE VAAN 2003, p. 65).

3 *vīmā* 'administering', **gaēθā.vīš* 'pursuing the possessions'

The question posed in Hēr. 5.1 as to whether the lord or the lady of the house should go away for *aθauruna-* is answered in Hēr. 5.2–4 in three ways, each of which refers to a different scenario: if both *(*uua)*[29] are equally suited to looking after the property *(gaēθā-)*, either may go (5.2), if the husband *(nmānō.paiti-)* is more capable, then the wife *(nāirikā-)* should go (5.3), but if the wife is more qualified, then the husband should go (5.4):

5.2 *yezica *uua gaēθā vīmā *katarasciṯ*[30] **pāraiiāṯ*
5.3 *nmānō.paitiš gaēθā nāirika *pāraiiāṯ*
5.4 **nāirika *gaēθā.vīš nmānō.paitiš *pāraiiāṯ*

In each of the scenarios the crucial expression is what the Pahlavi version renders as *ō gēhān bandagīh* '(suited) for service of the possessions'. In Avestan, however, the wording differs slightly in each of the three phrases:

5.2 *gaēθā vīmā*
5.3 *gaēθā*
5.4 **gaēθā.vīš*

DARMESTETER, *ZA* III, p. 81 fn. 22 suggests that *vīmā* is the dual of an adj. *vīma-* that belongs with the verb *mā* 'to measure'. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1450 with n. 1 also considers the form to be a dual, and tentatively suggests that it is the possibly truncated nom.dual of a root noun **vī-mā(y)-* 'taking care of' ("ausrichtend, besorgend"), attested only here. KELLENS 1974, p. 242, who quotes the entire Av. chapter with its Pahl. version but does not translate, refers favourably to BARTHOLOMAE's view of *vimā* but notes that the word is missing in Hēr. 5.3 and that the transmitted form is *viš* in Hēr. 5.4. He considers BARTHOLOMAE's meaning 'besorgend' to be unjustified, the Pahlavi translation incomprehensible, and therefore that both *vīmā* and *viš* are desperately corrupt.

Nevertheless, however, it is worth exploring the possible connection of *vīmā* with the verb *vī-mā* further. For while *mā* 'to measure' in combination with *vĭ* is not found elsewhere in Avestan, in Vedic the verb *vi-mā* is well documented. The latter means not only 'to measure, mete out, pass over, traverse' but also 'to ordain, fix, set right, arrange, make ready, prepare', as, for instance, in RV 10.110.11 *vy àmimīta yajñám* 'he arranged the sacrifice'. The latter group of meanings fits the context of Hēr. 5 well, since *vīmā-* clearly describes the activity of managing the domestic affairs on the part of the lord or lady of the house.

29 The form *vā* transmitted by TD is a common corruption for **uua* (see HINTZE 1994, p. 295) and rightly emended by H/E 40 and K/K 38. The Pahl. translation renders it as *har dōnīn*, on which see MACUCH in this volume, pp. 256–259.

30 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 433, 1450 rightly corrects transmitted *katār* to **katarasciṯ*. The restoration is virtually certain as the indefinite pronoun answers to the interrogative nom.sg. *katārō* in Hēr. 5.1. The shortening of the long *-ā-* is regular in the open antepenultimate syllable of a form with enclitic *-cā* or *-cīṯ*, see DE VAAN 2003, pp. 109, 155.

The objection could be raised that while root nouns in composition with preverbs usually function as action nouns, *vīmā* is obviously of the agent variety.[31] The inherited IIr. way of turning root nouns with preverbs into agent nouns is by means of the suffix *-tar-*.[32] However, there are instances of the combination that functions as an agent noun in both Vedic[33] and Avestan. The latter includes *vī-mad-* 'doctor' (literally: 'measuring carefully') in Vd 7.38 and 40,[34] *aiβi.zū-* 'who presses on, hurries towards' and *vī.zū-* 'who presses on in different directions', both referring to dogs in Vd 5.32,[35] the priestly title *ābərət-* 'bringing',[36] *fra-spā-* 'throwing forth' and *ni-spā-* 'throwing down', both in Yt 15.45,[37] and *upa-uuāz-* 'adducing, providing' in A 3.4.[38] The fact that all these instances come from later texts may imply that the use of prepositional root noun compounds as agent nouns became productive during the Younger Avestan period. It therefore appears justified to assume that Hēr. 5.2 *vīmā* functions as an agent noun. It would then be the nom.dual of the root noun *vī-mā-*, as suggested by BARTHOLOMAE, while in Hēr. 5.3 the expression is elliptical.

In view of the parallel construction of the three scenarios in Hēr. 5.2–4, one would also anticipate the same wording in Hēr. 5.4. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1450 n. 2 therefore regards the transmitted *viš* as a corruption of the nom.sg. of *vī-mā-*. However, instead of the **vī.miš* which he suggests, **vīmā* (< **vĭ-mā-h*) is to be expected, and it is difficult to explain how the latter could have changed to *viš*, especially as **vīmā* would have had the same word ending as the preceding *gaēθā*.

If one operates with the ms. reading *gaēθā viš*, one could adduce the Ved. root *viṣ* 'to work for, serve, be active', but Iranian cognates of IIr. **ɣaiš* are uncertain.[39] More promising perhaps is the possibility that it represents the root noun of the

31 See *AiGr* II 2, pp. 15–19; SCARLATA 1999, pp. 734–736. The compound's function as an agent noun could have been the reason why BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.*1450 n. 1 regarded the form as possibly truncated. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN 1936, p. 61 translates it as 'organisateur'.

32 *AiGr.* II 2, p. 5 and II 1, p. 189.

33 See SCARLATA 1999, pp. 739–740.

34 On Av. *vī-mad-* see A. HINTZE: "Die avestische Wurzel *mad* 'zumessen'." In: B. FORSSMAN/R. PLATH (eds.): *Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 2. bis 5. Oktober 1997 in Erlangen.* Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 163–175, esp. pp. 163–168.

35 KELLENS 1974, pp. 106, 326 shows that *zū-*, the second member of the compound, corresponds to Ved. *jū* 'to hasten, press on'. The latter occurs in composition with the preverb *ápi* in *apījū-*, which likewise functions as an agent noun, see SCARLATA 1999, p. 168f.

36 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 329 derives *ābərət-* from **āp-bərət-* 'bringing water', but KELLENS 1974, p. 136f. suggests that it is a prepositional compound **ā-bərət-*, which is functionally parallel to another priestly role, *frabərətar-*, an agent noun with suffix *-tar-*.

37 *AirWb.* 1086, 1003, KELLENS 1974, p. 236. A further agent noun could be *fra-spāt-*, the name of a plant that induces abortion in Vd 15.14, see KELLENS 1974, p. 265.

38 KELLENS 1974, p. 279.

39 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* II, p. 586; R.E. EMMERICK/P.O. SKJÆRVØ: *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese.* Vol. 2. Wien 1987, p. 109f.

verb *vī* 'to pursue'. In Vedic the root noun forms the second part of compounds, e.g. *deva-vī́-* 'turned towards, gratifying the gods', *athar-vī́-* 'pursuing the fire' (meaning uncertain, see above, fn. 28) and *padma-vī́-* 'pursuing the track'. R. SCHMITT has identified the same compositional type in the OP adj. *manauvīš* 'impetuous' < **manah-u̯ī-š* (literally: 'turned towards, pursuing passion').[40]

The uncompounded root noun *vī́-* occurs in RV 1.143.6. As in the compounds listed above, it is of the agent variety and governs a genitive denoting the object[41] (RV 1.143.6):

kuvín no agnír ucáthasya vī́r ásad Will Agni be fond of our hymn?

G. KLINGENSCHMITT has retrieved an example of the Avestan cognate of Ved. *vī́-* in Vd 13.8 *yaθa vəhrkō *viiōi tūite* 'as a wolf is able to pursue'.[42] In contrast to the Vedic simplex, *vī-* functions here as an action noun 'pursuing'. If Hēr. 5.4 offers a further attestation, then *viš* (i.e. *vīš*) is the nom.sg. and, since it governs the acc.pl. *gaēθā̊*, has verbal force. As in Vd 13.8 it would be an action noun. The transmitted words could then be left virtually unaltered (Hēr. 5.4):

*nāirikāi gaēθā̊ *vīš nmānō.paitiš *pāraiiāṯ*
If looking after the possessions (is) for the women, the master of the house should go away.

However, the nominatives **uua* and *nmānō.paitiš* of the two preceding sentences in Hēr. 5.2 and 3 rather suggest that *nāirikāi* is corrupted from the nom. **nāirika*, an emendation already proposed by BARTHOLOMAE.[43] The nom.sg. **nāirika* would then be the subject of **gaēθā̊.vīš* 'looking after the possessions', and the latter the nom.sg. of a root noun compound functioning as an agent noun and governing the first, inflected term in the acc.pl. of the fem. substantive *gaēθā-* 'living being; possessions', cf. Y 46.12 **gaēθā̊.frādō* '(of Right-mindedness) who promotes the living beings'.[44]

40 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* II, pp. 307, 510; R. SCHMITT: "Altpersisch *m-n-u-vi-i-š* = *manauvīš*." In: G. CARDONA/N.H. ZIDE (eds.): *Festschrift for Henry Hoenigswald On the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Tübingen 1987, pp. 363–366.

41 On the Vedic compounds and their attestations see SCARLATA 1999, pp. 496–501; on the simplex see SCHINDLER 1972, p. 45.

42 G. KLINGENSCHMITT: "Die Pahlavi-Version des Avesta." In: W. VOIGT (ed.): *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag*. Teil 3. Wiesbaden 1969 (ZDMG, Supplementa I), pp. 993–997, esp. p. 996, cf. KELLENS 1974, p. 96f.

43 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1066 with n. 4 and 1450.

44 See KELLENS 1974, p. 192f. and J. KELLENS/E. PIRART: *Les textes vieil-avestiques*. Vol. II. Wiesbaden 1990, p. 236. Other Av. root noun compounds with the first term in the accusative include *šiiaoθnəm.vərəz-* 'who performs an action' in Vd 13.23 (KELLENS 1974, p. 69), *aš̰əm.stut-* 'who praises truth' in Hēr. 1.1, the proper name *ahūm.stut-* 'who praises life' in Yt 13.97 (KELLENS 1974, p. 124f.), *daēum.jan-* 'who slays the demon' in Vd 19.40 (KELLENS 1974, p. 154, *AirWb.* 662) and *rauuazdā-* 'providing freedom' in Vd 18.6 (KELLENS 1974, p. 218). On Vedic root noun compounds with the first term in the accusative, see SCARLATA 1999, p. 743.

The compound **gaēθā̊.vī-* 'looking after the possessions' is then semantically equivalent to the expression *gaēθanąm aspərənō auu-* 'to take care for the integrity of the possessions' in Hēr. 3.1 and 3.2, translated in Pahlavi as *gēhānīgān uspurrīgānīh (uspurrīgīh) ayārēnēd* and glossed as *kū xwāstag-sālārīh kunād* (on which see MACUCH in this volume, pp. 259ff.):

3.1 *katārəm *āθrauua aθaurunəm vā *pāraiiāṯ*
*gaēθanąm vā aspərənō *auuāṯ*
3.2 *gaēθanąm aspərənō auuōiṯ*

Which of the two (applies): Should a priest go away for priestly service
or should he take care for[45] the integrity[46] of the possessions?
He may care for the integrity of the possessions.

The verb *vī* is also syntactically parallel to *av* 'to help' in the two consecutive Vedic stanzas[47]

RV 5.46.7a
devā́nām pátnīr uśatī́r avantu naḥ právantu nas tujáye vā́jasātaye |
Let the wives of the gods assist us willingly, let them help us to procreate, for the winning of the prize!

RV 5.46.8a
utá gnā́ vyantu devápatnīr indrāṇy àgnā́yy aśvínī rā́ṭ |
ā́ ródasī varuṇānī́ śr̥ṇotu vyántu devī́r yá r̥túr jánīnām ||

And let the noblewomen, the wives of the gods, approach: the wife of Indra, of Agni, of the Aśvin, the queen!
Let Rodasī listen, (and) the wife of Varuṇa! Let the goddesses approach at the time of the women!

4 *nōiṯ *aēuuō *cina* 'not even one'

The ms. TD has the reading *auuacinō* in Hēr. 5.5, but *aēuuacina* in the Av. quotation that forms part of the Pahlavi commentary on that line. BARTHOLOMAE,

45 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 162 queries the reading *auuaṯ* of the ms. and KELLENS 1984, 102 rightly emends it to a subjunctive **auuāṯ*. The form is syntactically parallel to **pāraiiāṯ*. Emendation of the latter form from transmitted *pāraiiaṯ* TD, *paraiiaṯ* HJ is supported by the subjunctive mood in the deliberative questions of Hēr. 4 and 5 **pāraiiāṯ* (TD *paraiiāṯ*), see above, fn. 12.

46 The translation of *aspərənō* is after BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 218. SZEMERÉNYI 1959, p. 73 fn. 1, suggests that the "late Avestan word is the Middle Iranian (Sogdian?) form of **us-pr̥na-* 'full, complete'" and BAILEY 1979, p. 43, explains Av. *aspərənō* as 'completeness' with *as-* < **us-*. By contrast, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000, p. 193f. fn.7, analyses the noun as IIr. **aćə-u̯r̥-na-s-*, derived with suffix *-nas-* (an *s*-extension of the suffix *-na-*) from a heteroclitic stem meaning 'provided with a point' and denoting a brooche or, more generally, a small object made of iron.

47 Cf. W.P. SCHMID: "Die Wurzel *vī-* im Ṛgveda." In: *Mélanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*. Paris 1968, pp. 613–624, esp. p. 622. On RV 5.46.7–8 see also HINTZE 2007, p. 206.

AirWb. 169, 24 offers no analysis of either form apart from noting that there is no Pahlavi translation of Hēr. 5.5. H/E 52f. emend both occurrences to *auuacinō.mazō* 'of inferior size',[48] which is a hapax legomenon in Vd 5.60, but render it as 'to the slightest extent'. K/K 40f. with fn. 66 likewise read *auuacinō* in both passages but postulate a compound *auuacinō.dāitīm*, which would mean 'less than legal'. According to BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 170, the first term of the compound *auuacinō.mazō* is the adj. *²aŋacina- 'inferior', a cognate of Ved. *avācīna-* 'turned downwards'. Both have the suffix *-īna-* and are derivatives from an IIr. stem continued in Ved. *ávāñc-* 'turned downwards'.[49] However, apart from the fact that H/E's assumption that *auuacinō* is shortened from *auuacinō.mazō* has no manuscript support, it is difficult to accommodate the meaning 'inferior' in the context of Hēr. 5.5. For, if *auuacinō.dāitīm* is a compound, as K/K propose, its meaning as a possessive adj. is 'whose law is inferior'. It would then be an acc. object governed by the verb **vīnāδaiiāt* and Hēr. 5.5 *nōiṯ auuacinō.dāitīm *vīnāδaiiāt* would mean 'one does not hurt the one whose law is inferior' or 'what has an inferior law'. If, on the other hand, *auuacinō dāitīm* are two independent words, the resulting translation 'as an inferior one does not infringe the law' makes no better sense.

Since none of these proposals lead to a satisfactory meaning, it is worth exploring the reading *aēuuacina* in the Av. quotation found in the Pahlavi commentary since, apart from the missing *nōiṯ*, it appears to be more correct (cf. also **vīnāδaiiāṯ* below). The first part of the word could be either the adverb *aēuua* 'thus' (Ved. *evá*) or a form of the numeral *aēuua-* 'one'; *-cina* would then be the emphasizing postpositive particle which, like its Ved. cognate *caná*, occurs preferentially in negative clauses, and means 'not even, indeed', emphasizing the preceding word.[50]

If *aēuua* is the adverb 'thus' and negated by the preceding *nōiṯ* then the translation of the sentence would be 'not even in this way does one infringe the law'. Such a translation suggests that it is considered extraordinary ('not even') for a

48 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 169f. posits the meaning of *auuacinō.mazah-* as 'of inferior pledge value' ("was (noch) geringeren Pfandwert hat"). In so doing, he follows K.F. GELDNER (*Studien zum Avesta*, Strassburg 1882, I, p. 95f.), who interprets the second term as *²mazah-* 'pledge' ("Draufgeld, Pfand; Pfandwert", *AirWb.* 1157), an alleged cognate of the Ved. verb *mámhate* 'to give, bestow'. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN 1936, p. 157 accepts this explanation by translating the compound as 'qui a une plus petite valeur de gage'. However, BARTHOLOMAE's stem *²mazah-* is scarcely probable as it should be **mązah-*, cf. *mązā. raiii-* 'bestowing richess' (*EWAia* II, p. 286). Rather, the second term of *auuacinō.mazah-* should probably be *¹mazah-* 'size', cf. the comments by JAMASPASA/HUMBACH 1971, I, p. 29f. note a on *tanu.mazah-* 'having the size of the body' in Purs. 17 (18).

49 WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.* II 2, pp. 430, 435; MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* I, p. 133. E. SCHWYZER (in: IF 49 [1931], p. 4 fn. 1 [= *KlSchr.*, p. 375 fn. 1]) proposes analysing the Av. word as **a-ŋacina-* 'having no word', but this is unlikely.

50 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* I, p. 528; WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.* III, pp. 562, 570f.; B. DELBRÜCK: *Altindische Syntax*, Halle an der Saale 1888 [repr. Darmstadt 1976], p. 544. On the use of Ved. *caná*, which also functions as an indefinite particle after the interrogative pronoun, see especially J.S. KLEIN: *Toward a discourse grammar of the Rigveda*. Heidelberg 1985, I, pp. 285–292.

houselord or wife to leave home for *aδauruna-*, but that as long as they do so under the circumstances outlined in Hēr. 5 neither of them are breaking the law. However, the function of 'not even' is unclear. Moreover, elsewhere *aēuua* 'thus' is not found in combination with *cina*.

It is therefore more likely that *aēuua* is a form of the numeral *aēuua-* 'one'. There is a precedent for its occurrence with the negation and the adverb *cina* (*AirWb.* 23 bottom) not only in Ved. *ná … ekáś cana* (RV 7.104.3, see below) but also in Avestan, Hēr. 16.1:

*nōiṯ ōim *cina vācim *aiβiiās* — He studied[51] not even[52] one word.

In contrast to Hēr. 16.1, however, in Hēr. 5.5 a substantive has to be assumed if *aēuua-* 'one' is to function as an adjective. One possibility is that *aēuua* is the nom.sg.f. and refers to an implied *nāirikā-* (Hēr. 5.5):

*nōiṯ *aēuua *cina dāitīm *vīnāδaiiāṯ* — Not even one (woman) will infringe the law.

The sentence would then mean that no woman would break the law if she left home under the circumstances described in Hēr. 5. The implication is that generally women were not allowed to leave home for longer periods of time. However, the omission of the substantive characterized by the numeral is unusual in view of the fact that it is neither omitted in Hēr. 16.1 , quoted above, nor in Purs. 22 (23) *nōiṯ … θraiiąm.cina gāmanąm* 'not … even three steps'.[53]

Another possibility is that the form *aēuua* is a corruption of the nom.sg.m. **aēuuō* and is used as a substantive. Such a use is found in Vedic, e.g. in RV 7.104.3:

índrāsomā duṣkṛ́to vavré antár anārambhaṇé támasi prá vidhyatam |
yáthā nâtaḥ púnar ékaś canódāyat tád vām astu sáhase manyumác chávaḥ ||

Indra and Soma, pierce the evil-doers and hurl them into the pit, the bottomless darkness, so that not a single one will come up from there again. Let this furious rage of yours overpower them.[54]

While in RV 7.104.3 *ná … ékaś cana* pertains to the 'evildoers' *(duṣkṛ́taḥ)* of pāda a, in Hēr. 5.5 **aēuuō* could refer back to both *nāirika* and *nmānō.paitiš* in

51 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 278 corrects transmitted *aiβiiāiš* TD, *aiβiiāš* HJ to **aiβiiās*. The form is the 3sg.ipf. of *aiβi-ah* 'to study'. On the ipf. of *ah* 'to be', see HINTZE 1994, p. 340 with references.

52 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 595 n. 2 rightly notes that the transmitted form *cinəm* is probably due to influence from the surrounding words and corrects **cina*. He interprets **cina* in Hēr. 16.1 as the indefinite pronoun. The only other occurrence mentioned by him in this entry is *cina-* in Yt 10.84 *duuācina*, which, however, GERSHEVITCH 1959, p. 230f. interprets as 'who longs for the milk'. According to him, *-cina* (i.e.*-cinā) is the nom.sg.f. of the thematic derivative of *cinah-* 'desire'. If such was the case one would have to assume that *-cina* is shortened from **-cinaŋha*, cf. the thematic adj. *təmaŋha-* 'dark' (= Ved. *tamasá-*) and the neuter substantives *haosrauuaŋha-* 'good reputation' and *haomanaŋha-* 'well-mindedness', cf. HINTZE 1994, p. 290.

53 JAMASPASA/HUMBACH 1971, I, p. 36f.

54 W. DONIGER O'FLAHERTY: *The Rig Veda. An Anthology*. London 1981, p. 293.

Hēr. 5.1–4 in the same way that the nom.sg.m. interrogative adj. *katārō* 'which of the two' in Hēr. 5.1 refers to either:

Hēr. 5.5
nōiṯ ˣaēuuō ˣcina dāitīm ˣvīnāϑaiiāṯ Not even one will infringe the law.[55]

5 *ˣvīnāϑaiiāṯ* 'he will infringe'

The ms. TD transmits *vīnāṯ* in Hēr. 5.5 and *vīnāϑaṯ* in the Av. quotation in the Pahlavi gloss. While BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1448 records both forms as inexplicable, H/E 42, followed by K/K 40f. with fn. 65, emend it to *ˣvīnāϑaiiāṯ* and translate 'detracts'. This form, which appears to be the most likely restoration of the text, is the 3sg. subj. of the present stem *vīnāϑaiia-* which is also attested in the phrase *pąstō.fraϑaŋhəm hē kamərəδəm vīnāϑaiiən* in Vd 3.20 and 9.49:

Vd 3.20
āaṯ yaṯ hanō vā zaururō vā
pairištā.xšudrō vā bauuāṯ
aojištəmca dim pascaēta mazdaiiasna
tancištəmca vaēδiiōtəməmca
upa maitīm ˣbarəzaŋhən
pąstō.fraϑaŋhəm hē kamərəδəm vīnāϑaiiən
aš.xᵛarətəmaēibiiō spəntō.mainiiauuanąm dāmanąm kərəfš.xᵛāraṇ
kərəfš paiti nisrinuiiāṯ
vaiiąm kahrkāsąm

And when he (i.e. a man who has carried a dead body on his own) becomes old
or frail
or his seed has dried up,
then the Mazda-worshippers may forcefully,
in the most energetic and knowledgeable way,
hit him over the head[56] with a bat,[57]

55 Alternatively, as M. DE VAAN suggests to me, one might consider a conditional construction with ellipsis of the verb *ˣpārāiiāṯ*: '(If) not even one (goes away), (then) one breaks the law'.

56 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 950 interprets *barəzaŋhąm*, edited by GELDNER, *Avesta* III, p. 18, as the gen.pl. of *barəzah-* 'height, mountain'. K. HOFFMANN apud HUMBACH 1961a, p. 103 fn. 1 identifies the form as the 3pl. (with *-ąm* instead of *-ąn* before *p-*) of the verb *barəzaŋha-* (cf. Ved. *barhaya-*), a denominative present from *barəzah-* (KELLENS 1984, p. 131). KELLENS, 1984, p. 259 interprets *barəzaŋhąn* as a subjunctive, but in *Liste du verbe avestique*. Wiesbaden 1995, p. 38 with fn. 1, he emends it to *ˣbarəzaŋhən*, the 3pl. opt. of the same present stem. Cf. HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 2004, p. 193 for 3pl. opt.pres. forms from other verbs.

57 GELDNER, *Avesta* III, p. 18 edits a compound *upa.maitīm*, which is attested in Vd 5.53–56 (*AirWb.* 391: absol.: "es ist zu warten") while BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 391, 1112f. reads two words *upa maitīm* in Vd 3.20 and interprets the latter as the acc.sg. of a masculine stem *maiti-* 'promontory'. More convincing, however, is the suggestion of K. HOFFMANN apud HUMBACH 1961a, p. 103 fn. 1, that *maitīm* corresponds to Ved. *matyà-*, *matíya-*, which denotes a tool that was used to break up and flatten a clod or lump of earth, a 'club' ("Schollenknüppel"); cf. MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* II, p. 297 with references.

they shall crush his head to the size of dust.[58]
One may consign his body
to the most voracious of the carrion scavenging creatures of the Bounteous Spirit,
the vultures.

A variant of the sentence occurs in Vd 18.10 *yaϑa yaṯ hē pąstō.fraϑaŋhəm kamərəδəm kərənuiiāṯ*, where the verb *kərənu-* is substituted for *vīnāϑaiia-*.[59] In both varieties of the formula the verb is combined with the direct accusative object *kamərəδəm* '(daēvic) head' and a predicative acc. denoting the result of the action: 'to make/crush the head into having the size of dust'.

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1038 interprets *vīnāϑaiiən* in Vd 3.20 and 9.49 as the iterative present *vīnāϑaiia-* of a verb of unknown etymology *vī-nāϑ* 'to maltreat' ("schinden"). KELLENS compares Av. *vīnāϑaiia-* with OP *vināϑaiia-*.[60] He suggests that both continue an Iranian root **nāth*, but notes that such a root has no cognates outside Iranian. Alternatively, he considers the possibility that Vd 3.20 contains a Persism for **vīnāsaiiən*, but in later publications favours a phonetic explanation of *-ϑ-* instead of *-s-*. According to Jamison, Av. *vīnāϑaiia-* could be a Western dialect form transferred into Eastern Iranian and corresponding both formally and semantically to Ved. *nāśáya-* 'to make disappear, destroy', and Lat. *nocēre* 'to harm'.[61] Since the meaning fits the contexts of both the Vīdēvdād and the Hērbedestān passages and in view of the lack of a viable alternative explanation, it appears that *vīnāϑaiia-* is best taken as the Av. equivalent of Ved. *nāśáya-*. Hēr. 5.5 could thus indicate that Av. *-ϑ-* instead of *-s-* is not confined to a single from of the Vīdēvdād (*vīnāϑaiiən* in Vd 3.20 and 9.49), but constitutes a phonetic feature of the causative stem *vīnāϑaiia-*.[62]

58 K. HOFFMANN apud HUMBACH 1961a, p. 103 fn. 1 recognizes that *pąsta-* is not 'the scalp' that BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.*904 suggests, but a noun related to *pąsnu-* 'dust' (*AirWb.* 904), Ved. *pāṃsú-* m. 'dust', see MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* II, p. 114f.

59 The form *kərənuiiāṯ*, which BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 452 erroneously attributes to *kart* 'to cut', is 3sg.opt.pres. of *kar* 'to do', see KELLENS 1984, pp. 170, 171 n. 7.

60 On OP *vināϑaiia-* see R. SCHMITT: *Epigraphisch-exegetische Noten zu Dareios' Bīsutūn-Inschriften*. Wien 1990, p. 47.

61 J. KELLENS: "Un prétendu présent radical." In: MSS 34 (1976), pp. 59–71, esp. p. 66f. The form *vīnāϑaiiən* is 3pl.opt. of the causative present; see KELLENS 1984, pp. 143, 146 n. 20, where he considers a phonetic explanation for *ϑ* instead of *s;* S. JAMISON: *Function and Form in the -áya-Formations of the Rigveda and Atharva Veda*. Göttingen 1983, p. 141f. with fn. 76.

62 Alternation between *-ϑ-* and *-s-* occasionally occurs in the manuscripts. For instance, in Yt 13.93 and 17.18 the mss. F1 E1 etc. have the form *uruuāϑən*, but J10 and others *uruuāsən* (the form edited by GELDNER, *Avesta* II, pp. 188 and 234), see on this form KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 112f. with n. 4 and on Av. *-ϑ-* instead of *-s-* HINTZE 1994, p. 96 with fn. 9 and p. 124 fn. 169 with references.

Conclusion

The use of *aϑauruuan-* in the Avesta suggests that the activity of *aϑauruna-*, for which Mazdā-worshippers (male and female, young and old) leave home, is connected with the dissemination of their religion, although those involved in *aϑauruna-* were perhaps not necessarily also *aϑauruuans*. People who leave home for *aϑauruna-* are likely to have been educated in the Mazdayasnian religion (*aiβišti-* Hēr. 4.3), its sacred texts and certain rituals. That both men and women experienced such education is stated repeatedly in the Avesta, e.g. in Y 26.7[63]:

Y 26.7
iδa iristaŋm uruuąnō yazamaide
yå aŋhaoŋm frauuaŋhaiiō vīspaŋm
ahmiia nmāne nabānazdištaŋm para.iristaŋm
aēϑrapaitiŋm aēϑriianąm naraŋm nāiriŋm
iδa aŋhaoŋm aŋhaoniŋm frauuaŋhaiiō yazamaide

Here we worship the souls of the departed,
the choices[64] of all truthful persons;
in this house (we worship the choices) of the closest relatives who have passed away,
of the teachers, of male and female students;
here we worship the choices of truthful men and women.

What is clear from the Hērbedestān is that any member of a household *(nmāna-)* could engage in the activity of *aϑauruna-*. Possibly every household was obliged to send away at least one member for that purpose within a given period of time. The person chosen was the one 'who had the greatest esteem for truth' (*yō aŋhāi hərəjiąstəmō* Hēr. 1.2, above, p. 172f.), on the one hand, and was less needed for running the household, on the other. The *aϑauruuans* went only so far away that they could return home three times a year (Hēr 4.2, above, p. 175f.). There, while away from home, they would teach the religion and its texts 'to the truth-seekers' (*aŋhō.īšō*, Y 42.6, above, p. 178f.) and perform rituals. They thus contributed towards the growth of new communities, who in turn would then have been obliged to send out some of their own members for *aϑauruna-*. The resulting domino-effect could provide a model that would account for the spread of the Mazdayasnian religion throughout the lands inhabited by Iranians.

63 Other passages include Y 26.8, 68.12.
64 On the translation of *frauuaŋhi-* and its use in Younger Avestan, see HINTZE 2007, pp. 173–175.

Abbreviated References

AiGr. see WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER).
AirWb. see BARTHOLOMAE 1904.
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A Jewish Inscription from Jām, Afghanistan*

ERICA C.D. HUNTER, London

I first learnt about the inscription at 'The Ancient India and Iran Trust', Cambridge in May, 2006 when DAVID THOMAS showed a slide during his lecture about the work of the 'Minaret of Jām Archaeological Project'. Given the close association of Nicholas with the 'Trust', as it is fondly known, it seemed particularly expedient to select the inscription that was shown during this talk, for publication. Even more so, because Nicholas' keen philological eye assisted me to solve a palaeographic conundrum in the inscription. Finally, it seemed worthwhile to offer a small token from northern Afghanistan in appreciation of his outstanding contribution to Bactrian scholarship.

In 2005, a villager showed the tombstone inscribed with Hebrew characters, to team-members of the 'Minaret of Jām Archaeological Project'. It had been found in a wadi near the site of Ghiyath al-Din's Governor's house at Kush Kak.[1] Various tombstones have been published since 1964 by scholars, including GHERALDO GNOLI, EUGEN RAPP and SHAUL SHAKED, but this is the first that has come to light since 1979.[2] The tombstone is in a good physical condition and almost intact, although part of the lower un-inscribed section has broken off, probably in recent times. The inscription, totalling 3 lines, is on two conjoining sides and is clearly legible. The mason used the natural contours of the selected stone and did not attempt to hew it into shape, causing the final characters in lines 2 and 3 to be cramped. By contrast, on side (a) line 1, the elongated final Mem shows that he endeavoured to fill the breadth of the stone. He also followed the convention, found in other tombstones, of using a supralinear line to indicate the date. This has been incised at the juncture of the stone's two sides.

The inscription's palaeography is clear, conveying an overall impression of utility and pragmatism. It is primarily a commemoration of the deceased's name, patronym and year of death. The characters, Beth, Resh, He and Heth are all distinguished by upward 'tails' at the culmination of their upper horizontal strokes. Resh, on both occasions, is distinguished by its sharp 90° angle at the conjunction of the vertical and upper horizontal strokes, which initially suggests Daleth. He and Heth are clearly differentiated from each other and

* The author thanks DAVID THOMAS, 'Minaret of Jām Archaeological Project', for permission to publish the inscription and its photographs.
1 See figures 1 and 2: Inscription side (a) and Inscription side (b). It has remained *in situ*.
2 GNOLI 1964, RAPP 1965, 1971 and 1973, SHAKED 1981 and 1999.

from Tau where the left vertical stroke extends into an oblique 'foot'. Qoph, final Pe, final Sadhe and final Nun are distinguished by their long vertical strokes. Lamedh has been combined with the Aleph in סאל "year", thereby following the palaeographic convention found in other tombstones where Lamedh is essentially an extension of the left stroke of Aleph. The mason has extended the stroke to the juncture of the stone's two sides.

Transcription, transliteration and translation

Side (a) 2 lines:
line 1: 11 characters, line 2: 15 characters

יעקב בן אברהם	*y'qb bn 'brhm*	Jacob son of Abraham
בן יצחק מערוף בו(תק)	*bn yṣḥq m'rwp bw[tq]*	son of Isaac known as "the strong"

Side (b) 1 line on one face:
line 1: 9 characters

סאל הזאר תנט	*s'l hz'r tnṭ*	year one thousand 459 [Seleucid i.e. 1148 CE]

Commentary

The two lines record the name of the deceased "Jacob son of Abraham son of Isaac, known as 'the strong/steady'" together with the year of his death with is given, as was the norm, in Seleucid dating: 1459, i.e. 1148 CE. The inscription supplies his patronyms (father and grandfather), but no accompanying epithets, indicating rank or position, as sometimes occurs in other inscriptions e.g. הלוי "the Levite" (cf. RAPP 1965, inscription 2.2. = GNOLI 1964, VII.2, RAPP 1965, inscription 8.2 = GNOLI 1964, VII.2 [republished RAPP 1971, inscription 19.2]; RAPP 1965, inscription 19.2 = GNOLI 1964, XV.2; RAPP 1971, inscription 1.2, הכהן "the priest" (cf. RAPP 1971, inscription 18.1–2) and התגר "the merchant" (cf. RAPP 1971, inscription 33.2).[3] SHAUL SHAKED proposed that only leaders or outstanding people were honoured with tombstones.[4] However, with no honorific epithet the deceased could have been an ordinary member of the community.

3 Cf. RAPP 1965, inscription 14.2, where the reading is incomplete. SHAKED 1981, pp. 80–81, discusses the various titles of public office which occur on the tombstones, commenting specifically on תגר "corresponding to Arabic and Persian tājir", with a footnote reference to the term's usage in the Genizah documents where it designates major mercantile activity. Cf. GOITEIN 1971, p. 190 and n. 33.

4 Cf. SHAKED 1999, p. 11.

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Fig. 1: Inscription side (a)

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Fig. 2: Inscription side (b)

יעקב בן אברהם "Jacob son of Abraham son of Isaac". These Hebrew names were very popular and occur commonly in the inscriptions. A concatenation of these three names occurs as the collective patronym of one pious Samuel: cf. RAPP 1965, inscription 13.2 = GNOLI 1964, X.2 [republished RAPP 1971, 30.1–2; SHAKED 1981, 4.5]. יעקב cf. RAPP 1965, inscription 1.2 [republished RAPP 1971, 5.1]; inscription 8.2 = GNOLI 1964, VII.2 [republished RAPP 1971, 19.2], RAPP 1971, inscription 20.1, RAPP 1971, inscription 31.1. אברהם בן יעקב cf. RAPP 1965, inscription 15.2 = GNOLI 1964, XI.1 [republished RAPP 1971, 36.2]. יצחק ... יעקב בן cf. RAPP 1971, inscription 25.1–2. For the *vice versa* combination יצחק בן יעקב cf. RAPP 1965, inscription 11.2 = GNOLI 1964, IX.2 [republished RAPP 1971, inscription 26.2]. For further usage of יצחק cf. RAPP 1965, inscription 6.1 = GNOLI 1964, V.2 [republished RAPP 1971, inscription 13.2]; RAPP 1965, inscriptions 14.3, 18.1 = GNOLI 1964, XIV.1 [republished RAPP 1971, inscription 32.1]; RAPP 1971, inscriptions 1.1, 2.1 and 18.1 where the deceased priest bore the same name as his father, inscriptions 33.3, 35.1; SHAKED 1981, inscription 3.1; SHAKED 1999, inscription 3.1.[5] אברהם בן יצחק cf. RAPP 1971, inscription 28.2–3. For further usage of אברהם see RAPP 1965, inscription, 3.1 = GNOLI 1964, II.1 [republished RAPP 1971, inscription 7.1]; RAPP 1965, inscription 7.3 = GNOLI 1964, VI.3 [republished RAPP 1971, inscription 16.3]; RAPP 1971, inscription 23.2.

{תק}בון מערוף "known as 'strong, steady' ". מערוף is a transliteration of the Persian expression معروف "known as" that introduces Abraham's sobriquet.[6] The elongated lower horizontal stroke of the initial character of {תק}בון identifies it as Beth, the first letter of the proper name is Waw and, in combination with final two characters Tau-Qoph, reads as *scriptio defectiva* for وثيق "firm, strong, constant, reliable"; the contours of the stone probably dictating the orthography.[7] For the palaeography cf. Tau on side (b) and the curvature of Qoph in the proper names יעקב and יצחק. The adoption of a 'nick-name' by a member of the community occurs in a handful of inscriptions where, in each case, the name is introduced by מערוף + the inseparable prefix Beth: cf. RAPP 1965, inscription 11.2 = GNOLI 1964, IX.2, RAPP 1965, inscription 11.2 מערוף במלך "known as king", RAPP 1971, inscription 35 *ma'rūf barāwuh* "known as wistful".[8]

סאל "year". The transliterated Persian loan-word سال occurs frequently and the scribe has adhered to the aforementioned palaeographic convention whereby Lamedh and Aleph are combined.[9] Cf. RAPP 1965, inscription 1.3; 2 = GNOLI 1964, I.1; RAPP 1965, inscription 3.2 = GNOLI 1964, II.2 [republished RAPP 1971, 7.2]; RAPP 1965, inscription 5.3 = GNOLI 1964, IV.3; RAPP 1965, inscription 6.3

5 SHAKED 1999, p. 12 with accompanying plate on p. 13.
6 See also GNOLI 1964, p. 44. STEINGASS 1932, p. 1272 معروف.
7 STEINGASS 1932, p. 1456 وثيق.
8 RAPP 1971, p. 39. STEINGASS 1932, p. 565 راوة.
9 GNOLI 1964, p. 20, comments on this convention in his discussion of Inscription II. STEINGASS 1932, p. 642 سال.

= GNOLI 1964, V.3; RAPP 1965, inscription 7.5 = GNOLI 1964, VI.5; RAPP 1965, inscription 8.3 = GNOLI 1964, VII.3; RAPP 1965, inscription 9.2; 10.3 = GNOLI 1964, VIII.3–4; RAPP 1965, inscription 11.4 = GNOLI 1964, IX.4; RAPP 1965, inscription 12.4 = GNOLI 1964, XVI.4; RAPP 1965, inscription 13.3 = GNOLI 1964, X.3; RAPP 1965, inscription 14.4; RAPP 1965, inscription 15.3 = GNOLI 1964, XI.3. RAPP 1971, inscriptions 3.2, 8.3, 9.3, 10.3 [republished SHAKED 1999, p. 10], 13.3, 17.3; 20.4; 21.4; 23.3; 25.3; 27.B.1; 28.5; 30.3; 31.3; 32.2 (as סאלב), 33.4; 34.4; 35.5 (as סאלב); 37.12 [republished SHAKED 1981, Inscription 5.12].

הזאר "thousand". The transliterated Persian numeral هزار "thousand"[10], in combination with the Hebrew date תנט, forms the year of the deceased's death, i.e. 1459 (Seleucid) i.e. 1148 CE. Seleucid dating is the norm for all of the published tombstones, but side (b) is singular in that its dating formula combines Persian and Hebrew numerals. In the transliteration of הזאר one might have expected Zain to be preferred instead of Sadhe. The date תנט is typically distinguished by the supralinear incision cut by the mason at the juncture of the stone's two faces. Whilst inscriptions usually employ *plene* dating, occasionally abbreviated dates are given: cf. RAPP 1965, inscription 1.3 סאל תכז i.e. 1427 Seleucid = 1115 CE[11]; RAPP 1971, inscription 27.B.1 סאל תקו i.e. 1506 Seleucid = 1194 CE, SHAKED 1981, p. 72, inscriprion 1.3 סאל תנג.

Conclusion

The dating to 1148 places the tombstone just a couple of years after the purported founding of Fīrūzkūh by Quṭb ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 541 AH/1146–1147 AH).[12] The prosperity that was realised under the Ghūrid dynasty would have encouraged mercantile activities which may have been the community's *raison d'être* at the city.

The inscription is written in Hebrew script, but the preponderance of Persian words bolsters WALTER FISCHEL's proposal that the Jewish community originated in Persia, moving eastwards to Afghanistan.[13] The Persian sobriquet ותק "the strong" sported by the deceased as well as the usage of Persian nouns including סאל "year" and הצאר "thousand" points to the embedding of Persian as the vernacular language of the community.

The tombstone provides fascinating insight into the religious demography of Afghanistan during the medieval period, affording a glimpse of the Jewish community that had settled at Fīrūzkūh. Yet, the cemetery at Kush Kak appears to

10 STEINGASS 1932, p. 1497 هزار. The author extends her thanks to NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS for discussion about this word.
11 See RAPP 1965, [p. 79] for a plate of this inscription.
12 See BOSWORTH 1961, p. 119 and n. 8.
13 FISCHEL 1965, p. 152.

have been an exclusively male preserve for, in keeping with all other published inscriptions, the deceased is male. Given that the Jewish community spanned several generations and was serviced by religious personnel, it seems extraordinary that no females were commemorated. However, only further research and excavation at Jām and its vicinity will answer questions about its medieval Jewish community.

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Lengthening of *i* and *u* in Persian

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This paper discusses instances of unetymologically long *i* and *u* in word-final syllables of Middle and New Persian. It will suggest that the relevant cases of *ī* and *ū* are due to a regular sound change of Middle Persian, and will attempt to define the conditions of this change.[1]

1. While earlier discussions of Middle Persian historical phonology have treated instances of unexpected long vowels as exceptions or mentioned them together with cases of compensatory lengthening,[2] in his account of inscriptional MP orthography, MICHAEL BACK notes that a group of cases of "Pleneschreibung [<*y*>] weist auf eine sekundäre Dehnung eines altir[anischen]. kurzen */ĭ/* hin, wobei aber der Zeitpunkt nicht feststellbar ist; es könnte sich durchaus auch um einen erst in mittelpersischer Zeit erfolgten Vorgang handeln", citing the name <*'nhyt*> (< OIr. *Anāhĭtā-*, MP/NP *Nāhīd*) as an example.[3] Several instances to be discussed below were also mentioned by SALEMANN, who observes a "lengthening" of *i* and *u* preceding the suffix **-ka-* and one of *i*, *u* in infinitives

1 It is a pleasure to present this small contribution to NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS as a token of gratitude for the instruction that he has generously offered me by way of commenting on manuscripts and via e-mail exchanges, one of which is the basis of this article. – I wish to thank DESMOND DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, JOST GIPPERT, THOMAS JÜGEL and CHLODWIG WERBA for comments, HENNING REETZ for discussion of the phonetic issues in section 5, EDWARD CHRIS HOPKINS, JURGIS PAKERYS, ULLA REMMER, RALF-PETER RITTER, STEFAN SCHAFFNER and ANTJE WENDTLAND for providing various pieces of information, and BERNICE ARCHER for advice on English grammar. – Unless noted otherwise, Manichean MP (MPM) will be quoted from BOYCE 1977 and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, Zoroastrian MP (MPZ) from MACKENZIE 1986. "MP" will be used to include both varieties. NP as quoted here refers to the classical form of the language. Verb forms quoted as e.g. *wēn-/dīd* refer to the present and past stem, respectively. In some cases, past stems will be rendered by the English past participle for the sake of brevity, e.g. *dīd* 'seen'.

2 Cf. HORN 1901, pp. 26, 31–32. Compensatory lengthening of the type *tīr* 'arrow' < OIr. (Av.) *tiγra-* 'sharp' is not the topic of this article.

3 BACK 1978, p. 70. According to BACK 1978, pp. 70, 79, *u* is usually written <*w*> while *i* is not usually expressed in the MP inscriptions. BACK adduces four cases of the nominal suffix <*-yk*> *-īg* as further examples of the lengthening, admitting that they could be from **-iya-ka-* (for which see section 2.4). BACK's explanation of *Nāhīd* is also quoted in BOYCE 1982, p. 29, n. 92.

(see n. 8 and 21), but describes them as separate phenomena. An approach which links them has been taken by HUYSE[4], who *en passant* notes that "les voyelles brèves *ī* et *ū* sont allongées en syllabe finale tonique, comme par exemple dans le thèonyme mp. *'nhyt* /Anāhīd/ (KKZ 8) < v[ieil].-iran[ien]. **Anāhĭtā-* ou dans pehl[evi]. *g'hwk'* /gāhūg/ 'catafalque' < v.-iran. **gāθu-ka-*", and by NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS (p.c.), observing a "lengthening of final **-i/uC*" and including the MP/NP past stem suffix *-īd* < **-i-ta-* among the examples.

The possibility of the name *Nāhīd* and the pst. suffix *-īd* owing their long *ī* to the same process suggests that the lengthening could represent a regular sound change, the context of which remains to be investigated. Unfortunately, the relevant feature, viz. the quantity of *i* and *u*, is not always immediately obvious from the MP data since the orthographies conceal vowel quantity to a certain extent: both short and long *i*, *u* are written <*y*>, <*w*>, respectively, in the Manichean script. The Pahlavi script tends to use <*y*> and <*w*> for long vowels (and diphthongs), but short vowels can also be written in the same way. So it is chiefly the NP and other comparative evidence that may be used to determine the vowel length in the relevant cases.

2.1 Starting the discussion of possible examples for the lengthening of *i*, *u* with the instances mentioned above[5], the pst. suffix *-īd* is found in numerous secondary past stems, both of old verbs and of verbs that do not have an inherited past stem (such as denominatives and borrowings), e.g. NP *rōy-/rōyīd* 'grow' (besides *rust*, Av. PP **rusta-*), MP *ras-/rasīd* 'arrive' (OP pres. *rasa-*), *purs-/pursīd* 'ask' (OP pres. *parsa-*), NP *raqṣ-/raqṣīd* 'dance' (denominative from (Ar.) *raqṣ* 'dance'), MP *dēs-/dēsīd* 'build' (from *dēs* 'shape'), *bĕšāzēn-/bĕšāzēnīd* 'cure' (from *bĕšāz* 'physician').

It has been assumed that *-īd* belongs in the context of causative verbs, thus pres. 3rd sg. **-aya-ti* > MP *-ēd* vs. pst. **-aya-ta-* or **-ayita-* > **-ēd* > *-īd*. However, this derivation would imply a sound change of *ē* > *ī* that is irregular for MP and (classical) NP.[6] The suffix is more likely to derive from an OIr. PP in *-i-ta-*.[7] The assumption of a regular sound change also renders a separate explanation for non-

4 HUYSE 2003, pp. 51–52.

5 For discussion of *Nāhīd*, see section 6.

6 HORN 1901, p. 147, BARTHOLOMAE 1920a, p. 16, and NYBERG 1931, pp. XII–XIII, defend their reading of *ī* in the suffix against those who assume *ē*, and HORN concludes: "Aus dem Causativum (...) kann sie [die Endung] kaum stammen, da hieraus *-ēδan*, p[a]hl[a]v[i] *-ētan* zu erwarten wäre" (pace e.g. SALEMANN 1901, p. 308, HENNING 1934, p. 222, 1958, p. 66, n. 2), declining to advance an explanation for the form. SOKOLOV's derivation (see RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981, p. 108) from a verbal noun in **-θa-* (**-a-θa + ta-* > **-aḥ-t-* > *-īd*) does not appear plausible.

7 NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS (p.c.), who compares OInd. past participles in *-ita-* that go together with causatives, and refers to WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER 1954, p. 573 (with material from several IE languages, but not from Iranian).

causative verbs (e.g. **uz-i-ta-* > *uzīd* 'gone out, perished') superfluous.[8] So the lengthening of *i* takes place in the same context as in Av. *Anāhitā-* vs. MP *Nāhīd*.

2.2 Parallel to the pst. suffix *-īd*, there are also past stems in MP/NP *-ūd* with unetymological length of the *ū*, e.g. MPZ *srūd* < PP **sru-ta-* (pres. *surāy-* 'sing', Av. *srāuuaiia-*),[9] MPZ *stūd*, MPM *istūd* < **stu-ta-* (pres. *(i)stāy-* 'praise'), MPZ *ăšnūd*, MPM *išnūd* < **xšnu-ta-* (pres. *ă/išnaw-* 'hear').[10] MP *hušnūd* 'contented, happy' (Av. adj. *huxšnuta-*[11]) is originally a past stem as well.[12]

According to HENNING,[13] all past stems of roots in *-u* (with the exception of *šud* 'gone') show *-ūd* in analogy to the roots in *-ū*, citing *nistūd* (Psalter), *istūd*

8 SALEMANN 1901, pp. 272, 307, suggests a regular lengthening in the past stem of roots in *i*, *u* (his examples include roots with and without laryngeal), so that the infinitives *dīdan*, *čīdan* and *šūdan* [sic] would be the regular variants and *čidan*, *šudan* and *budan* came about by poetic licence. Alternative solutions have sought to account for the suffix *-īd* by analogy: HENNING 1934, p. 219, who interprets the secondary suffix as *-ēd* (see n. 6), explains the remaining instances of NP *-īd*, viz. those of roots in *-i* (e.g. *čīd*, *uzīd*), as analogical to the roots in *-ī* (i.e. PIr. **iH*), which have past stems in *īd* < PP **-iH-ta-* at any rate (e.g. *dīd* 'seen', *xrīd* 'bought'). BARTHOLOMAE (1920a, pp. 16–19) suggests that *-īd* emerged in verbs with a nasal present, a contamination of e.g. 3rd sg. *burrēd*/pst. *brīd* 'cut' giving a new pst. *burrīd*. *-īd* would then have been analysed as marker of the past stem (parallel to the Pth. pst. suffix *-ād*, cf. n. 12). KLINGENSCHMITT 1978, p. 3, assumes a substitution of **-īto-* for **-i-to-* in verbal adj. of causatives by way of an analogy, viz. PIE (thematic pres.) **-eⱨH-e-* : verbal adj. *(*-iH-to-* >*)* **-īto-* = (causative) **-eⱨe-* : x, yielding a verbal adj. in **-īto-*. However, it seems questionable whether the input forms (e.g. PIr. **CaⱨH-a-* vs. **CVC-aⱨa-*) were sufficiently similar to account for all instances of *-īd*. There is better evidence for such an analogical process in the MP past stems in *-ūd* (see section 2.2). For *čīd* see section 3.2.

9 Cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1895, p. 75. The corresponding noun pronounced *sorūd* 'song, hymn' in contemporary standard Persian is from classical NP *surōd* (HORN 1893, p. 259), thence not a case of lengthening.

10 It appears that the MP pres. goes back to the OIr. stem *xšnau-* seen in a few OP forms (cf. EWAia I, p. 441, for discussion of the Av. forms, see KELLENS/PIRART 1990, p. 233).

11 DE VAAN 2003, p. 293, who attributes the short *u* in the two occurrences of the word to poor quality of the manuscripts, reads *huxšnūta-* and explains the long *ū* as being due to the rather regular Av. lengthening of *u* in open first and quasi-first syllables, cf. e.g. *xšnūta-* (PP of √*xšnu* 'satisfy'), *xšnūmaⁱne* 'satisfaction' (dative) and *tiži.žnūta-* 'having a sharp edge' (DE VAAN 2003, pp. 284, 292–293, 310). At any rate, the Av. lengthening is independent of the process discussed here.

12 For references to etymological discussion of the latter two MP items, see CHEUNG 2007, pp. 456–457. – Conversely, Parthian does not show *-īd* (SUNDERMANN 1989, p. 127), but *-ād* (cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1920a, pp. 12, 20, DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2000, pp. 81–83), which is used for secondary past stems and is likely to have come about by analogical extension from verbs with regular *-ād* (note that the pst. *āyad* 'come' was not subsumed under this type). Similarly, Parthian does not seem to show analogical past stems in *-ūd*, a feature connected to the fact that the MP change of OIr. *āwa* > *ā*, which plays a role in the establishing of the MP type *(-āwaya-* >*)* *-āy-/-ūd*, did not operate in Parthian.

13 HENNING 1934, p. 219, who considers *hušnūd* as having old *-ūd*. Concerning *srūd*, HENNING assumes a substitution of **srād* "oder auch einfach" **srud* by analogy to *pārāy-/pārūd* 'purify' (for which see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989, p. 262).

and *ālūd* 'polluted' as examples. For *išnūd* 'heard', he assumes an analogy of *baw-* : *būd* 'become, be' = *išnaw-* : x. While the highly frequent verb *baw-* may certainly have played a role in the lengthening of OIr. PP *-u-ta-* > MP *-ūd* (see section 7.2), it would seem that *šaw-/šud* 'move; become' should have been the most obvious candidate for the analogy assumed by HENNING, all the more since both verbs are similar in meaning and in their auxiliary-like function, none of which applies to *išnaw-*.

Two alternative explanations seem to be viable. One of them is the following: in a regular development, roots in PIr. **-au̯H* would have a causative in OIr. **-awaya-* and a PP in **-ūta-* (> MP *-ūd*)[14] while roots in PIr. **au̯* would show OIr. **-āwaya-* (> MP pres. *-āy-*) / **-uta-*.[15] After the loss of laryngeals, this distribution was liable to get blurred, and both types eventually merged as *-āy-/-ūd*. This type then absorbed another group of verbs, viz. those with a pres. in PIr. **-aH-i̯a-*[16] (likewise > MP *-āy-*), whose PP in **-aH-ta-* (> *-ād*[17]) tended to be replaced by *-ūd*.[18] The items in *-ūd* not yet accounted for are those that do not have a pres. in *-āy-*, viz. *ā̆/išnūd* and *hušnūd*.[19] Here, the length of the *ū* may be attributed to a lengthening process that affected **-uta-* in the same way as it did **-ita-*. The fact that no such process took place in *šud* 'moved' could be explained by the assumption (discussed further in section 3.2) that the process operated only in polysyllabic words.

14 This type includes MP *pattāy-/pattūd* 'endure' (cf. n. 26), compounds of PIr. √**sau̯H* 'rub, whet' (CHEUNG 2007, p. 340) and of √**dau̯H* 'smear' (MPZ **handāy-/handūd* 'smear, anoint').

15 Verbs to be placed here are *(i)stūd* 'praised' and *srūd* 'sung' mentioned above, its compound MPM *frasrāy-/frasrūd* 'praise', and probably MPZ *abzāy-/abzūd* 'increase' (HENNING 1934, p. 209, CHEUNG 2007, pp. 112–113).

16 This type is seen in several compounds of PIr. √**maH* 'measure', viz. MP *framāy-/framūd* 'command', *nimāy-/nimūd* 'show, guide' etc. (cf. HORN 1901, p. 129, CHEUNG 2007, p. 256), as well as in other verbs (e.g. MPZ *āsāy-/āsūd* 'rest', HÜBSCHMANN 1895, p. 7), NP *gušāy-/gušūd*, MPM *wišāb-/wišād* 'open' (HORN 1901, p. 132, CHEUNG 2007, p. 136).

17 Attested past stems in *-ād* include MPI <*plm't*> (HORN 1901, p. 130, also found in MPM, but declared to be historical orthography by HENNING 1934, p. 219) and *wišād*, NP *gušād* (for an alternative explanation of which see HENNING 1934, pp. 208, 219).

18 Except for the point involving the laryngeal, this is essentially the explanation provided by BARTHOLOMAE 1920a, pp. 13–15 (who does not mention *ā̆/išnūd* and *hušnūd*). The introduction of a pst. in *-ūd* for verbs with pres. in *-āy* < **-aHi̯a-* after the causatives had developed to *-āy* was also seen by SALEMANN 1901, p. 308, and HORN 1901, p. 130. With regard to the various examples of roots in **-aH* (see n. 16), HENNING's assumption (1934, p. 219) of the labial having also played a role in *°mūd* does not appear necessary. – Denominatives with pres. in *-āy-* were liable to acquire a pst. in *-ūd* as well (cf. HORN 1901, pp. 131–132).

19 These are the only items I have found with unetymological *-ūd* that do not have a pres. in *-āy*.

Alternatively, one might consider the possibility that the length of the *ū* in the pst. suffix *-ūd* was generally due to the lengthening process, dispensing with the assumption of an analogy in the pst. of verbs with present stems in **-āwaya-* > *-āy-*.[20] In this scenario as well, *ā̆/išnūd* and *hušnūd* would be accounted for, but MPZ *stūd* and *srūd* would not be regular if one assumes the lengthening to have operated only in polysyllables. At any rate, the assumption of a phonological (rather than analogical) process would seem to be required to account for *ū* in *ā̆/išnūd* and *hušnūd* vs. *u* in *šud*.

2.3 As far as nouns are concerned, interesting instances of the lengthening OIr. *-u-kă-* > MP *-ūg*[21] > NP *-ū* include MP *āhūg* 'gazelle' (OP **āθu-*, Av. *āsu-* 'swift', OInd. *āśú-*), MPZ *pahlūg* 'side, rib' (cf. Av. *pərəsu-*, OInd. *párśu-*), *dārūg* 'medicament' (Av. *dāru-* 'wood', OInd. *dā́ru-*), *ǰādūg* 'sorcerer' (Av. *yātu-*, OInd. *yā́tu-* 'sorcery'), MPZ *zānūg*, MPM *išnūg*, MPZ *(u)šnūg* 'knee' (Av. *zānu-*, obl. *žnu-*, *°šnu-*, OInd. *já̄nu-*).

2.4 Similar to *-īd* and *-ūd*, the suffix *-ūg* has a parallel in MP *-īg* > NP *-ī*. In most cases, it cannot be demonstrated that a given case of *-īg* does derive from OIr. *-i-ka-*, though, since the very common suffix combination OIr. *-iya-ka-* also results in MP *-īg*.[22] The latter suffix is likely to be present e.g. in MP *māhīg* 'fish' (cf. Av. *masiia-*), *tārīk* 'dark' (cf. Av. *tąθriia-*) etc. Likewise ambiguous are *parīg* 'female demon', NP *parī* 'fairy' vs. Av. *paiˈrikā-* and *kanīg* 'girl' vs. Av.

20 However, the assumption of an analogy is still necessary to produce MP *-āy-* from both **-āwaya-* and **-awaya-*, and for the introduction of *-ūd* in verbs with pres. *-āy-* < **-aH-i̯a-*.

21 For examples of *-ūg*, see also DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, p. 111. SALEMANN 1901, pp. 272, 277, notes a lengthening of *i* and *u* before the suffix **-ka-*. RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981, pp. 53, 57, apparently attribute the long *ū* of this suffix to the accent (*zānūg* < **zānúka-*) and do not mention the other cases of lengthening discussed here. – HORN 1899, p. 176, observes that NP *-ū* of certain words rhymes with *-ō* in the *Šāhnāma*, and concludes that these words were pronounced with *-ō*, in spite of their Arm. forms with *-uk*. As HORN goes on to show, *-ūC* and *-ōC* rhyme in a number of other instances as well (e.g. *surōd* 'song' and *būd*, p. 183), so the phenomenon appears to point to *ū* and *ō* merging somewhat earlier than *ē* and *ī*, which usually do not rhyme.

22 SALEMANN 1901, p. 277 (thence the examples), HORN 1901, pp. 179–180, DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, pp. 110, 116–117. RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981, pp. 53, 69, derive MP *-īg* only from **-iya-ka-*. Since the change of (unstressed) **(i)ya-* > *ī* is widespread among Ir. languages (cf. also OP *marīka-* 'person of lower rank' < **mariyaka-*, BRANDENSTEIN/MAYRHOFER 1964, p. 132), the suffix has a form similar to the MP one e.g. in Bactrian (-ιγο, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000, p. 195) and Sogdian (*-yk /-īk/*, GERSHEVITCH 1954, §§202, 977, SIMS-WILLIAMS 1982, p. 72). – Pth. <-*wg*> and <-*yg*> have been read *-ūg*, *-īg* as in MP (cf. e.g. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, pp. 110–111, 117–118). In Pth. inscriptions *ī*, *ū* may also be written <*y*>, <*w*> (e.g. <*w(y)sp-*> 'all', <*š(y)ḥr*> 'descendence'), nor are long vowels always noted (e.g. <*tws(y)k*> *tusīg* 'empty' vs. OInd. *tucchyá-*, <*ḥštrstn*> *šahrestān* 'region'), so that these texts do not solve the question, and neither do the Pth. loanwords in Armenian, because Armenian does not have a quantity contrast for *i* and *u*.

ka^{i}nikā-,[23] but it still appears plausible in principle that the numerous instances of MP *-īg* may include some deriving from OIr. *-i-ka-*.

3.1 The examples discussed so far seem to indicate that the lengthening operates at least in the context before word-final MP *-d* and -g, thus suggesting the preliminary hypothesis that it affected *i* and *u* preceding word-final voiced stop. The only polysyllabic instance of MP *-i/ud* or *-i/ug* that I found[24] is MPM <$^{\prime\prime}$*d(w)g*> 'capable of', which BOYCE reads *ādug*.[25] However, the etymology suggested by BARTHOLOMAE links the word to MP *tuwān* 'powerful' (i.e. PIr. √^{n}*tauH*) and derives it from $^{*\circ}$*tuwaka-*.[26] Although the MP result of $^{*\circ}$*-uwa-* is not quite clear,[27] a reading *ādūg* would seem adequate.[28] Alternatively, one might consider an interpretation **ā-tauHaka-* > *ādōg*.[29] At any rate, it seems that the word could have a long vowel.[30]

No polysyllabic words have been found which would prove or disprove that the lengthening of *i* and *u* also took place before word-final *b*, undoubtedly because of a lack of OIr. words in *-ipa-*, *-upa-*, and of the absence of PIr. suffixes (containing) **-pa-*.

23 In the latter case, it is possible to assume a derivation from OIr. *kanyā-* (SALEMANN 1901, p. 277), cf. Av. *kaniiā-*, obl. *kanīn-*. Also, Zazaki *keyneki*, *çêneki* is likely to go back to a preform like **kanyāka-* rather than to **kanīkā-* (JOST GIPPERT, p.c.). Av. *pa^{i}rikā-* could stand for **parīkā-*, which may be explained as a compound of the type OInd. *prátīka-* 'face', i.e. *pari* and **h$_{3}$k^{w}o-*, so 'looking around (pertly?)' according to KARL HOFFMANN (CHLODWIG WERBA, p.c.).

24 According to BOYCE 1977, MACKENZIE 1986 and the Manichean texts database at http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/miran/manich/mirmankb/mirma.htm. There are some instances of <-y/*w*C> with *e*, *o* < OIr. *a* (via *umlaut*), e.g. MPM <*wdyb*> *wideb* 'deception', and a few loanwords with *-i/u/e/o*C#, e.g. MPZ *kālbod*, MPM *kālbed* 'form' (HENNING 1937, p. 84, NYBERG 1974, p. 110). Unless MPZ/NP *kunjīd* 'sesame' is a borrowing from Indic (cf. KORN 2005, p. 192 for discussion), the variant NP *kunjīd* would need to be the regular form and *kunjid* might be a borrowing from another Ir. variety.

25 BOYCE 1977, p. 3.

26 BARTHOLOMAE 1920b, p. 15, assumes a preverb **ati*$^{\circ}$ while HENNING 1934, p. 250, prefers **ā*$^{\circ}$. Similarly, BARTHOLOMAE 1915, p. 9, n. 1, suggests that *pattūk* 'enduring, patient' derives from **pati-tuwaka-*, which he interprets as "Weiterbildung aus **pati-tuyan-*".

27 HÜBSCHMANN 1895, p. 169, assumes both *ō* and *ū* as result (the latter development would be parallel to **iya* > *ī*), but not all examples appear compelling.

28 As does MACKENZIE 1986, p. 5, for MPZ <$^{\prime}$*twk*'>. *ū* is also noted by BARTHOLOMAE (e.g. 1915, p. 9, n. 1, adducing Pazend *patū-* as support), NYBERG 1974, p. 159, and others, while HENNING 1934, p. 250, and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 4, have *ŭ*.

29 One argument for such a derivation may be seen in Arm. *atak* 'capable' (qualified as Ir. loanword by HÜBSCHMANN 1897, p. 110), which implies MP "$^{*\circ}$*ātāk* aus $^{\circ}$*tāyak* oder $^{\circ}$*tayāk*" (BARTHOLOMAE 1906, p. 182, n. 2). The pair **tawaka-*, **tāwaka-* would be parallel to the one reflected by Pth. *zāwar* vs. MP *zōr* < **-awa-*. – I have been unable to trace the potentially relevant reference to A. MEILLET quoted by AČAŘYAN 1971, p. 284 s.v. *atak*.

30 The missing <*w*> in MPM and Pth. <$^{\prime\prime}$*dg*> (some 3 occurrences each, vs. one MPM instance of <$^{\prime\prime}$*dwg*>) is a problem, though.

3.2 There are a number of instances of short *i*, *u* in the relevant context in monosyllables: MP *ud* 'and', *šud* 'gone' (see also 2.2), MPZ *jud* (MPM *jŭdy*) 'separated', *juy* 'yoke'; MP *dib* 'letter', *pid* 'father' and MPZ *srub* 'lead (metal)'.[31] While *ud* might have been treated as a not quite full word, and *dib* is a loanword, one would expect the lengthening to operate in the remaining cases.

So the lengthening seems to have operated only in polysyllabic words.[32] The only counterexamples I found are the past stem *čīd* 'gathered, collected' (vs. OInd. *citá-*) and possibly MPZ <*spyk'*> 'radiance'. The former can easily have been adjusted to the past stems in *-īd*, among them its own compound *wizīd* 'chosen',[33] and the latter – if it is to be read *spīg* at all[34] – to the common suffix *-īg*.

4.1 At this point, it is worthwhile to discuss whether *i* and *u* are also lengthened before consonants other than voiced stops. Indeed, word-final *r* appears to be a candidate, as some cases of unetymologically long *ir* have been noted: MP *dibīr* 'scribe' may have been borrowed from Elamite *tup-pi-ra/ti-pi-ra*[35], and the MP names *Ardašīr* and *Kerdīr* have been derived from **ṛta-xš-ira-*, **k(a)rt-ira-*, respectively.[36] However, none of these cases can safely be regarded as deriving from a protoform containing *-ir*: it is not certain that the El. form was pronounced **dipĭra-* and that it is the form on which MP *dibīr* is based.[37] The etymology (and thence the protoform) of *Kerdīr* is not quite clear[38]; and the Manichean spelling <$^{\circ\prime}$*rdxšyhr*> argues against deriving *Ardašīr* from **ṛtaxšira-*.[39] MPZ *wizīr* 'decision, judgement', NP *ga/izīr* 'tax collector; hero', *wazīr* 'minister'[40] vs. Av. *vīčira-* 'making decisions'

31 It is not quite clear whether the enclitic particle *-i/ub*, which occasionally occurs in Parthian (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, p. 149), is found in MP as well. The only possible MPM instance is <*wyptwb*>, but DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 2, doubts that it contains the particle *-ub*.

32 For further discussion of this point, see 5 and 7.1.

33 Analogy to the pst. suffix is also assumed by SALEMANN 1901, p. 272, for *čīd* and *wizīd*. The present stems *čīn-* and (MPZ) *wizīn-* are likely to have been adjusted to the past stem (thus apparently the opinion of HORN 1901, p. 26 for the former). For monosyllabic past stems in *–ūd* see 2.2.

34 As does MACKENZIE 1986. The corresponding MPM <$^{\prime}$*spyg*> is read *ispīg* by BOYCE 1977, p. 22, and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 87 vs. *-ē-* in NYBERG 1934, p. 77. For the pertaining verb, see n. 58.

35 BACK 1978, p. 208.

36 BACK 1978, p. 126, and MACKENZIE 1982, p. 285 for the former; SCHMITT 1979, p. 71, 1980, pp. 67, 72 for both. *-ira-* might then be a hypocoristic suffix, a cognate of OInd. *-ila-*, Greek -ιλο- etc.

37 SCHMITT 1980, p. 69.

38 See MACKENZIE 1989, p. 61, and HUYSE 1999, II, p. 173, who list alternative possibilities.

39 HUYSE 1999, II, pp. 12–13. The derivation of *Ardašīr* has been much discussed (see HUYSE 1999, II, pp. 12–13, and SCHMITT 1979 for summaries); one more recent suggestion involves $^{*\circ}$*xšaiθra-* (SUNDERMANN and SIMS-WILLIAMS *apud* BOYCE 1990, pp. 7–8, n. 7, see also WERBA 1982, pp. 62–65).

40 MP *wizīr* has been borrowed into several Semitic languages, see EILERS 1962, p. 207. The *-a-* in NP *dabīr* and *wazīr* shows the influence of Ar. word structure (EILERS 1962, p. 216).

(< *ɣi-čī-ra-[41]) seems a better example, but it may have been adjusted by popular etymology to its homophone MP *wizīr 'remedy' (NP guzīr)[42], to the likewise administrative term *dibīr*, or to MPM *zīr*, MPZ *zīrak* 'wise' (OInd. *jīrá-*)[43]; the expected form is perhaps to be seen in MPM <wcr> *wizīr*.[44]

4.2 There seems to be a lengthening of word-final *-ur* in MP/NP *tanūr* 'oven' vs. BARTHOLOMAE's lemma[45] Av. *tanura-*, but the only occurrence of this may just as well be read *tanūraṯ*, and the lemma posited as *tanūra-*.[46] Conversely, NP examples such as *xusur* 'father-in-law' (Av. *x°asura-*) and MPZ/NP *čādur* 'sheet, veil' tend to show that *u* was not lengthened before word-final *r*.[47]

4.3 One may also consider the possibility that the vowel lengthening operated before word-final *z*.[48] Examples with *u* do not seem to be available, but there is a certain number of cases with *i*. For instance, Pth. names show that both *-ič-, *-k(k)a- as well as combined *-ičak(k)a- were common suffixes in Middle Ir. languages,[49] and these appear as -īz and -īzag in MP. In some cases, the length of the *ī* might be explained otherwise, e.g. MP *kanīzag* 'girl, maiden', NP *kanīz(ak)* 'girl, servant' could have been adjusted to *kanīg* (see 2.4), Judeo-NP <dwškyzh>[50] and MPZ *dōšīzag*[51] 'maiden', which might be related to OP *duxçī- 'daughter; princess' as seen "in Elamite *dukšiš* and later derivatives"[52] (among these Balochi *duksīč* 'daughter/sister-in-law' < *duxθrī-čī-[53]). Such an explanation seems hardly viable for other cases such as MPZ *murwīzag* 'little bird', *giyāhīzag* 'grass'[54], *gišnīz* 'coriander',[55] so these are best interpreted as showing a lengthening of the vowel.

If the *ī* seen in these words owes its length to the process discussed in the preceding sections, the implication is that the *-ag* of *-īzag* was added after the lengthening of word-final *-īz*,[56] or that the items with *-īzag* were adjusted to those with simple *-īz*. Examples for the latter word-end include MP *arzīz* 'tin, lead', MPZ *dahlīz*,[57] MPM *dahrīz* 'portico', and maybe MPM <h'm'spyz> *hāmispīz* 'wholly green'.[58] MPZ <'myc> 'side dish, vegetables' is a counterargument to the assumption of a regular lengthening of *-*iz* if it is to be read *āmiz*[59], but it seems difficult to exclude *āmīz* or *āmēz* as possible reading.

5. In his statement quoted in section 1, BACK notes that the date of the lengthening is not clear. His example <'nhyt> suggests that the change had operated by the stage he terms "late OP".[60] As shown e.g. by instances of MPI pseudo-historic spelling, this stage is also characterised by the change of OIr. postvocalic voiceless stops to voiced ones,[61] thence <'nhyt> is to be read *Anāhīd*.

The hypothesis to be advocated here is that these points are related, i.e. that the lengthening in word-final syllables took place together with, or as a consequence of, the voicing of stops and affricates in intervocalic and postvocalic word-final position. If so, the sound change would reflect the cross-linguistically very frequent (or even universal) phenomenon of lengthening of vowels preceding voiced stops. The articulatory mechanism behind this is "the natural tendency of speakers to assign part of the voicing of the consonant to the preceding vowel".[62] The resulting contrast in vowel quantity can then become phonemically relevant, and in languages with a phonemic quantity contrast

41 Cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 1438.
42 This word may be derived from *ɣi-čr-ya- (HORN 1901, p. 181).
43 The etymology here is PIE *g*ih$_3$-ro- (EWAia I, p. 593).
44 Thus MACKENZIE 1979, p. 533, ad 393. Alternatively, <wcr> may be interpreted as *wazar* and linked to Pth. <wcn> *wažan* 'voice, word' (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 337).
45 BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 638.
46 Cf. DE VAAN 2003, p. 113. In this position, the *ū* is unlikely to be due to an Av. lengthening process, cf. n. 11. Ir. *tanūra-* probably is a *wanderwort* (cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 325).
47 Similarly, there does not seem to be a compelling reason to assume a long vowel in the final syllable of Pth. <b'zwr> 'wing', as do BOYCE 1977, p. 26, and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 105, who read *bāzūr* (perhaps motivated by Pth. *bāzūg*, and NP *bāzū*) vs. Av. *°bāzura-*, Ossetic *bazyr/bazur* 'wing' (cf. CHEUNG 2002, p. 171), Bal. *bāzul* 'wing, arm' (see KORN 2005, p. 160; the more common term for 'arm' is *bāsk* < *bāzu-ka-, KORN 2005, pp. 168, 292).
48 In this context as well, there are examples with short vowel in monosyllables, viz. MP *diz* 'fortress', MPZ *buz* 'goat' and the enclitic *-iz, -(u)z* 'also' (which is likely to be also present in *bagīz*, NP *bargiz*, HORN 1893, p. 244).
49 SIMS-WILLIAMS 2002, p. 238. For the Sogdian suffixes with *-c*, see also TREMBLAY 1998, p. 19.
50 Quoted in MACKENZIE 1986, p. 27.
51 For discussion of the NP word, see also WERBA 2005, p. 713, n. 75. MPM has *duxš*.
52 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1979, p. 346, observing "a general tendency for the f. nouns of relationship to go over to the *i*-declension".
53 MORGENSTIERNE 1932, p. 43, KORN 2005, p. 90. The word also occurs with metathesis *(duskīč)*.
54 Examples from RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981, p. 74.
55 Cf. HENNING 1963, p. 196.
56 Note that there is no lengthening NP *qirmiz* 'red, crimson', which appears to speak for the Indic term (cf. OInd. *kṛmi-ja-*) having been borrowed into Arabic and thence into Persian, replacing MPZ *karmīr* (thus the assumption by MACIUSZAK 1996, p. 30).
57 Examples from HORN 1901, pp. 181–182. In the latter, the quality of the vowels is confirmed by Arm. *dahlič* and Georgian *daliČ-* (cf. GIPPERT 1993, I, pp. 58–61), thence probably to be preferred for MPM as well (vs. *dahrēz* in DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 137).
58 Thus read by BOYCE 1977, p. 44, and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 173. For the vowel of the pertaining verb MPM <'spyz->, MPZ <spyc-> 'shine, sprout', the readings *-ē-* (HENNING 1934, p. 178, NYBERG 1934, pp. 77–78), *-i/e-* (HENNING 1947, p. 47, judging from the orthography in the Psalter) and *-ī-* (BOYCE 1977, p. 22, MACKENZIE 1986, p. 76) have been suggested; DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 88, has *-ĭ-*.
59 As does MACKENZIE 1986, p. 8, maybe for reasons of MPZ *mizag* (NP *maza*) 'taste'.
60 As noted by SCHMITT 1980, p. 75, "Proto-Middle Persian" might be more appropriate, as the stage shows the loss of final syllables characteristic for Middle Western Iranian.
61 Cf. BACK 1978, pp. 127–139.
62 JASANOFF 2004, p. 407, referring to vowel lengthening in English.

for vowels, the lengthening products can be interpreted as instances of long vowels.[63]

It has been assumed that the change of the voiceless stops was parallel to a change of postvocalic *č* to *ǰ*, with this *ǰ* and OIr. *ǰ* resulting in MP *z* only later on.[64] However, there is a particularly good set of examples with pseudo-historic spelling of MPI <c> for (old) *z*,[65] showing that MP *z* (< *ǰ*?) < OIr. *č* is not later than the voicing of the stops. Quite to the contrary, loanwords such as Arm. *zatik* 'Easter period' (< **ǰatīka-* '*sacrifice') and *ǰatuk* 'sorcerer' (< **yātuka-*, see 2.3) indicate that OIr. **ǰ* > *z* and even the (necessarily subsequent) change **y-* > *ǰ-* operated before the voicing of the stops.[66]

This seems to suggest the generalisation OP [*i, u*] > MP [*ī, ū*]/_*D*#, with *D* including the MP outputs of the OP postvocalic voiceless stops and affricates, i.e. MP *b, d, g* and *z*.

6. The statement just made appears to be contradicted by the fact that Ἀναΐτις, the Greek rendering of *Anāhitā-*,[67] has a long *ī* with an intervocalic *t*. However, the first attestation of Ἀναΐτ- is the biography of Artaxerxes by Plutarch (ca. AD 45–125). The earlier occurrences (two in the fragments of Berossus[68] and four in Strabo's *Geography*)[69] have the obl. Ἀναΐτιδ-/Ἀναϊτίδ-, which does not permit

63 HENNING REETZ (p.c.).
64 BACK 1981, p. 179.
65 MACKENZIE 1967, p. 21, BACK 1978, pp. 127, 135.
66 GIPPERT 1993, I, p. 343, KORN 2003, p. 55.
67 As shown by the etymology (for recent discussion, see KELLENS 2003, p. 322–324), "*ē* in *nāhēδ* in Vīs u Rāmīn (auch Nāṣir-i Xosrau ZDMG. 34, 627 v. 479 auf *ǰāvēδ* [reimend]) ist sicher unursprünglich" (HORN 1899, p. 164); the variant with *ē* is also seen in a Syriac hagiographical text (HÜBSCHMANN 1897, p. 18) and in *abanoed* (cf. *Āb-(A)nāhīd*, for whose use as a name see BOYCE 1967, p. 39) occurring (hapax legomenon) in the 12th century Georgian *Visramiani* (JOST GIPPERT, p.c.).
68 The quotes from Berossus (a Babylonian priest of the 4th/3rd century BC) are related by Clement of Alexandria (around AD 200) and Agathias Scholasticus (6th century AD), respectively, and are likely to have been transmitted via other authors (VERBRUGGHE/WICKERSHAM 2001, p. 27). The former quote mentions statues of "Aphrodite Anaitis" in Babylon, Susa and Ekbatana (cf. JACOBY 1958, pp. 394–395, VERBRUGGHE/WICKERSHAM 2001, pp. 62–63).
69 Other Greek sources (e.g. Herodotus) which do not quote her Ir. name mention "(Persian) Artemis" (and Latin texts have "Persian Diana"), Aphrodite and Athena, but it is not always certain that the reference is to *Anāhitā* (KELLENS 2003, p. 318). While one should likewise be cautious in identifying *Anāhitā* with the oriental and/or the Eastern Ir. goddess *Nana* (CHAUMONT 1985, p. 1009, KELLENS 2003, p. 317), there is some evidence that *Anāhitā* was also referred to by this and similar names in Persian and Parthian speaking regions: the legend *NANAIENΩ(N)* on an Elymais coin (ca. 130 BC, http://parthia.com/parthia_coins_elymais.htm#Darius) could indicate Susa (cf. n. 68) according to PEUS 368, no. 330, and the *Anāhitā* temple in Ekbatana is referred to as τῆς Ναναίας in 2 Maccabees 1, 13 and as ὃ ναὸς ὁ τῆς Ἄϊνης by Polybius (*Histories* 10.27.12). The latter name appears to recall *Ainina* and *Danana/Danina* mentioned in the Georgian chronicles (*Kartlis Cxovreba* V, 27, 13, 2 and *Mokcevay Kartlisay*, text see RAPP 2003, p. 259) as two deities from the times before the conversion to Christianity. The two names are "possibly a confusion of one and the same idol" (RAPP 2003, p. 281), thence maybe of *Anāhitā*. Another noteworthy item is the Sasanian Georgian king *Mirian's* (< *Mihryān)* wife being called *Nana* (beginning of the 4th century AD). AZARPAY's argument (1976, p. 542): "It is perhaps likely that the important Nanâ sanctuary which was reportedly situated at Nisa was dedicated not to Anâhita, whose name is absent from the theophoric names from Nisa, but to the combined cult of Nanâ-Ârmaiti" is not quite convincing, as one wonders whether the absence of the name *Anāhitā* might not rather indicate that she was referred to by another name, possibly Nanaia (cf. *Nanēstāwakān*, name of a temple, DIAKONOFF/LIVSHITS 1966, p. 152, n. 67, 2001, p. 198).

a determination of the quantity of the ï. So it appears possible that Greek borrowed *Anāhitā-*, or maybe rather *Anāhit*.[70] Since by the time the name is attested in Greek its MP form would have been *Anāhīd*, this may have influenced the Greek rendering. Alternatively, the Greek form could reflect a contaminated form *Anāhīt* that might have been in use in Zoroastrian circles, mixing the name known from the Avestan texts with the MP form of their time.[71] In either case, the very common f. suffix -ις would have been added to the borrowed name.[72]

70 Word-final syllables seem to have been lost already in late Old Persian (cf. SCHMITT 1989, p. 60). *Anahit* is in fact the form of the name found in Armenian (for the earliest attestations, see RUSSELL 1987, pp. 240–251).
71 For instance, it seems possible that Berossus (see n. 68) may have been acquainted with Zoroastrian practices. – Partial maintenance of older forms, archaisms, and pseudohistoric forms are quite common for names, as is adaptation to current fashions, cf. the name forms *Ānāhītā* (sic), *Annahita* used today in Persian families in Iran and Europe, respectively, in addition to regular NP *Nāhīd*; NP *Mītrā* vs. *Mihrī* (both f.); *Zar(ā)tušt* vs. *Zardušt*. – The OP inscriptions containing the name are rather late (by Artaxerxes II) and yet might point towards *i* rather than *ī* (noting *a-na-ha-i-ta* in A^2Sd, and *a-na-ha-ta* in A^2Sa [several copies] and A^2Ha, see SCHWEIGER 1998).
72 Her "equivalent" (see n. 69) Ἄρτεμις (which was also widely used as a f. name since the 5th/4th century BC according to MASSON 1986) might also have been a motivation for the addition of -ις. The suffix also forms f. correspondences to m. ones in -ίδης, -ιος and -ευς (BECHTEL 1902, p. 55, VON KAMPTZ 1982, p. 152), and numerous doublettes show that it is used in a way parallel to other suffixes, e.g. Φοίβη/Φοιβίς, Νόημα/Νόησις (quoted from BECHTEL 1902, pp. 80, 55, 136), Μύρτα/Μυρτίς/Μυρταρώ (from MASSON 1990, p. 137), Μέλισσα/Μελισσίς etc. (from FRASER/MATTHEWS 2005). BOYCE (following BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 125) assumes that the Greek rendering Ἀναΐτις implies the existence of an OIr. stem in *-i-* and concludes that the "Iranian form" of the name (BOYCE 1982, p. 29), or the name of the "Western Iranian divinity" (BOYCE 1985, p. 1003) was **Anāhiti-*. However, this assumption is faced with the problem that **Anāhiti-* "n'est pas attesté par ailleurs et que l'adaptation grecque Ἀνάϊτις [sic] n'est pas un témoignage suffisant pour certifier son existence" (KELLENS 2003, p. 325). El. *an-na-hi-ud-da* agrees with the stem in *-ā* actually attested in OP and Avestan, so this case is not parallel to e.g. f. Παρύσατις, which corresponds to El. (m.) *Bar-ru-ši-ya-ti-iš*, and Babylonian *Pu-ru-'-šá-ti-iš*, all indicating that the (unattested) OP name was a stem in *-ī-* (REMMER 2006, pp. 132, 244).

7.1 Since stops are voiced not only in word-final position, but postvocalically in general in MP, one might wonder why the lengthening takes place only in word-final syllables, and only in polysyllabic words.[73] It seems that the accent might have played a role. Although it is still not entirely clear exactly how the development of the accent proceeded from Old via Middle to New Persian, it came to be placed on the final syllable at some point,[74] and may have effected the transformation of the articulatorily automatic vowel lengthening into a phonemically relevant one (see section 5) in the stressed syllable. For monosyllables, one might perhaps say that the absence of a contrast of accented vs. unaccented syllables prevented the lengthening from taking place.

7.2 While lengthening of vowels preceding voiced consonants, and of stressed vowels, are rather straightforward processes from a phonetic point of view, there is no phonetic reason for it operating only for high vowels. In this sense, it is surprising that MP *a* is not affected,[75] so that, for instance, the vowel in the very common (and semantically rather empty) nominal suffix OIr. *-aka-* > MP *-ag* is not lengthened while **-uka-* and **-ika-* are, and so are **-ita-* > *-īd* and **-uta-* > *-ūd*, but *āmad* 'came' is left with a short second vowel and past stems in *-ād* < **-aH-ta-* tend to be replaced by *-ūd* (e.g. *framūd* 'ordered', cf. n. 17, 18) or *-ist* (e.g. *framāyist*, *dānist* 'known').[76]

With no phonetic logic in sight to account for this, a motive may be found on the morphological level: a change of **-aka-* > †*-āg* would have made this suffix homonymous with the suffix *-āg* forming nouns of active participle etc. function. Conversely, no such confusion of functions occurred in the cases affected by the lengthening of high vowels. Quite to the contrary, the change happened to arrange some of the instances in a convenient framework: the denominal adj. suffix *-īg* < **-ika-* coalesced with the functionally identical denominal adj. suffix *-īg* < **-iyaka-*. The suffix *-īg* may then have become another motivation for the lengthening in the parallel *-ūg* < **-uka-*. Similarly, the pst. suffixes *-īd* and *-ūd* match the past stem of roots with laryngeal, among these the particularly common ones *dīd* 'seen' (< PIr. **diH-ta-*) and *būd* 'become, been' (< **buH-ta-*).[77]

73 In contrast to Bactrian and various modern Ir. languages, no endings are suffixed to past stems in MP and Parthian, so that (with the exception of derivatives like infinitives etc.) the pst. suffix is the word-final syllable. Agreement of the verb with the object and the intransitive subject is done by use of the copula, e.g. *dīd hēm* 'he/she saw me', *šud hēm* 'I went'.

74 Cf. HUYSE's statement quoted in section 1. For recent discussion of the MP accent, see CANTERA 2006.

75 MP *e* and *o* do not appear to be affected by the sound change either (cf. n. 24).

76 BARTHOLOMAE 1915, pp. 34, 32. Owing to the identical function of *-īd* and *-ūd*, the suffixes can also be exchanged for each other, e.g. *baxšīd* besides *baxšūd* (HORN 1901, p. 132). For the converse situation in Parthian, see n. 12.

77 For discussion of the contribution of analogy, see n. 8 and section 3.2 for *-īd* and 2.2 for *-ūd*.

7.3 One might even wonder whether the vowel lengthening of *i* and *u* possibly was an entirely analogical process, i.e. not a sound change at all. However, the operating of the lengthening in examples which are unlikely to be due to analogy (*Nāhīd*, *hušnūd* and the suffix *-īz*) on the one hand and the fact that *šud* was not subject to analogical adaptation to the past stems in *-ūd* (while *čīd* was adjusted to those in *-īd*) on the other renders an explanation exclusively based on analogical processes rather improbable.

8. An interesting contrast to Persian is provided by Balochi, which, though a "North-Western" Ir. language in some respects, agrees with Persian e.g. in showing the "South-Western" Ir. sound changes of PIE **tr* and **ḱu̯* > *s(s)*.[78] There are Bal. examples of *i/u* plus word-final voiced stop in monosyllables, e.g. *šud* 'hunger', *jug* 'yoke', *id* (demonstrative pronoun), but I have not found polysyllabic examples of *-i/uD#*. There seem to be no examples of unetymological *ī*, *ū* plus voiced stop either, apart from the suffixes *-īg*, *-ūg*, which may be assumed to have been borrowed from Middle Persian also for independent reasons.[79]

Since Balochi shows voiceless stops corresponding to the OIr. ones, the Bal. cognates of the MP examples in *-d* and *-g* have *t* and *k*. In these items, no lengthening takes place, e.g. the suffix *-it*,[80] which is widely used for secondary past stems in the same way as MP/NP *-īd*, including many parallel verbs (e.g. *ras-it* 'arrived', *purs-it* 'asked'), and denominatives from loanwords (e.g. *badl-it* 'changed', from Ar. *badal*). Accordingly, *čit* 'picked' and *gičit* 'selected' (< **(wi-)čita-*, see 3.2) have short *i*, and so their present stems do not show *ī* either *(čin-, gičin-)*.[81]

There is a small number of words with *-ūk* (e.g. *zanūk* 'chin') and *-īk* (*bandīk* 'thread'), but these may be due to a contamination of the presumably regular suffixes *-uk* (e.g. *zānuk* 'knee', *dajuk(k)* 'hedgehog'), *-ik* (e.g. *janik(k)* 'girl') and the much more common *-ūg* and *-īg*, respectively, or, in the latter case, derive from *-iyaka-* since OIr. *(i)ya* gives *ī* in Balochi as it does in other Ir. languages (cf. n. 22).

The absence of evidence for a lengthening of *i* and *u* might be connected to the fact that, unlike in MP, OIr. postvocalic stops were not voiced in Balochi. This appears to speak in favour of the scenario in section 5, suggesting that the MP lengthening process was linked to the voicing of postvocalic stops.

78 Cf. KORN 2003.

79 For discussion of the various suffixes deriving from OIr. *-ka-*, see KORN 2005, pp. 163–169. Language contact has lead to the borrowing of several suffixes into Balochi, among these the Eastern Bal. passive morpheme *-īǰ-*, evidently copied from Indic (BASHIR 2008, pp. 61–64).

80 Cf. BARJASTEH DELFOROOZ 2003, pp. 24–25.

81 Also, analogy works in a way converse to the Persian one, past stems being adjusted to the suffix *-it* (Eastern Bal. *-iθ-*) in the Eastern Bal. dialect studied by ELENA BASHIR: *diθ-* vs. other dialects *dīt* 'seen', *jiθ-* vs. *jat* 'struck' (quoted from examples in BASHIR 2008).

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Abbreviations and cover symbols

adj.	adjective	Ir.	Iranian	p.c.	personal communication
Ar.	Arabic	m.	masculine	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Arm.	Armenian	MP	Middle Persian	PIr.	Proto-Iranian
Av.	Avestan	MPI	inscriptional MP	PP	past participle
Bal.	Balochi	MPM	Manichean MP	pres.	present stem
C	any consonant	MPZ	Zoroastrian MP	pst.	past stem
D	any voiced stop	NP	(classical) New Persian	Pth.	Parthian
El.	Elamite	obl.	oblique stem	sg.	singular
f.	feminine	OInd.	Old Indic	V	any vowel
H	any (PIE) laryngeal	OIr.	Old Iranian	#	word boundary
IE	Indo-European	OP	Old Persian		

Animal Headdresses on the Sealings of the Bactrian Documents

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Introduction

The so-called Bactrian documents from northern Afghanistan, consisting of legal and economic texts as well as letters, have contributed to our greater understanding of the region between the 4th and 8th centuries. As a crossroads for trade and a theater for conquest, during this time span the region had come under the successive domination by Kushano-Sasanians, Kidarites, Hephtalites and Turks. Nicholas Sims-Williams first reported on the Bactrian documents in 1996 and since then, as the number of documents has grown, has continued to enlighten us on their contents and implications, thereby expanding our knowledge of the language, history, religion and culture of Afghanistan in this period.

Some of the documents still have their original sealings: small lumps of clay that bear the impressions of the contractors', witnesses' and letter-writers' seals. The majority of the sealings, however, are not associated with the documents they originally sealed. While more than 150 Bactrian documents are now known, there are many more clay sealings in various collections, unfortunately separated from what they sealed, but which – from their shape and fabric and the style and iconography of the seals impressed on them – can be considered part of this corpus. As an art historian, I have been privileged to study the sealings in two major collections, those of Prof. N. D. Khalili (London) and Mr. Aman ur Rahman (Islamabad/Dubai), and in this endeavor to work closely with Nicholas Sims-Williams who has published the documents in the Khalili Collection and will be publishing the inscriptions on the sealings in the Rahman Collection.[1] His linguistic knowledge and insights, and his generosity in sharing them, have been critical to my stylistic and iconographic analysis of the sealings. Thus, it is a pleasure to offer this discussion about one of the myriad interesting aspects of the sealings – the headdresses worn by various seal-owners and, specifically for this volume, those headdresses that bear animal heads or complete animal bodies.[2] I hope that my offering will help to flesh out, if only slightly, our understanding of the ethnic and cultural milieu that produced the Bactrian documents.

1 Sims-Williams 2000 and 2007.

2 This revises and expands a section of "Some Headdresses on the Sealings of the Bactrian Documents", presented at the 6th European Conference of Iranian Studies, Vienna,

The Sealings with Animal Headdresses

Among all the Bactrian sealings known to me, there only two kinds of animal headdress, both known from examples in the Rahman Collection, and both worn by men, depicted as busts with their heads in nearly frontal view. The first to be discussed is known from three sealings and shows three rams' heads in profile: the ones in the center and on the right face right, while the other faces left (Fig. 1); thus, in reality, the crown would have consisted of a central ram's head, placed above the wearer's forehead, and flanked by a ram's head at either side.[3] The second crown, found in only a single impression, shows two confronted horses flanking, perhaps dining on, vegetation (Fig. 2).[4]

1. Ram's Heads

As read by our honoree, the legible portion of the inscription gives the Middle Persian title *kanārang* ("Lord of the Borderland"). This places the seal within the time of Sasanian rule or domination in Bactria, that is, from the early 3rd century to the latter part of the 5th.[5] This is reflected stylistically by the somewhat elongated shape of the face and certain details of the crown which also occur on Sasanian seals and in other Sasanian art; in Bactria, these features, and specifically the stylization of the diadem ties, persist well into the Hunnic period when this treatment of the ties is no longer used in Sasanian Iran. Thus, even though the title may accord with a late 4th-century date, the seal could have been carved as late as the second half of the 5th century, though more likely in the late 4th–early half of the 5th.[6]

September 18–22, 2007, and delivered at the session that NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS ably chaired. I am very grateful to MICHAEL ALRAM and KLAUS VONDROVEC and to other colleagues cited in this article for their suggestions and corrections but stress that any mistakes are entirely my own.

3 Hc013; Hc075; and Hc139. Illustrated here is Hc075.

4 Hc010. The inscription reads σασονο–μ(••ο)γο (κα)ναραγγο ("Sas..., the kanārang").

5 "*Kanārang* is the MP version of the Bactrian title karalrang, and means 'lord of the border-land' ('margrave'). It's only attested in texts during the period of Sasanian rule in Bactria, but of course it's possible that it continued in use later as a title or as a PN. 'Persian satrap' seems to occur at a very late date, probably as a PN" (e-mail of 31 August 2007). See also SIMS-WILLIAMS 2002, p. 231. For the late use of this Middle Persian form, see Bactrian Documents G and H, dated to 471 CE and 472 CE, respectively (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000). Although Kushano-Sasanian rule ended in the mid-370's with the appearance of Hunnic peoples, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2002, pp. 231–233, notes that the succeeding century saw the Sasanians making "a last ditch attempt to exert control in Bactria" in the face of the invading Kidarites and then the Hephthalites. (For the dating of this power shift, which was also a cultural one, see also GRENET 2002, p. 206, and now DE LA VAISSIÈRE 2003 [2007], p. 122, who demonstrates that the Kidarites and Hephtalites, along with the Chionites and Alchons entered Bactria in a single "massive migration" in the second half of the 4th century.)

6 CALLIERI 2002, pp. 122–124, has also recognized the "rather strong" Sasanian influence in related seals and impressions and assigns them to the end of the 4th into the 5th century.

© Aman ur Rahman

Fig. 1: Impression of the seal of "Sas..., the kanārang" (σασονο – μ(••ο)γο (κα)ναραγγο), Bactrian. Clay; impression: ?? × 20.4 mm; sealing: 22 × 25.1 × 12.6 mm. Aman ur Rahman Collection, Islamabad/Dubai

Fig. 2: Impression of the seal of "Farkhund Asp-wi..." (φαροχονδο ασποο(ι)[), Bactrian. Clay; impression: 16.5 × 14.6 mm; sealing: 24.4 × 28.8 × 15.9 mm. Aman ur Rahman Collection, Islamabad/Dubai

Like the crowns of the Sasanian kings, two sets of ribbons, one long (a), the other short (b), decorate the upper and lower portions of the *kanārang*'s crown:

a) The long ribbon that secures his diadem falls on his right shoulder and is rendered in the "Sasanian" manner: a narrow strip with horizontal striations to indicate pleats. Usually doubled to represent the two ends of the diadem at the base of the crown and hanging straight down along or behind the shoulder(s), this type of ribbon occurs on a number of seals and seal impressions with male busts and Bactrian inscriptions (Figs. 1–2, 4–5).[7] Their length and pleating copy the ties that secure the diadem of the first Sasanian king, Ardashir I (224–240), and which hang down his back to waist level.[8] On the coin obverses of Ardashir I's successors, from Shapur I (240–272) to the end of the dynasty in 651, the diadem ties typically turn upward above or below the hair at the king's shoulder.[9] Exceptions are

7 In addition to those illustrated here, there are several sealings in the Khalili and Rahman Collections, notably those belonging to one or two individuals named Kirdir-Wara(h)ran. The fragmentary letter to which one of the sealings is still attached has been recently dated by NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS to 421 CE (see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2005, p. 339, where it is given a slightly later date and figs. 4–7).

8 See Ardashir I's investiture reliefs at Firuzabad (VANDEN BERGHE 1966, pl. 70), Naqsh-e Rustam (SCHMIDT 1970, pl. 81: NRu I) and Naqsh-e Rajab (SCHMIDT 1970, pl. 96: NRa I).

9 GÖBL 1971, p. 11. The long diadem ties are also worn by members of the royal family; thus, in Ardashir's investiture at Naqsh-e Rajab, the bearded figure standing behind Ardashir and the female figure (his queen?) appearing to the right of the scene show similar waist-length ribbons (see n. 8).

the straight diadem ribbons on the obverse of a gold dinar of Shapur II (309–379), minted at Merv using a locally-struck die (ca. 309–325);[10] those of the king and flanking deities on Ardashir II's Taq-e Bustan relief (379–383),[11] and of Shapur II and his son Shapur III (383–388), on the latter's relief at Taq-e Bustan.[12] The long pleated ribbon on the *kanārang*'s seal may well be an archaizing feature, not unexpected in a peripheral area such as Bactria. Indeed, a gold dinar of Hormuzd (I) Kushanshah, also minted at Merv and placed by JOE CRIBB before the reign of Hormuzd II (303–309),[13] shows two straight pleated ribbons falling along his shoulder, below Sasanian-style hair bunch. The Shapur II dinar, echoing this archaic ribbon type, seems to have been influenced by the Kushan-Sasanian issue. This archaic way of showing the diadem ribbons becomes a feature of Bactrian dignitaries' headgear, not only that of the *kanārang* and the seal of the other official discussed below, but that of several others (Figs. 4 and 5).[14]

b) The pair of short ribbons that appears between the left and central ram's head is a further link to the Sasanian crown which shows small ribbons fluttering

10 CRIBB 1990, pp. 166–167, no. 64 and n. 18.

11 VANDEN BERGHE 1966, pl. 127a.

12 VANDEN BERGHE 1966, pl. 127b. The long diadem ties are typically worn by the figures that flank the fire altar on Sasanian coin reverses from the time of Wahrahan I into Kavad I's reign (late 3rd–late 5th centuries), with the figure on the left being that of the king (GÖBL 1971, p. 18). We also find this type of diadem tie on a few Sasanian seals and metalwork of the 3rd century and first half of the 4th, but, to my knowledge, not later: an example from the third quarter of the 3rd century is the seal of "Wahrahan Kirmanshah", that is, the future Wahrahan I (273–276) (HARPER 1981, fig. 7 and p. 29); from the late 3rd or beginning of the 4th century, the silver bowl with medallions enclosing diademed female busts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (HARPER 1981, pl. 5 and pp. 26–27 and 34: she dates the bowl to the last decade of the 3rd or first decade of the 4th century) and the silver bowl, also in the Metropolitan Museum, with a central medallion containing a male bust, which seems to belong to the second quarter of the 4th century (HARPER 1981, pl. 6 and pp. 27–28 and 36, linking the bowl with the reign of Shapur II and the Kertsheva plate, pl. 23, for which see n. 27 below).

13 CRIBB 1990, p. 164, no. 61 and pp. 166–167, n. 18.

14 Thus Fig. 4, first published by A.D.H. BIVAR and known only in a modern impression (GÖBL 1967, G21: I, pp. 234–235; III, pl. 86) and Fig. 5 (GÖBL 1967, G19: III, pl. 86:19); and the sealings cited in n. 7, as well as several additional sealings in the Rahman Collection. The seal in Fig. 5, though not displaying the same physiognomy, shows the same treatment of diadem ribbons at the base of the elaborate palmette crown. As analyzed by NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS, the orthography and other aspects of the name of the seal-owner, Kedir the *hazāruxt* ("chiliarch") dates the seal to the last quarter of the 5th century (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2005, p. 339).

Further evidence of the retention of earlier forms east of the Sasanian heartland is the silver gilt plate in the British Museum, acquired in the 19th century in Rawalpindi, and attributed to the second half of the 4th century: in the upper register of the central medallion the enthroned figure's diadem ties are long and pleated and fall behind him to his seat; in the lower register the diadem ties of the seated and standing figures, as well as the ribboned ring extended by the latter, are similarly long and straight (see HARPER 1989, p. 854, citing V.G. LUKONIN's dating, and pl. VI).

upwards from the base of the globe or hair covering just where it is affixed to the skullcap.[15]

In a Sasanian context, such ribbons – the long diadem tie and the short ribbons at the base of the globe or hair covering – are the prerogatives of royalty and divinity; here they are appropriated for local rulers and officials.

2. Horses

The sealing with the double horse crown is also in the "Sasanian" style, for the reasons given above, although the secondary ribbons are absent. On what may be a close-fitting cap, much like the base of Ardashir I's second crown, rather than directly on the personage's hair, the horses stand at the walk, each facing a plant, possibly a shrub or a flower. Like the previous sealings, it may date to the latter part of the 4th century or as late as the middle of the 5th. NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS reads the name of the seal-owner as "Farkhund" ("Fortunate") followed by a compound name of which the legible first element is "Asp-wi[...]" ("horse-..."); this element, he suggests, may be a title or a patronymic. If the latter, it is likely that the horses on the headdress refer to the wearer's totemic family name or his theriomorphic personal name.

In fact, both animal headdresses may express the respective wearer's lineage as well as personal tutelary.[16] To understand this more fully, we must explore the use of animal headdresses in Iranian and related contexts.

A Survey of Animal Headdresses

In traditional societies, headdresses made of actual hide or feathers allow the wearer to take on the identity or attributes associated with the particular animal or bird used. For the seals of the *kanārang* and Farkhund Asp-wi[...], the respective animals, the ram and the horse, both avatars of the Victory god Verethragna,[17] were surely chosen for auspicious and, as already suggested, even totemic reasons. In this regard, the employment of animal parts or entire animals for the

15 These secondary ribbons appear on Ardashir I's second crown and continue in that formation until the reign of Warahan IV (388–399) when they may be placed symmetrically to either side of the globe (GÖBL 1971, pp. 11–12).

16 In his paper delivered at the 6th European Conference of Iranian Studies, "Sogdian Onomastics and Its Contribution to Historical Linguistics of [the] Iranian Language Family", PAVEL LURJE lists a number of personal names whose original meanings were those of animals, wild and domestic, and notes that some of them reflect totemic beliefs. I thank him for sharing with me his unpublished paper.

17 Yasht XIV.1.3. The wild ram is not only associated with the victorious aspect of Verethragna, but is also the bearer of *xvarnah* – the royal glory, guarded by Verethragna, as well as general good fortune, which could, of course, be viewed as the triumph of all things good.

crowns of rulers and headgear of important persons is not unknown in the ancient Iranian world and, in fact, is especially characteristic of the nomadic areas to the north and east of Bactria and of the classical world to its west. Protomes of fantastic animals and entire figures of such creatures decorate the headdresses of Scythian and Saka elites.[18] The coinage of the Parthian ruler Sinatruces (ca. 77–70 BCE) is distinguished by his tiara with its crest of reclining stags (Fig. 3), a reference to the Sacaraucae, a nomadic tribe that had penetrated into Bactria and Parthia in the 2nd century BCE and made Sinatruces king of Parthia.[19] For the Sacaraucae and other Central Asian nomads, stags or deer were associated with the sun, which occupied the supreme position in their pantheon.

Fig. 3: Coin of Sinatruces (ca. 78/77–71/70 BCE), Parthian. Münzkabinett. Inv.-Nr. GR05320, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Some 2nd-century BCE kings of Persis show themselves with a complete bird of prey perched on their cap, no doubt referring to Verethragna and his association with the hawk or falcon.[20] However, the bird's presence may not represent its incorporation into the actual headdresses since on other coins of these local rulers the bird sits atop a building or the royal banner.

Beginning with Warahran II (276–293), many Sasanian rulers incorporate an animal element in the form of bird's wings into their crowns. However, only two kings include an animal protome: on some early issues, Shapur I sports a tiara with an falcon's or eagle's head, which in one version holds a pearl in its beak;[21] in his coinage, Hormizd II (303–309) wears a similar raptor's head.[22] Animal protomes

18 For example, the gold diadem with griffin-head protome from Kelermes 3 (Kuban, Crimea) dated to the late 7th or early 6th century BCE (JACOBSON 1995, figs. 30 and 31); the adorsed ibex-horned winged horses on the conical headdress of the so-called "Golden Man" from Issyk (southern Kazakhstan), to the 5th or 4th century BCE (AKIŠEV 1978, figs. 9, 62 and 69); and the complete figure of an ibex found in the 1st-century CE male burial (grave 4) at Bactrian Tillya Tepe, and which may have served as part of the deceased headdress (SARIANIDI 1985, pp. 36–37 and ills. 112–120).

19 SELLWOOD 1980, Type 33, pp. 87–88. See OLBRYCHT 1997, pp. 46–47. The nomadic elements in Parthian society and the military are discussed in OLBRYCHT 2003. Sinatruces' successor, Phraates III (70–57 BCE) continues this form of tiara (SELLWOOD 1980, Type 39, pp. 119–121). I am grateful to JÉRÔME GASLAIN and MAREK J. OLBRYCHT for their help.

20 CURTIS 2007, pp. 424–425 and fig. 15 (silver drachm of Vadfradad II[?]). Similarly, the 2nd-century CE ruler, Sanatruq I, wears the Eagle of Hatra on his diadem (LUKONIN 1967, ill. 8 and 9).

21 ALRAM/GYSELEN 2003, Types Ia/1a and Ib/1a; see also ALRAM 2008, p. 22, fig. 11 (Type I/Ia). A prototype is the bird protome crown on a royal bust on coins of the late 2nd–early 3rd-century CE Persis ruler, Manchir (CURTIS 2007, pp. 427–428 and fig. 23).

22 GÖBL 1971, pl. 5: 80–87. See also the equestrian combat of Homizd II at Naqsh-e Rustam (SCHMIDT 1970, pls. 91–92: NRu VII) and the silver gilt plate in Cleveland with Hormizd II hunting, made at least 150 years after his reign (HARPER 1981, pp. 61, 127–128 and pl. 14).

are more prevalent among the kings' family members and the nobility. Starting with Ardashir I's reign, several show themselves in caps that terminate in animal heads, those of a horse, ram, boar, bull or falcon – all incarnations of Verethragna – as well as that of a griffin.[23] Completing this review of animal elements in Sasanian royal headgear, is the jewel-studded ram's head helmet, which Ammianus Marcellinus reports Shapur II wearing at the siege of Amida (359). Although his account has been doubted, the recent publication of a drachm showing Shapur wearing a crown with large, curving ram's horns (dated to about 320) shows that Shapur, in fact, wore a headdress other than the crenellated crown by which he is recognized on all his other known coins and visual images – albeit not an actual ram's head and not fitting completely into the stylistic typology of his silver coinage.[24]

23 On Ardashir I's Firuzabad relief showing his battle with the Parthian Artabanus, the bearded figure behind him, most likely Shapur as crown prince, wears a cap that terminates in a bird's head (VON GALL 1990, fig. 3 and pl. 66). An animal-protome hat is worn by the beardless figure standing behind the queen to the right of Ardashir I's investiture at Naqsh-e Rajab (SCHMIDT 1970, pl. 97B: NRa I). Similar caps are prevalent in the coins, metalwork and rock reliefs of Warahran II (276–293) on which his queen, crown prince and perhaps other princes wear tiaras that end in the protome of a horse, wild boar, a lion, a horse, an eagle or a griffin (GÖBL 1971, pl. 4: 55–59, 63–70; HARPER 1981, p. 25 and pl. 2 [silver gilt cup from Sargveshi]). The griffin head is sometimes identified as a Senmurv, but that fabulous creature is not found this early in Sasanian art. For additional examples of animal protome headdresses on princes and nobles, see the figures to the left of Warahan II on his Naqsh-e Rustam relief (SCHMIDT 1970, pl. 86: NRu III). A hat terminating in an animal protome is worn by the personage standing immediately behind Narseh (293–302) on his investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rustam (SCHMIDT 1970, pl. 90: NRu VI). A fragmentary seal of this early period showing a male head with griffin-protome cap is BIVAR 1969, MG 1 (two seals in the Bibliothèque National that also show a male bust with griffin-protome cap may reflect a more "fantastic" significance for this kind of headdress as on one of them a second griffin head emerges from the back of the cap; yet the seals are otherwise similar in content, including their inscription [GYSELEN 1993, pl. XL: 40.C.6 and 7]); a lion-protome cap is worn by a bearded dignitary on a bulla found at Uplistsikhe, in eastern Georgia (GIGNOUX 1979, pl. II: 4; I am grateful to Khodadad Rezakhani for locating the original Georgian publication for me).

24 GYSELEN 2004, p. 114, no. 212: type IV/2a "Western" mint, and fig. A; for discussion, see pp. 58–59. This ram's horns headdress may have been a "war helmet" rather than Shapur's actual crown; indeed, Ammianus states that the king "exchanged his diadem for a helmet in the shape of a ram's head ..." (XIX, 1.3). That at least some of the Sasanian kings wore specific headgear into battle (as did the Egyptian kings from the 18th Dynasty on) has, to my knowledge, not been fully explored. Certainly, wearing the ram's horns of Verethragna, the god of victory, would be highly appropriate and could appear especially threatening to the enemy. The well-known silver plate showing a princely, if not royal, hunter wearing a ram's horn crown is discussed below in note 26. One other instance of a Sasanian ruler wearing this type of headgear is "Shapur, the Great King of the Armenians" (416–420), so identified on the reverse of a drachm that shows his father, Yazdgird I, on the obverse (www.grifterrec.com/coins/sasania/sas_yazdI_1.html; in the Robert W. Schaaf collection); no doubt Shapur, who upon his father's death unsuccessfully vied for the throne, is showing his affiliation with his great-grandfather, Shapur II. I thank MICHAEL ALRAM for drawing my attention to this coin.

While citing such horned crowns, we must also note the use of ram's horns in women's headdresses (odd if these horns allude specifically to the god of victory, but less so if seen

In this review of Sasanian headdresses, we see that none incorporates an entire animal and only three kings – Shapur I, Hormizd II, and Shapur II – include animal elements other than wings.[25]

The inclusion of animal parts in the crowns of the 3rd- and 4th-century Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite rulers of Bactria is more widespread: on the gold coins of Warahran (II) Kushanshah ram's horns, with a globe or round floral element rising between them, are a prominent element, as also on the silver issues of Peroz (III);[26] issues of Peroz (II) Kushanshah show short inward-curving bull's horns.[27] More comparable to the ram's-head crown of our *kanārang* is the complete lion's head with mane, topped by a globular vegetal(?) element, worn by two other Kushanshahs, Peroz (I) and Hormizd (I).[28] The use of a lion's head continues on the crowns of some of the Hephthalite or Hun rulers known as Nezak Shah (ca. 460–ca. 560?) and persists into the 8th century with Tegin, king of Khorasan, and other rulers;[29] and a buffalo's head appears on the crowns of other Nezak Shahs and some of their successors.[30] The only complete animal to grace these rulers' crowns is the eagle or falcon worn by an Ardashir who minted small copper coins, possibly early in the Kushano-Sasanian sequence.[31] A similar bird, now with a pearl in its beak, is part of the elaborate headdress of the Bactrian official, Sagolokho, the *wuzurg-framādār* (Fig. 4).[32] Affixed to a skullcap or diadem, it is flanked by two pairs of plant forms that resemble those on Farkhund Asp-wi[...]'s headdress; also similar to that headdress, as well as to the *kanārang*'s, are the long pleated diadem ribbons that rest along his right shoulder.

Fig. 4: Impression of the seal of Sagolokho, the *wuzurg-framādār*, Bactrian. After GÖBL 1967, III, pl. 86: G21

Animal crowns occur on the coinage issued by rulers of the ancient state of Chorasmia, (present-day northwestern Uzbekistan) situated well to the north of Bactria. CRIBB notes that its coinage operated outside the mainstream of Central Asia;[33] and indeed its local issues may reflect Choresmia's nomadic roots: sometime from the end of the 3rd century come silver and copper issues showing the ruler with a headdress in the form of a bird; although the wings are absent, its overall form resembles the bird's complete head and body.[34] More relevant to Farkhund Asp-wi[...]'s headdress, though of a later date, are copper issues that show a ruler with a two-humped camel as the main element of his crown.[35]

Fig. 5: Impression of the seal of Kedir the *hazāruxt*, Bactrian. After GÖBL 1967, III, pl. 86: G19

So far, we have looked at the animal crowns worn by rulers of Iranian and Central Asian backgrounds. But the use of animal parts – though never the complete animal – is not unknown in the classical world. The incorporation of horns, as well as an animal scalp, begins in the West in the latter part of the 4th century BCE with Alexander III the Great's and his successors' adoption for his coin portraits of such symbols as the ram's horns of the Egyptian god Zeus-Ammon, the lion pelt of Herakles, or an Indian elephant scalp, complete with ear, trunk and tusks.[36] Relevant to this discussion are the coins issued by Demetrius I of

as embodying the more general notion of *khvarrah*, God-given glory, of which Verethragna was protector): the seal of a wife of Shapur III, consisting of a bejeweled skullcap topped by massive outward curving horns framing a palmette (GIGNOUX/GYSELEN 1989, pp. 882–883 and pl. III: 24) and the silver plate in the Walters Art Gallery (probably 6th–7th century) showing a royal banquet in which the seated queen wears a similar crown but with a pomegranate set between the horns (*Splendeur des Sassanides*, no. 650). For another discussion of Sasanian caps with animal protomes, see MUSCHE 1987 and 2000.

25 Ardashir I represents himself on one issue with a complete eagle emblazoned on the side of his tiara (ALRAM/GYSELEN 2003, type VI [4b]). However, the bird appears as an applied image and not the three-dimensional sculptural form that would make it a true animal crown.

26 CRIBB 1990, nos. 10, 28, 77 and 79; CRIBB 2007, figs. 106–109; also GÖBL 1967, II, pp. 225–226. Related to these coins is the ram's-horn headdress worn by the hunter (a Kushanshah?) on the silver plate from Kertsheva in the Hermitage Museum, which, according to HARPER's stylistic analysis, was commissioned in a provincial workshop in the East and is to be dated to the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century (HARPER 1981, pp. 37, 133–134 and pl. 23); for discussion of its possible attribution to Shapur II in light of the Shapur II drachm mentioned above, see GYSELEN 2004, p. 59.

27 CRIBB 1990, nos. 6, 26 and 37.

28 CRIBB 1990, nos. 2 (Peroz [I]); 3, 4 and 61 (Hormizd [I]); also bronze coins 28 (issued in the name of Warahran), 34 and 35 (bronzes of Hormizd [I]).

29 GÖBL 1967, III, Type 208, etc.; IV, pl. 7: crown types 45, 53, 51a, 51, 52, 55 (this last, a winged lion protome).

30 GÖBL 1967, III, pls. 43–46: Type 198, etc.; IV, pl. 7: crown types 38, 40, 43, 41, 42, 39, 39a.

31 CRIBB 1990, no. 17 and p. 159.

32 See n. 14; I use NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS's reading (e-mail of 28 December 2007). GÖBL dated the seal to the beginning of the 5th century, which, based on its relation to the two sealings presented here, makes his dating more likely. Some months after this article was written, I learned of an uninscribed Bactrian sealing in the A. Saeedi Collection (London) that depicts a nearly frontal bearded male bust wearing an eagle headdress; unlike the complete the bird of Sagolokho's headdress, this headdress consists of the foreparts of the eagle (profile head and frontal breast) and large outspread wings. With thanks to Mr. SAEEDI, I plan to publish it with his other Bactrian sealings in a future article, co-authored with Mr. SAEEDI and NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS.

33 CRIBB 2007, p. 372.

34 VAINBERG 1977, pls. X: IV: 1 and 2; XVII; XXII and XXIII: B²V (silver) and B²5 (copper).

35 VAINBERG 1977, pls. X: V: 1–6; XXVII: B [Cyrillic *ve*] I/3; CXXIX: G12.

36 See DAHMEN 2007 and CRIBB 2007, p. 337. The addition of ram's horns, which are not part of Alexander's headgear but appear to sprout from his temples, allude to his recognition by the god's priests as the god's son; other animal elements associated with

Bactria (200–180 BCE) who wears Alexander's elephant-scalp headdress to show himself as a legitimate heir of the conqueror of India and to mark his own expansion into India; and those of the usurper Eucratides I (171–145 BCE) who appears in a helmet with a bull's ear and horn.[37]

Conclusion

Seen against this survey of animal headdresses among settled and nomadic Iranian and other peoples as well as Alexander's successors in Central Asia, the multiple ram's heads and complete horses on the respective crowns of our two Bactrian officials are not unusual (and, indeed, it would not be surprising for seals and sealings to come to light showing other personages wearing crowns with the same or other animals). We do not fully understand the ethnic makeup of the inhabitants of the region that is known as Bactria – a mix, to be sure, with a strong nomadic component, as was the case with neighboring Parthia and Choresmia. From the first millennium BCE in lands north and east of Bactria the deep nomadic tradition of animal symbolism expressed itself, in part, in the choice of decoration for crowns and other headgear. The animal crowns of Alexander's successors in Bactria reinforced that tradition or provided renewed impetus for its continuation.

The incorporation of animal heads or entire figures of animals in the headdresses of our Bactrian officials and Sagolokho shows the persistence of these ancient traditions in Bactria. Even if we interpret Hormizd II's winged crown with its falcon or eagle protome as a complete bird, the use of multiple animal heads or a whole animal (or more than one entire animal) is not at all typical of Sasanian royal iconography. Rather, such literal or complete animal representations on headdresses are more at home in a Bactrian context where they seem to reflect an early nomadic stratum, renewed by successive invasions of nomadic peoples from the east. The persistence of such headgear can be found in the 8th century in the painting at Dokhtar-e Noshirwan (Nigar), situated in the area south of the kingdom of Rob (Rui), which, from internal evidence, is the origin of most of the Bactrian documents and the loose sealings. There, the enthroned figure wears a composite crown with what appears to be a frontal ram's head placed prominently above wings.[38]

Alexander's portraits are the bull's horns of Dionysus or Poseidon and the goat's horns of Pan (SVENSON 1995).

It is noteworthy that prior to Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire there is no tradition of animal crowns in the ancient Near East or Iran. Except for bull's horns to connote divinity, animals do not figure in divine or royal headdresses; and bull's horns were worn only by those few rulers, such as Naram-Sin (ca. 2300–2200 BCE), who portrayed themselves as divine.

37 CRIBB 2007, p. 340 and figs. 22 (Demetrius I) and 24 (Eucratides I), respectively.

38 KLIMBURG-SALTER 1993.

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Epigraphica Nestoriana Serica[1]

SAMUEL N.C. LIEU, Sydney

1. The Bilingual Xi'an Monument

The study of the epigraphy the Christian Church of the East (commonly referred to as Nestorianism) in China began as early as the Seventeenth Century when western scholars were able to study the large stele (ca. 270 cm high, 105 cm wide and 30 cm thick) found by workmen in 1623 CE[2] while digging a trench in the district of Zhouzhi 盩厔 about 75 km west of the historic city of Xi'an 西安 (i.e. Chang'an 長安 the western capital of China during the Tang Dynasty). The stele bears a long inscription in Chinese but it also contains a number of lines in a script then unknown to scholars in China. However, Catholic missionaries were by then active on the South China coast, especially in the Portugese enclave of Macao, and the main text of the stele was soon recognized as pertaining to the establishment of the monasteries a monotheistic religion – 'the Lumionous Teaching of Da Qin' (*Daqin Jingjiao* 大秦景教) in the capital cities of Tang China, viz. the western capital of Chang'an and the eastern capital of Luoyang 洛陽.[3]

News of the discovery of an unusal ancient religious monument in China soon circulated among European missionaries in China and it was not long before the inscription was recognized both by Chinese and Western scholars as pertaining to the arrival of the 'Nestorian' form of Christianity in medieval China. Reports of this sensational discovery also circulated in Europe – mainly through work of the Jesuit scholar ÁLVARO DE SEMEDO who saw the stele in 1628 and later published a Spanish version (1642) and an Italian one (1643) of the Chinese portion of the text. An earlier translation had been made by NICOLAS TRIGAULT in Latin in 1625 but this was not published until almost three

1 The author is grateful to the Australian Research Council, the Chiang Ching Kuo Foundation and the Humboldt Stiftung for financial support for research in China, Berlin, London and Cambridge. He would also like to thank Dr GUNNER MIKKELSEN for much helpful advice and correction.
2 All dates are CE unless stated otherwise.
3 The existence of a Nestorian community in Luoyang has now been confirmed by the discovery in the eastern suburbs of the city in 2006 of a broken Nestorian 'sutra-inscription'. Cf. ZHANG NAIZHU 張乃翥: "Ba Henan Luoyang xin chutu de yi jian Tangdai Jingjiao shike 跋河南洛陽新出土的一件唐代景教石刻", in: *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 2007.1, pp. 65–73.

centuries later by HENRI HAVRET in 1902.[4] The language of the non-Chinese portion the inscription had also been recognized as Syriac – the *lingua franca* of the Church of the East commonly known by their perjorative name of Nestor-ians. These lines in Syriac which were written in the Estrangela (and not the Nestorian) script were first deciphered and translated by another European missionary P. TERENCIO (born PAUL JEAN SCHRECK) in 1629 who circulated his results privately.[5] The presence of Syriac in this particular epigraphical text is not surprising as the main part of the text in Chinese (inscribed in AD 781) gives a laudatory account of the spread of a monotheistic 'Luminous (or Radiant) Religion' (*Jingjiao* 景教) from a country to the west of China called Da Qin 大秦 (which most scholars recognize as the archaic Chinese name for the Roman Empire) to the Middle Kingdom.[6] Some lines of text in a foreign script would strengthen the credentials of *Jingjiao* as a privileged foreign religion. The discovery of a Christian (albeit Nestorian) inscribed monument discovery was at first disbelieved by many European scholars, including Voltaire, who commonly wrote it off as an ingenious 'Jesuit forgery to deceive the Chinese and defraud them of their treasures'.[7]

The bilingual stele, now commonly known to scholars and the wider public as the Nestorian Monument (hereafter 'Monument'), is the prime exhibit in the Xi'an Forest of Stelae Museum (*Xi'an beilin bowuguan* 西安碑林博物馆, i.e. The Xi'an Epigraphical Museum) and is seen by hundreds of thousands of tourists each year.[8] Earlier editions and translations of the text of the long inscription normally included both the Chinese and the Syriac texts.[9] However, because the main body of the inscription on the Monument is in Chinese, the text has been studied mainly by Sinologists and not by Syriac scholars with the result that some recent translations of the inscription do not include the Syriac at all except for the first two lines – one at the beginning and the other at the end of the main Chinese text.[10] This neglect of the Syriac is understandable in that the Monument is not strictly speaking a bilingual inscription as the Syriac and the Chinese versions bear little relation to each other. Moreover, while the Chinese text runs into 1,756 characters in 32 long lines – such length of text

4 See useful summaries of the discovery and publication history of this famous stele in PELLIOT 1996, pp. 5–146, and RIBOUD 2001, pp. 2–4 and 12–15.
5 Cf. PELLIOT 1996, pp. 102–103.
6 On the significance and geographical extent of Da Qin see LESLIE/GARDINER 1996, pp. 131–162.
7 The words of GEORGES HORN, cited in PELLIOT 1996, p. 151.
8 See *Xi'an beilin bowuguan* 西安碑林博物馆 – *Xi'an Forest of Stone Tablets Museum (Exhibition Catalogue)*, Shaanxi 1993, p. 44. The monument was placed in the Museum in 1907.
9 See especially SAEKI 1937, pp. 320–333, and also MOULE 1930, pp. 35–52. SAEKI's edition contains excellent reproduction of the Syaric parts of the text.
10 PELLIOT 1996, pp. 173–180 (translation of Chinese section only), and XU LONGFEI 2004, pp. 95–101 (translation of Chinese section only).

is fairly standard for commemorative stelae placed outside Buddhist or Daoist temples or Islamic mosques – the Syriac part which is marginal to the Chinese and largely in a special section underneath the main text and on the two side panels of the stele amounts to no more than 300 words. Nevertheless the Syriac part deserves to be studied as a very early example of Nestorian epigraphy 'East of the Euphrates' and not simply as an insignificant adjunct to the main Chinese text. Since Nestorianism was imported into the Middle Kingdom from a Syriac-speaking Christian milieu, the Syriac text, no matter how peripheral it appears on the stone, yields rare and precious information for the researcher in the history of the eastward diffusion of Christianity.

The Syriac text on the monument is inscribed vertically like the main body of the text in Chinese – a practice which is very common in Central Asia and would be followed by texts inscribed or copied in Mongol and Manchu even though the scripts for both of these languages were derived from Aramaic via Sogdian and Uighur which were intended to be written and read horizontally. Despite its inferiority in terms of 'word-count', the Syriac is far from invisible as the first line of it actually precedes the main body of the Chinese text and states the authorship of the inscription on the stele in a manner which is completely different from the Chinese:

大秦寺僧景淨述
Recorded (i.e. authored) by Jingjing a monk of the Da Qin monastery

ܐܕܡ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܥܕܪܒ ܩܘܣܡܣܩܘܦܐ ܘܦܦܫ̈ ܕܣܝܢ[11]
Adam priest and chorepsicopus and *fapsh*ʿ of Ṣin(i)stan

The name Ṣin(i)stan for the Middle Kingdom is widely attested in Central Asian texts from the middle Sassanian era onwards and is also found in Greek in the writings of the famous Christian traveller Cosmas Indicopleustes as Tzinista.[12] However, the one word in this first line of Syriac text as given above which a Syriac-speaker not familiar with terms used by Nestorians in China and did not know Chinese would have difficulty in understanding would undoubtedly have been ܦܦܫ̈ as it is manifestly not a Syriac word. MOULE, giving the word in transliteration as *fapshi* (i.e. reading ܦܦܫ̈ in the Syriac)[13] had suggested that the term is the Syriac approximation of the very common Chinese Buddhist/Daoist term for a priest or monk: *fashi* 法師 ('teacher of the law').[14] The problem with

11 The medial Yūdh in ܕܣܝܢ is indicated by a Rhbaça in the form of two vertical dots over the ∞.
12 E.O. WINDSTEDT (ed.): *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*, Cambridge 1909, p. 322: Ταπροβάνη, Τζίνιστα οὕτω καλουμένη, κυκλουμένη πάλιν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ...
13 Cf. MOULE 1930, p. 35, esp. n. 12. Unfortunately MOULE's translation is not accompanied by either the Chinese nor the Syriac text in original script.
14 According to Dr LIONEL BARNETT cited by MOULE, *fashih* was transliterated as *phab shi* in a bilingual Dunhuang document. MOULE does not give the original Syriac and

such a simple solution is that *fashi* is far too low in status for it to be the Syriac equivalent of an ecclesiastical rank for a priest who was effectively a metropolitan of an arch-diocese. The most obvious Syriac church-hierarchical term in the context of the Syriac would have been ܦܦܐ *papa* (< Lat.) or in its Graecicized form ܦܛܦܐ *pap(p)os* (< Gr. πάππος) which in this case does not mean 'Pope' but a 'metropolitan bishop'.[15] The term would have been especially appropriate for Adam who had jurisdiction over the metropolitan see of China which, because of its distance from other centers of Nestorianism, would have conferred on the holder considerable high status.

The present author visited Xi'an Forest of Stone Tablets Museum in 2007 and was able to personally check the reading of the word on the stone and there is little doubt that the word is written ܦܐܦܫ *papsh'*. The final 'Ē ـܐ is well executed. This could not entirely rule out the possibility that it was a miscopying by a Chinese stone-inscriber who mistook a final 'E ـܗ (which occurs in a name like ܐܒܪܗܡ on l. 18) for a final Yūdh ,– and his mistake was left uncorrected because ܦܐܦܐ or ܦܥܦ was not a Syriac word. I am inclined to think that the title was originally ܦܛܦ but the term was phonetically transliterated into Chinese which would explain the switch from Semkath ܣ to Šīn ܫ which is a much more commonly encountered sound in Chinese. The Chinese version of the title (now lost) then became so closely associated with Adam that it was retransliterated into Syriac. Other explanations are clearly possible and it would be good if more specialists in Syriac could be encouraged or persuaded to work jointly with Chinese scholars to solve the many problems posed by this *hapax legomenon* inscribed in Syriac script and attested only on the Monument.

The second line of Syriac is placed at the very end of the main body of the Chinese text and is preceded by a Chinese version which surprisingly carries similar information:

時法主僧寧怒知東方之景眾也

[Inscribed] in the reign of Ning-shu (i.e. Hananishu) as Patriarch (lit. 'King of the Law') over the *Jing* (Luminous *v. infra*) congregations of the East

ܒܝܡܝ ܡܪܢܢ ܐܒܗܬ ܐܒܗܬ ܘܒܝܡܝ ܡܪܝ ܚܢܢܝܫܘ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܘܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ

In the days of the Father of Fathers Mar Hananishu Catholicus Patriarch.

Chinese texts with his translation, unlike that of SAEKI which gives both. *Fashi* may be, as Dr MIKKELSEN has suggested to me personally, a reference to his role as a preacher but I still find it incongruous for such a term to appear in Syriac transliteration in a context which requires a title no junior than that of a metropolitan. 'Missionary Teacher of Ṣin(i)stan' would seriously downgrade the position of Adam. In any case a reader of the inscription who only knew Syriac would not have understood the term *fashih* in Syriac transliteration and with it the entire phrase.

15 This suggestion is not new. It was first mooted by the great Syriac scholar J.S. Assemani as early as 1728 (*apud* PELLIOT 1996, p. 123). See also SAEKI 1937, pp. 82–83. The problem has been very little discussed in more recent literature.

It is generally accepted that the Catholicos and Patriarch Hananishu died in 780 but news of death at Seleucia-Ctesiphon had obviously not yet been received in China in 781 when the stele was erected.[16] It is not impossible that the otherwise unattested Syriac term in l. 1 of the Syriac text (viz. ܦܐܦܥ) might have been a transliteration for the term *fazhu* 法主 'King of Law' which would certainly fit the seniority requirement and here given as translation for the Syro-Greek word ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ 'patriarch'.

The most substantial portion of the Syriac text inscribed on the Monument is found below the main body of the Chinese and the text reads vertically and from left to right. The Chinese characters in l. 13 are therefore shown in their correct vertical position on the inscription and properly aligned with the Chinese main text above and next to the Syriac[17]:

(3) ܒܗܝܕܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܗܢܢܝܫܘ ܐܒܗܬ
(4) ܦܐܦܐ ܘܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ,ܐܒ ܩܘܕ
(5) ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܐܡܫܦܪܝܓܐ
(6) ܕܛܘܪܢ ܐܒ ܕܩܐܡܠܗ ܒܛܘ
(7) ܘܐܒ ܕܦܥܐ ܡܢ ܩܠܡ ܕܦܐ
(8) ܠܗ ܕܛܘ ܕܩܛܘ ܕܩܐܡ
(9) ܕܦܐ ܕܡ ܕܩܘ ܠܡܢ ܕ
(10) ܕܩܐ ܕܡ ܕܩܐ ܕܡ ܕ
(11) ܕܩܐ ܕܡ ܕܩܐ ܕܡ ܕ
(12) ܕܠܗ ܒܗ ܘܠ ܕܡ
(13) 僧靈寶 ܕ
(14) ܐ ܕܦܥܐ ܒܪ ܕ
(15) ܕܦܐܦܐ ܘܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ

In the year One Thousand and Ninety and Two of the Greeks (1092 Sel. = 781 CE) My Lord Izd-buzid priest and Chorepiscopus of Khumdan the metropolis, son of the late Milis priest, from Balkh a city of Tahuristan (i.e. Tocharistan), set up that tablet of stone. The things which are written on it [are] the law of him our Saviour and the preaching of them our fathers to the kings of Ṣinaye. *Monk Lingbao* Adam minister son of Izd-buzid Chorepiscopus.[18]

This section of the inscription was clearly intended for reading only by the Syriac-speaking monks who had come to the Middle Kingdom from Iran and Central Asia following the collapse of the Sassanian Dynasty to the Arabs. The dating formula used ('In the year ... of the Greeks ...') is that of the Seleucid

16 Cf. MOULE 1930, p. 47, n. 43.

17 While it is not impossible to use modern computer technology to print these lines vertically, i.e. exactly as they appear on the inscription, it would be highly inconvenient for the reader of Syriac. Replicas of the Monument are found in a number of European institutions thanks to the efforts of the Danish scholar FRITS HOLM and squeezes of the inscription are sold as souvenirs and frequently encountered outside China and one set of the squeezes is available for consultation at the Manichaean Documentation Centre at Macquarie University.

18 Trans. MOULE 1930, p. 48 (modified). WERNER SUNDERMANN thinks the word translated as 'minister' by MOULE should be rendered 'deacon' in this particular context and that Izd stands for 'Yazad'.

calendar inaugurated on 1st October 311 BC and was used widely in the Near East and particularly by Christians living under the Sassanians. Its use is particularly well attested on pagan inscriptions in Palmyra.[19] The lines are vertically inscribed from left to right in contradistinction to the Chinese which was inscribed throughout the monument vertically from right to left. The Chinese stone-cutter was probably given a hand-copied Syriac text of these lines which were written horizontally and he turned the text round 90 degrees to conform with the Chinese custom of writing vertically which is fortunate for the modern Syriac scholar because had these lines been inscribed from right to left as well as vertically, the modern scholar will not only have to turn the photograph or squeeze of the these lines through 90 degrees but will also have to read the text from the bottom line upwards. The use of the term Ṣinya ܨܝܢܝ for China is worth noting as the scribe had reverted to a form of the name more natural for Syrians instead of the Persian sounding ܨܝܢܣܬܢ *Ṣinistan* used in a more official context in l. 1 of the Syriac on the main part of the Monument. According to Thomas of Marga, a monk called David from the 'king of monasteries' of Bēt 'Abhe (ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ) near modern Mosul was elected to the metropolitan see of Bet Ṣinya (ܒܝܬ ܨܝܢܝ) at the end of the Eighth Century, probably in succession to Adam.[20] These thirteen lines of Syriac would be readily comprehensible to the Syriac-speaking monks at the monastery or their visitors from Central Asia. Even the names of the capital cities of Tang China: Khumdan for Xi'an (the western capital) and Sarag for Luoyang (the eastern capital) are well attested in sources in other Central Asian languages such as Sogdian and Turkish.[21]

The thirteen lines are followed by two further lines after a space on the stone of about 12 cm:

ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ (16)
ܣܪܓܝܣ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ (17)

Mar Sargis priest and Chorepiscopus.

Chorepiscopus (< Gr. χωρεπίσκοπος) lit. 'country-bishop', or a suffragan bishop in modern parlance, is a very common rank among Nestorian clergy of Central Asia and is encountered in lines 5 and 15 above. How these two lines relate in sense and context to the previous lines is not clear.

The next few lines of the inscription are bilingual and give the names and ranks of the monk responsible for erecting the tablet and that of his assistant in both Syriac and Chinese – once more with differing information especially on

19 Cf. D.R. HILLERS/E. CUSSINI (eds.): *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*. Baltimore 1996, pp. 57 (PAT 0259), 76 (PAT 0326), etc. and 443.

20 BUDGE 1893, I, p. 238.15 (text). This is an extremely important source as it is the most substantial source on the history of Nestorian Christianity in Iraq and Iran at the time of the erection of the Nestorian Monument in Xi'an.

21 Cf. W.B. HENNING 1948: "The date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters." In: BSOAS 12 (1947–1948), pp. 603 (Saraγ) and 606 (Khumdān).

the title and status of the monks concerned, except in the case of Gabriel his role as ܪܫ ܕܝܪܐ 'head of the monastery' is faithfully rendered into Chinese as *sizhu* 寺主 lit. 'monastery-chief' or 'abbot'. The task of reading these lines is complicated by the fact that although the Syriac reads vertically from left to right, the Chinese reads vertically from right to left. The hybrid text reproduced here has the Chinese rearranged to fit in with the line-order of the Syriac:

檢校建立碑
ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܘܥ ܨܒܪܝܫܘ 僧行通 (18)

{Chin.} Supervisor of the erection (of the stele) the monk Xingtong
{Syr.} Sabranisho (or Sabr'isho ܨܒܪܝܫܘ) priest.

助檢校試太常卿紫裟寺主僧業利
ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܪܫ ܕܝܪܐ (19)
ܘܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܓܪܓ (20)
ܗܘ ܝܗܒ (21)

{Chin.} The Assistant Supervisor of the erection (of the stele), the abbot and monk Yehli (i.e. Gabriel) who was awarded the purple *kaṣāya* (i.e. monastic robe) by the Taichang ching through (public) examination.
{Syr.} Gabriel, priest and archdeacon and abbot of (the monasteries) of Khumdan (i.e. Chang'an) and Sarag (i.e. Luoyang).

The special local honours acquired by Gabriel would have only impressed a Chinese reader of the inscription and no attempt therefore was made by the compiler to find equivalents for them in the Syriac version.

On the two side-panels of the Monument are inscribed in four rows the names of some seventy Syrian monks, some with titles and most with the Chinese equivalent of their names, making this section probably the most 'bilingual' part of the inscription. Of the 74 names in Syriac, 62 are accompanied by names in Chinese.[22] For those monks whose names had no Chinese equivalents one can only surmise that they saw no need to 'go native' and were content to be known solely by their Syriac names. Only a small proportion of the names in Chinese are transliterations or translations of the Syriac. Thus, of the five monks with the same Syriac name of Sargis (Sergius), none have the same monk-name in Chinese which shows how their original name was pronounced in Syriac had little influence on their choice of Chinese equivalents. A good example, though, of a partially transliterated name is in l. 22 of the Syriac, viz. the first name on the list:

ܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ

My lord Yoḥanan Bishop

22 TISSERANT (*apud* RIBOUD 2001, p. 23) believes 20 of the 70 names in Chinese have relatively similar pronunciation in Syriac but such a high figure is very hard to prove as we can not be absolutely certain of the Tang pronunciation of some of the characters in these Chinese names.

for which the Chinese equivalent is

Dade ('Great Virtue' = Bishop) Yaolun 大德曜輪

Yaolun is clearly a transliteration of Yoḥanan because the name in Chinese means a 'radiant wheel' which though Buddhist-sounding is an odd choice for a monk-name and the characters were most likely to have been chosen for their phonetic value. The use of the seemingly unrelated phrase *dade* (which is used in Buddhist texts to translate the Sanskrit term *bhadanta*) for the title of bishop is also attested on a Nestorian inscription in Chinese from a later period found in the port city of Quanzhou.[23] Another exception is the monk or priest Ephraim on l. 28:

ܐܦܪܝܡ ܩܫܝܫܐ 拂林

{Syr.} Afrem priest {Chin.} monk *Fulin*

where the Chinese characters used for transliterating the monk-name 'Fulin' are almost exactly the same as those used to designate the Eastern Roman Empire during the Tang Dynasty *(v. infra)* and have no religious significance. Another possible but less obvious phonetic transliteration might have been the Chinese equivalent on l. 45 for the Biblical name of Noah:

ܢܘܚ 僧來威

{Syr.} Noḥ (Noah) {Chin.} monk Laiwei

One pair of names though is of special interest. On l. 48 we read:

ܩܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ 僧居信

{Syr.} Qostantinos (i.e. Constantine) {Chin.} monk Juxin

To see the full Greek version of the name Constantine in Syriac instead of the more common abridged version of Qoshtanz ܩܣܛܢܛ used widely by Nestorians in Central Asia for both Constantinus (masc.) and the Constantia (fem.)[24] is of interest in itself but even more unusual is the fact the Chinese monk-name adopted by this Syriac (?) monk Juxin 居信 means 'constant in faith' which bears some relation to the meaning of the name not in Syriac, nor in the Greek from which the Syriac was derived, but in the original Latin from which the Greek was derived. The Latin meaning of the name (from which the English words 'constant' and 'constancy' are also derived) appears to have survived transmission across Central Asia probably through some type of lexical aid.

While most of the names of the Nestorian monks in Syriac on the Nestorian Monument are of Biblical or Semitic origin, a handful of names like Sargis (i.e.

23 Cf. WU WENLIANG 吳文良: *Quanzhou zongjiao shike* 泉州宗教石刻 *[= Religious Stone Inscriptions at Quanzhou]*, revised and expanded by WU YOUXIONG 吳幼雄, Beijing 2005, pp. 404–405 (B39).

24 In Nestorian Syro-Turkic inscriptions the name Qoshtanz may, as SUNDERMANN (1995) has suggested, be a title for a '(female) teacher'.

Sergius) (ܣܪܓܝ l. 20, 53, 56 etc.), Bacchus (ܒܟܘܣ l. 82),[25] Cyriacus (ܩܘܪܝܩܘܣ l. 81),[26] Posi (ܦܘܣܝ l. 57)[27] and Mahdad Gushnasp (ܡܗܕܕ ܓܘܫܢܣܦ l. 26)[28] is of pagan or Persian origin. However, most of these names are so firmly rooted in the martyrology of the Church of the East in Mesopotamia and Iran (both Nestorian and Monophysite) that they cannot be used to determine the racial origin of the monks of the community which set up the Monument.[29]

The Syriac version also gives Izd-buzid, priest and Chorepiscopus of Khumdan the metropolis, as the son of the late Milis, a priest from Balkh in Tocharistan as the person who set up the stele in 781. The link with Balkh as a possible source or intermediary of Nestorian mission to the Middle Kingdom has drawn little attention from scholars. The ruins of Balkh now occupy the site of modern Bālā Ḥeṣār in Afghanistan. As Bactra in ancient times, Balkh was capital of the Indo-Greek kingdom of Bactria. It later became the capital of the Kushan Empire and from the late fifth century onwards it was occupied by the Hephthalites. The evangelization of the city also featured in the missionary work of the legendary Bar Shabba in the fourth century[30] and the city was also said to have been evangelized by Nestorians during the Shahanshah Kawad's exile among the 'White Huns' as he was said to have been accompanied by two Nestorian priests.[31] The fact that it was linked to Tocharistan in the Syriac part of the inscription is worth noting as the city was captured by the Arabs in the Eighth Century and was made the capital of Khorāsan. The great centre of Nestorianism in Central Asia at the time of the Islamic conquest of Central Asia was Merv and in 651 it was the Nestorian Bishop of Merv who buried the corpse of the murdered Yazdgard III after losing the decisive battle of Nihavand (642) to the armies of Islam. Nevertheless Balkh must have been a highly multicultural and multi-faith city in the decades before the Islamic conquest as it was Tēs, the King of Chaganian and Tocharistan, who sent a Mōzak *(muche)*, i.e. a Manichaean priest of the highest rank (= *magister* in Latin sources), who was well

25 On the acts of the famous SS. Sergius and Bacchus celebrated by both Monophysites and Nestorians see I. VAN DE GHEYN: "Passio antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi", in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 14 (1895), pp. 371–395. See also the important study of E.K. FOWDEN: *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran*, Berkeley 1999, pp. 101–173.

26 On the legends of Cyriacus and Julitta in Central Asia see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1992, p. 52.

27 Pusai (Gr. Pusaeus, Pe. Pousik or Possi) was 'the chief craftsman' of the Shahanshah at Karka de Ledan and was engaged in the manufacturing of silk before he was martyred. See *Acta martyrum et sanctorum Syriace*, ed. by P. BEDJAN, Paris 1890–1897, vol. II, p. 208.

28 For the name Mahgušnasp in martyrdom acts see references given in F. JUSTI 1895: *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, p. 186.

29 See also the cautious approach to the question of ethnicity of the monks as suggested by their names by RIBOUD 2001, pp. 22–23. An onomastic study of the more unusual names in Syriac listed in the Monument is long overdue.

30 *Chronicon Seertensis* 40 in A. SCHER (ed.): *Histoire nestorienne inédite (Chronique de Séert)*, Paris 1910 (Patrologia Orientalis 5.2), pp. 253–256. On the legend of Bar Saba see N. SIMS-WILLIAMS: "Baršabbā", in: EIr III (1989), p. 823 (with full bibliography).

31 Cf. MOFFETT 1998, p. 208.

versed in astrology as envoy to the Tang court in 719.[32] Balkh was decisively occupied by the Arabs and used as a military base for the conquest of Central Asia from 734 onwards.[33] The city stood astride a number of main routes and one of them which goes through the Qarā Kotal Pass to the plain of Bāmīān basin has the advantage of being the shortest for travellers from the west as well as the easiest.[34]

2. Da Qin – Fulin – Rome

The Chinese title of the Monument, which is prominently displayed in large characters at the top of the stele, is *Da Qin Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo bei* 大秦景教流行中國碑 'Monument to the diffusion of the Da Qin (i.e. Roman) Luminous Religion *(Jingjiao)* in the Middle Kingdom'. The title raises two issues which have long attracted the attention of scholars interested in the diffusion of foreign religions in China in the Tang period. Firstly, the name Da Qin 大秦 which in Chinese means literally the Great or Greater Qin (Empire). The character use for Qin 秦 is exactly the same as that for the title of one of the most hated but fortunately short-lived dynasties of Ancient China (221–207 BC). It saw the unification of the China through military conquest by the Qin state and the birth of a superstate with a name by which foreign states would come to know the Middle Kingdom – Qin 秦 (Ch'in in Wade-Giles system of transliteration, hence China). The name of the dynasty also lives on forever in popular Chinese memory as a model tyrannical and legalist regime which completed the building of the Great Wall at great human cost and which was forever cursed by Confucian scholars for instigating the burning of the Confucian Classics and the burying alive of Confucian scholars who opposed the strict legalism of the regime. The term Da Qin 大秦 (lit. 'the Greater Qin state'), however, was used from the Han Dynasty onwards as the designation of a mighty and utopian state to the north-west of Persia which could only have been the Roman Empire. The title of Qin was conferred on the Roman Empire out of respect for the territorial expansion of China achieved under Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝 (i.e. the Founding Qin Emperor, *r.* 221–210 BC) and its resultant rise in international status. As the compiler of the *Dynastic History of the Later Han* says:

> They (the Romans) resemble the Chinese (lit. 'people of the Middle Kingdom'), and that is why the country is called Da Qin (i.e. Great Qin or China).[35]

32 *Cefu yuangui* 971.4b–5a. Cf. CHAVANNES/PELLIOT 1913, pp. 152–153, and W.B. HENNING: "Argi and the 'Tocharians'." In: BSOS 9 (1937–1939), p. 570.
33 Cf. C.E. BOSWORTH: "Balḵ. ii. History from the Arab Conquest to the Mongols." In: EIr III (1989), p. 588.
34 Cf. X. DE PLANCHOL: "Balḵ. i. Geography." In: EIr III (1989), p. 588.
35 *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 88.2919, trans. LESLIE/GARDINER 1996, p. 49.

The Nestorian monks and priests who had come to China because of the collapse of the Sassanian Empire and the subsequent Arab conquest of Iran and adjacent Central Asia, were anxious that their centers of worship should not be known as 'Persian monasteries (*bosi si* 波斯寺)' and petitioned to have the title of their monasteries changed to that of the 'Da Qin (i.e. Roman) monasteries (*da-qin si* 大秦寺)'.[36] This desire of these Persian Christians to return to their 'Roman' roots marked the sect's decisive break with the now discredited Sassanian Dynasty. It also underscores the desire of the Nestorians to distance themselves from Zoroastrianism which was disliked in China for its approval of incestuous marriages and the exposure of the dead. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[37] the Nestorian Church, with its Catholicos normally resident in the Twin Cities of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (near modern Baghdad), had been an integral part of the Parthian and Sassanian Empires of Iran for nearly five centuries.

With the conquest of Byzantine Syria by the armies of Islam, the sect's knowledge of the Roman Empire was largely based on events which took place in the New Testament. Prior to the Islamic conquest, Nestorian clergy in the Sassanian Empire were very aware of their need to remain an independent entity owing no political allegiance to the Romano-Byzantine Empire. Cross-frontier contacts were few and this is reflected in the lack of Byzantine sources on the history of the Nestorian Church from the end of the fifth century onwards. The adoption and dominance of Syriac as the official language of the Church of the East only served to reduce contact between the Nestorians in Iraq and Iran and their fellow Syriac- or Greek-speaking Christians on the other side of the Romano-Byzantine frontier.[38] We must also remember that the most commonly used name by Nestorians for the Roman Empire was not ܪܘܡܝ (i.e. Romania) nor ܪܘܡܝ ܐܪܥ (Land of the Romans) but ܝܘܢ ܐܪܥ (Land of the Greeks).[39] By this period ܪܘܡܝ ܐܪܥ (Land of the Romans) usually means not the Roman Empire but more specifically Rum, i.e. Asia Minor because Constantinople, its chief city, was the New Rome.[40] How the Nestorians in China could have equated 'Land of the Greeks' with the Da Qin of Chinese historical sources raises a number of intriguing questions. Chinese historical sources state that between Parthia and Da Qin was the city of An Ku which many scholars had regarded as Chinese for Antioch (on the Orontes) but it is also clear that An Ku was not seen as the capital of Da Qin – a name which must apply to the whole

36 *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 49.1012, cited in MOULE 1930, p. 65, and SAEKI 1937, p. 456 (Appendix II).
37 S.N.C. LIEU: "The Luminous Religion in China." In: MUSTAFA/TUBACH 2007, pp. 315–316.
38 S. GERO: *Barsauma of Nisibis and Persian Christianity in the Fifth Century*, Louvain 1981 (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 426; Subsidia 63), pp. 33–41, and GILLMAN/KLIMKEIT 1999, pp. 118–127.
39 BUDGE 1893, I, p. 335.1 (text), II, p. 587 (transl.).
40 *Ibid.* and *comm. ad loc.* See also G. LE STRANGE: *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, pp. 127–158, esp. 127–128.

of the Roman Empire and not just to the Roman East.[41] One would expect a Syriac-speaker to have a reasonable knowledge of the Roman Empire through Syriac sources but the Nestorian monk or monks who composed the Chinese text of the Monument had to draw on Chinese (rather than Syriac) historical sources (esp. the Han and Wei Dynastic Histories) for a description of a mythical (and now Christianized!) Da Qin Empire:

> According to *Xiyu tuji* 西域圖記 ('Illustrated records of western lands') and the histories of the Han and Wei (*Han Wei shice* 漢魏史策), the land of Da Qin is bounded on the south by the Shanhu (珊瑚 i.e. coral) Sea; on the north it stretches towards the Zhongbao 眾寶 Mountains; on the west it looks towards the Xianjing 仙境 (lit. 'Region of the Immortals') and Hualin 花林 (lit. 'Forest of Blossoms'); on the east it borders on the Changfeng 長風 (lit. 'Long Winds') and Ruoshui (弱水 lit. 'Feeble Water'). The country produces fire-washed cloth (asbestos), spices that restore the soul, bright moon pearls, and rings that shine in the night. The way of the people is to be happy and peaceful without theft and robbery. No religion but the 'brilliant' *jing* (景 i.e. Christianity) is practised, a ruler who is not virtuous is not established. The lands are extensive and broad, the civilization prosperous and enlightened.[42]

This decidedly utopian picture of the Roman Empire is similar to descriptions of the Seres (the people of silk = Chinese) in Roman sources.[43] The use of the term Da Qin was decidedly archaic as another term Fulin which is much more accurate phonetically (< MPers. *hrwm*, Pth. *frwm*, Sogd. βr'wm-, Bactr. φροµο etc.) had become current as the designation for the Eastern Roman Empire in the Tang period.[44] The Nestorians in China showed awareness of this, especially in their translation of texts from Syriac into Chinese. Though they situated Nazareth within Da Qin,[45] they placed most of the other Gospel place-names within

41 Cf. LESLIE/GARDINER 1996, pp. xxi–xxv and 67–72.

42 *Nestorian Monument* (Chin.), ll. 14–15 (line numbering following the system of PELLIOT 1996, pp. 169–180), ed. SAEKI 1937, (text section), p. 4, transl. LESLIE/GARDINER 1996, p. 115.

43 See sources collected in G. COEDÈS (ed. and transl.): *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême Orient depuis le 4ème siècle avant J.C. jusqu'au 14ème siècle après J.C.*, Paris 1910, pp. 2–4, 10–19, 72–88. The first European writer and traveller to unambiguously identify the Seres with the 'Cataians' (i.e. men of Cathay = Chinese) was the Flemish Franciscan monk William of Rubruck (Willem van Rubroek) who travelled to the Mongol court at Qaraqorum in March 1254 AD, see P. JACKSON/D. MORGAN (ed. and trans.): *The mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, London 1990, p. 161.

44 See further other examples from Central Asian sources (many unpublished) given in W. SUNDERMANN: "Überreste manichäischer Yimki-Homilien in mittelpersischer Sprache?", in: *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg II*, Teheran/Liège 1975 (AcIr 5), p. 302, n. 49. See also summary of earlier debate on the location of Fulin in H.H. SCHAEDER 1934: *Iranica*, Berlin (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 3. F., Nr. 10), pp. 24–83 ('Fu-lin').

45 *Daqin jingjiao xuan yuanben jing* 大秦景教宣元本經, l. 1, ed. SAEKI 1937, (text section), pp. 96, 312 (transl.). See also transl. LI TANG 2002, p. 199.

the boundaries of Fulin.[46] Nevertheless, the author of the Monument was adamant that it was from Da Qin and not from Persia that the first major Christian envoy to reach China in 635, Aloben (i.e. Syr. *raban* ܪܒܢ 'our master'),[47] was sent. Moreover, Persia (*bosi* 波斯) features in the Chinese text on the Monument only as the land (or people) of the gift-bearing (Magi) at the time of Christ's birth.[48] This obsession with the Roman Empire as the native land of Christianity is more understandable if the Monument had been set up by Melkite or Jacobite (Monophysite) missionaries given their greater association with the Roman (and Byzantine) Empire and both these Christian sects were active in mission in Central Asia in the Eighth Century.[49] However, the Nestorian origin of the Monument could easily be proven as the patriarchate of a Nestorian Catholicos at Seleucia-Ctesiphon was acknowledged in l. 2 of the Syriac and many of the names of the monks listed on the side of the Monument are of Persian origin or are Syriac-Persian hybrids. The use of the term Ṣinistan for China instead of Bet Ṣin or Bet Ṣinaye also points to a strong link with Iran and Iraq rather than Byzantium as names of regions ending in -(i)stan are commonly encountered in the administrative geography of Sassanian Iran.[50] The modern tendency to translate Da Qin as 'Syrian' would not have pleased the Nestorians who knew their geography better. Adjacent to the west of the Sassanian Empire was not Syria but Mesopotamia (Assuristan) an area of dispute between Rome and Persia. Northern Mesopotamia, after the expulsion of the School of Edessa to Nisibis in 489, was strongly Monophysite and so was the Roman province of Syria south of Antioch. A Nestorian bishop of the marches like Barsauma (b. 415, consecrated 435) would guard the Persian allegiance of the Nestorian Church with great diligence as it was his accusation that the then Catholicos Babowi had made dangerous political overtures to Byzantium which brought the latter's downfall and painful death. To designate Da Qin as 'Syrian'[51] would

46 Cf. *Xuting mishisuo(he) jing* 序聽迷詩所(訶)經, l. 163, ed. SAEKI 1937, (text section), pp. 25, 141 (transl.). See also transl. LI TANG 2002, p. 154 (l. 127), and *Shizun bushi lun* 世尊布施論, l. 74, ed. SAEKI 1937, (text section), pp. 56, 212 (transl.), and transl. LI TANG 2002, p. 173. The last reference is particularly interesting because Fulin was said to be ruled by a *jixi* 奇悉 i.e. Caesar (MPers. *kysr*).

47 *Nestorian Monument* (Chin.), l. 11, ed. SAEKI 1937, (text section), pp. 4, 57 (transl.). It is quite common for Chinese translators in the Tang period to add the prefix a- or an- to foreign words beginning with r- to aid pronunciation. It is possible that the name of this cleric was Rabban NNN but the Chinese officials who preferred to have foreign names no longer than three or maximum four characters as in Chinese names, only transliterated his title and not his name.

48 *Nestorian Monument* (Chin.), l. 6, ed. SAEKI 1937, pp. 2, 55 (transl.).

49 On the activities of Melkites and Monophysites in Iran and Central Asia at the end of the Sassanian period see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1992, pp. 51–52, and IDEM: "Christianity. iv. Christian Literature in Middle Iranian Languages", in: EIr V, pp. 534–535; GILLMAN/KLIMKEIT 1999, pp. 220–221 and 241; MOFFETT 1998, pp. 246–247.

50 Cf. M. MORONY: *Iraq after the Islamic Conquest*. New Jersey 1984, pp. 125–164.

51 A suggestion put forward by WILMSHURST 1990 [1993], p. 51.

cause problems of historical theology as Christ was meant to have preached in a place in Da Qin called Nazaluo 那薩羅 (i.e. Nazareth) which of course is in Palestine.[52] To say that by Da Qin the Nestorians in China implied Syria as WILMSHURST has done could lead to an entirely artificial link in the minds of scholars between the Syriac-speaking Nestorian monks who had come to China from Iran or Central Asia with a province of the Eastern Roman Empire now lost to the Arabs and thus fall prey to the very myth of a Roman origin of their mission which the Nestorians in China were trying to perpetrate.

In an important study on the name of the Christians in Tang China, TIMOTHY BARRETT has drawn attention to the fact that the name Da Qin was used of an utopian state by the Daoists before it was found used in the Dynastic Histories to designate the Roman Empire and even featured in a debate between Daoists and Buddhists.[53] This could explain how the Nestorians came to know of Da Qin as the monks at their monastery at Zhouzhi would very probably had active intellectual exchange with the Daoists in the famous temple at Louguan 樓觀 which was built on the site where Laozi 老子, the traditional founder of Daoism, was said to have transmitted his *Daode jing* 道德經 to one of his disciples.[54] It is still a major Daoist establishment (thanks to the generosity and devotion of a donor from Korea) and situated only on the other side of the same valley. The two religious communities were within easy walking distance from each other which would have encouraged regular mutual visits and discourse. The Daoists could have been a source of Da Qin as the term for the land of origin of Christianity for the Nestorians. The Manichaeans in China, followers of another religion from the West, had put forward the idea that Mani was none other than an *avatar* of Laozi, the founder of Daoism, who did not die but went west and converted the 'Barbarians' of the Western Regions to his teaching.[55] BARRETT goes on to suggest that the choice of Rome as the source of Christianity was not unmotivated by political reality. The inexorable rise of Islam had forced the states of Eurasia in its wake to establish diplomatic relations with each other and an embassy to the Tang court from Byzantium was recorded for 667 and the Byzantines might have been conducting a 'culturally sensitive policy' in Asia. The granting of permission for dissemination of Nestorianism by the Tang edict of 745 might have been preceded by the Byzantine mission of 742 and such missions were often accompanied by clerics.[56]

52 *Daqin jingjiao xuan yuanben jing*, l. 2, ed. SAEKI 1937 (text section), pp. 96, 55 (transl.).
53 BARRETT 2002, pp. 558–559.
54 Cf. ST. ESKILDSEN: "Parallel themes in Chinese Nestorianism and medieval Daoist religion." In: MALEK/HOFRICHTER 2006, pp. 57–58.
55 For a summary of the so-called *fahu* (conversion of the barbarians) controversy S.N.C. LIEU 1992: *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd ed., Tübingen, pp. 257–261.
56 BARRETT 2002, p. 560 [pp. 52–53]. See also related views expressed earlier by WILMSHURST 1990 [1993], pp. 56–59.

However, it is hard to believe that Byzantium which had just emerged from major doctrinal battles against Monophysitism and Monotheletism would feel in any ways inclined to further the fortunes of a few Diophysite Nestorians in distant Taugast (Gr. Ταυγάστ < Old Turk. tabγač *v. infra*)[57] – the name by which Northern China was known to the Byzantines – whom they were probably too ready to anathematize. If the Nestorians in any way wished to be associated with Byzantine missions then it would have been more logical to prefer Fulin to Da Qin for the 'Roman' part of the title of their religion as the Byzantines were bound to have presented themselves as Rhomaioi (Gr. Ῥωμαῖοι) – a designation by which the Byzantines were known until 1453. Perhaps Fulin would conjure up images of a persecuting heretical Chalcedonian state whereas Da Qin would for the Nestorians recall a period of Christian history before the bitter parting of the ways between them and the Melkites and Monophysites at the council of Chalcedon (451) and the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (498).

3. *Jingjiao* – a religion of luminosity or of fear and reverence?

The second issue concerns the choice of the character *jing* 景 for the name of the Christian religion or teaching in China. The word is normally translated 'luminous' or 'radiance' but this is not the most obvious meaning of the word which for most Chinese would call to mind 'vista' or 'vision' or 'illustrious' rather than 'light'. Although Christ called Himself 'the Light of the World', throughout its history in Iran and Central Asia, the Church of the East was never known for a developed theology of light. For a religion which was centered on the figure of Christ a more logical name for the religion in Chinese would have been *mishihe jiao* 彌師訶教 (Messiah-religion), or *Yishu jiao* 移鼠教 (Jesus-religion – but not really recommendable to the Chinese as the transliteration means 'Religion of a Migrant Rat') or *shengzi jiao* 聖子教 (Holy Son-religion) or *tianzun jiao* 天尊教 (Lord of Heaven-religion) – the phonetically transliterated names Yishihe and Mishihe as well as the translated term Tianjun can all be found in the main Chinese part of the inscription on the Monument. To underscore the concept of light of radiance, the Nestorians could have simply called themselves *ming jiao* 明教 (Religion of Light) or *guangming jiao* 光明教 ('radiant religion') and there was no competition yet on this score from the Manichaeans. Despite their pronounced doctrine of the conflict of the Father of Greatness (𐎠𐎲𐎢𐎲𐎢 𐎠𐎲𐎢) dwelling in the region of light (𐎠𐎲𐎢𐎲𐎢 𐎠𐎲𐎢) and the Prince of Darkness

57 Theophylactus Simocattes, *Historiae*, VII,7,11, ed. C. DE BOOR, revised by P. WIRTH (Stuttgart 1977), 257.20. On the full extent and purpose of Byzantine diplomatic interest in China see K. HANNESTED: "Les rélations de Byzance avec la Transcaucasie et l'Asie Centrale aux 5e et 6e siècles." In: *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–1957), pp. 421–456.

(ܡܢܝ ܚܝܐ) in his infernal kingdom, Manichaeans in China throughout the Tang period were known as *moni jiao* 摩尼教 (the religion of Mani). The fact that the characters for *moni* are nearly the same as those used for transliterating the *muni* part of Sakyamuni (the name of the Buddha) gave the Manichaeans instant Buddhist camouflage. There was no open mention of their connection with light in any official documents and the term *ming jiao* only appears in a Manichaean context in the fragmentary trilingual (Chinese, Sogdian and Turkish) inscription at Karabalghasun in Inner Mongolia at the end of the Eighth Century where the word *ming* could mean 'to understand' or 'realize' rather than 'light' or 'enlighten'.[58] It was only after the religion had moved into South China, especially in the Five Dynasties and Song periods that Manichaeans came to designate their religion as Mingjiao. This has now been confirmed by bowls inscribed with the phrase *mingjiao hui* 明教會 ('Society of the Religion of Light') found near the site of the extant Manichaean shrine on Huabiao Hill in Jinjiang near Quanzhou in Fujian.[59]

The Nestorians in China were only a small community and when they first arrived they saw themselves as religious colonists with strong cultural ties with their co-religionists in Iran and Central Asia. How their religion was called in Central Asia, to my mind, must have a strong influence on their choice of a Chinese term for the name of their religion. In the Sassanian Empire, Christians were called by a variety of names. In Syriac martyrdom literature they called themselves *kristyānē* (ܟܪܣܛܝܢܐ), especially when faced with Zoroastrian persecutors who derided them as *nāṣrāyē* (ܢܨܪܝܐ) – a derogatory term derived from Nazareth (ܢܨܪܬ) which stresses the humble Galilean origins of the sect. However, for much of their history in Iran, they were referred to by the Middle Persian name of *tarsāg* '(God) fearer' (hence Sogd. *trs'q*).[60] This term was not confined to Iran but was widespread in Central Asia. It is found in a Sogdian Manichaean historical text where a Christian lady (fem. *trs''k'nch*) was converted by the preaching of Mani.[61] Even in the Mongol period we find the area around Karadžigač in Kyrgyzstan nicknamed Tarsakent because it was home to a large Nestorian community.[62] The term

58 Chinese text in CHAVANNES/PELLIOT 1913, p. 194.

59 P. BRYDER: "... Where the faint traces of Manichaeism disappear", in: AoF 15/1 (1988), pp. 201–208; P. BRYDER: "Cao'an Revisited", in: A. VAN TONGERLOO/S. GIVERSEN (eds.): *Manichaica Selecta; Studies Presented to Professor Julien Ries on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Louvain 1991 (Manichaean Studies I), pp. 35–42.

60 On this see the very important study of F. DE BLOIS: "Naṣranī (Ναζωραῖος) and ḥanīf (ἐθνικός): studies on the religious vocabulary of Christianity and of Islam." In: BSOAS 6/1 (2002), pp. 1–20, esp. 8–12.

61 So 14196 R 26 (= l. 17 of the whole text) ed. and transl. CHR. RECK: "Die Bekehrung einer Christin zum manichäischen Glauben." In: MUSTAFA/TUBACH 2007, p. 58, see also p. 62.

62 See the important explanation of the name by W. KLEIN: *Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14. Jh.*, Turnhout 2000 (Silk Road Studies III), pp. 132–136.

tarsāg even appears in Chinese transliteration as *tasuo* 達娑 in the main Chinese text on the Monument.[63]

The word *jing* in Chinese has several meanings other than 'luminous' and one of them is 'reverence'. Moreover, there are a number of Chinese words with virtually the same sound as *jing* like 儆 (reverence) or 驚 (fear) or 駭 (fright) the meanings of which could be transferred homophonally to the character *jing* 景. This is a very common phenomenon in Chinese. A very good daily example of what is known to linguistic scholars as the 'Rebus Principle' is the word *mien* 面 (face) which is often depicted outside noodle(麵 *mien*)-bars with little fear of it being misunderstood by the restaurant-goer who knows Chinese well. The choice of the character *jing* under the influence of the word *tarsāg* would fit very well if the Nestorian monks at Zouzhi still thought of themselves being called 'God fearers' and this would explain why they decided to go for a term in Chinese which had no connection with sacred or theophoric names like Jesus or Messiah or Lord of Heaven unlike the modern Catholics who chose a term for their religion (*tianzhu* 天主) which is remarkably similar to the *tianzun* (Lord of Heaven) in the Nestorian texts. The word *jing* is used very many times in the inscription and terms like *jing zun* 景尊, *jing fa* 景法, *jing jing* 景淨, *jing li* 景力, *jing ming* 景命 can be better explained by the 'reverential awe' aspect of the meaning of *jing*.[64]

The word *jing* is also written calligraphically on the inscription in a manner which is completely unorthodox in that the 'sun' (*ri* 日) radical at the top portion of the character has been replaced with the 'mouth' radical *kou* 口 and then vice versa for the mouth part of the lower and phonetic part of the character *jing* 京 (which literally means 'capital'). This could be the personal preference of the calligrapher as he uses the sun radical instead of the mouth for the stand alone character *jing* 京 in l. 12. It has been suggested by WILMSHURST that the calligraphic change was deliberate so as to suggest that the " 'brilliant teaching' is a doctrine to be spread to others, to be communicated by word of mouth".[65] For such a subtle trick to work with an average Chinese reader, I believe the mouth radical has to be moved to the left side of the character instead of leaving it on top as the majority of Chinese would regard it as a calligraphic variant. A variant it certainly is and the present author who cannot fail to note while on a recent visit to the Daoist Louguan Temple on the other side of the valley from the probable site of the Nestorian monastery at Zouzhi, that the character *jing*, which features on a an unpublished Daoist temple-inscription dated to 751, is written also with minor variation to the orthodox. In this case, the sun radical at the top of the character is written without the bottom stroke and thereby

63 *Nestorian Monument* (Chin.), l. 26, ed. SAEKI 1937, (text section), pp. 8, 64 (transl.). See also extensive discussion and other possible interpretation in PELLIOT 1996, pp. 290–292.

64 See the useful list of terms with the character *jing* listed in XU LONGFEI 2004, pp. 114–115. Dr MIKKELSEN has drawn my attention to the fact that the term *jing* can also mean 'grand' or 'imposing' in addition to 'luminous' or 'radiant'.

65 WILMSHURST 1990 [1993], p. 52.

depriving the *jing* part of the character of its normal dot at the top. However, the Nestorian version of the character is certainly unique and almost unattested as it is not given in any of the standard dictionaries of the Chinese language. More importantly, it became virtually a logo for the religion in the Tang period and features in at least two Nestorian texts in Chinese found among the manuscripts brought back by Sir AUREL STEIN from the Cave of a Thousand Buddhas in Dunhuang and one if not both of them could have been the work of Adam-Jingjing – the Nestorian cleric who was also the author or recorder of the Chinese and Syriac texts on the Monument.[66]

Once the term *jing* had been adopted as the title of the religion, Adam became aware of the potential of developing it in Chinese by adding the 'luminous' and 'radiance' dimension to the meaning to the title of the sect. This was expounded by him in the Chinese part of the inscription on the Monument:

> A true and eternal way (or religion) is often too wonderful to name, but as (our religion's) merits and achievements are so conspicuous that we have strong reasons to call it *Jingjiao*.[67]

However, this light-radiant-illustrious theology is found no where else among Nestorian texts in Chinese from the Tang period found in Dunhuang and was clearly not developed beyond the text on the Monument. As a self-promotional exercise it was clearly not a success as the term Jingjiao – the term by which the Nestorian religion in China is known to modern scholarship – is virtually unattested outside the Monument and a few Nestorian texts from Dunhuang already mentioned.

Both the *Old* and the *New Dynastic Histories* of the Tang period (compiled in 941–945 and 1044–1060 respectively) do not mention the Nestorian monasteries in Chang'an and Luoyang as symbols of 'Roman' presence in China even though both works state that the country now called Fulin was once called Da Qin.[68] The sect's effort to re-badge itself as a 'Roman' religion, however, was not altogether without success as the name Da Qin was used in conjunction with the sect in Tang administrative records. According to an edict of 638, the sect of the 'Persian Scriptures' (*bosi jingjiao* 波斯經教) was originally from Da Qin and permission was thereby granted for their monasteries to be known as Da Qin (i.e. 'Roman') and not as Persian monasteries.[69] In the local history of Chang'an mentions a Nestorian monastery 'north-east of the cross roads' in the Yining quarter of the capital which was of 'foreign Persian' origin which was

66 See e.g. the title of the Nestorian 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' in Chinese: *Daqin Jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan* 大秦景教三威蒙度讚, photograph of manuscript facing SAEKI 1937, p. 266, and in names and titles in the *Zun jing* 尊經, l. 18 etc., photograph of ms. facing ibid., p. 272.

67 *Nestorian Monument* (Chin.), l. 10, ed. SAEKI 1937, (text section), p. 3, author's own translation. Here the term would certainly express the meaning of 'brilliance'.

68 *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 198.5313 and *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 221B.6260.

69 *Tang huiyao* 49.864, Chinese text given in SAEKI 1935, (text section), pp. 26–27.

established in 638 by a monk called Aloben 阿羅本 (Chin. Alosi 阿羅斯 [sic]) from Da Qin.[70] This renaming had the desired effect. So much so in fact that the name Qin 秦 rather than Jing 景 came to designate the sect while the Nestorian Monument laid buried *c.* 783–*c.* 1625. During the Mongol period, Nestorian monks and missionaries and their followers re-entered China as members of a privileged foreign religion. They were collectively known by the title of Yelikewen 也利可温[71] but in one of the bilingual Syro-Turkic and Chinese inscriptions from Quanzhou (Zayton) in Fujian dated to 1313, we find (Da) Qin Jiao as a sect of the Yelikewen along with the Manichaeans *(v. infra)*. The final triumph was the mention of Christianty in the section on Da Qin/Fulin in the chapter on the Western Regions in an official dynastic history of China. Sadly it was not the Nestorians who achieved this but the Catholics whose priests aided the Manchus in the overthrow of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) – the last dynasty to have an officially compiled Dynastic History (completed in 1739). In the chapter on Fulin (which precedes that of Yidaliya 意大利亞, i.e. Italy) in the *Ming shi* 明史 (*Dynastic History of the Ming Dyansty*) we learn that the nation of Fulin formerly called Da Qin had not sent embassies to China for a number of years. During the Mongol period it received as envoy a man by the name of Nigulun (捏古倫 i.e. Nicholas, Gr. Νικόλαος, acc. Νικόλαον).[72] The section concludes with the arrival of 'men from the Great West Ocean (*Da Xiyang* 大西洋, i.e. Atlantic = Europe)' to China in the Wanli 萬曆 period (1573–1620) who claimed that it was in Rudeya (or *Yudeya* 如德亞 i.e. Judaea) in ancient Da Qin that Yesu 耶蘇 the Lord of Heaven (*tianzhu* 天主 as used in the Chinese title of the modern Roman Catholic Church) was born, but this, remarks the Confucianist (?) compiler, is 'an unbelievable hearsay'.[73] It is extraordinary that while scholars in Europe, Japan and China debated vehemently on whether Da Qin or Fulin in Chinese sources was indeed the Romano-Byzantine Empire in the early Twentieth Century,[74] the methodically trained Chinese bureaucratic historian had known all the time that Da Qin was the old name of Fulin and he had three centuries earlier correctly placed the information (though ridiculed) on the birth of Jesus geographically within Da Qin. The Nestorians of Tang China would have been delighted to see the link belatedly but officially (and correctly) made between the origins of Christianity and their utopian Roman Empire.

70 *Chang'an zhi* 長安志 10.10, Chinese text in SAEKI 1935, (text section), pp. 51–52; transl. in SAEKI 1937, p. 458.

71 On the probable derivation of the term see below.

72 Sadly he could not have been the Venetian Niccolò Polo, the father of Marco, as this Nicholas came to China at the end of the Yuan Dynasty and was stranded in China when Mongol rule collapsed. Given the dominance of Venice over Byzantium after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, it is not impossible that Nicholas was a Venetian. Cf. MOULE 1930, p. 261.

73 Cf. *Mingshi* 326.8458 (Beijing, 1974). Chinese text also in SAEKI 1935, (text section), pp. 18–19.

74 See summary in LESLIE/GARDINER 1996, pp. xxii–xxvi.

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Sogdian Gems and Seals from the Collection of the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage

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Gems and bulls with Sogdian lettering are few in number. At the same time there are many hundreds of Sassanian gems and bulls.[1] The intaglio, with the figure of an elephant, two drivers on its back and the goddess Nica dominating the scene, can be dated to the 2nd–3rd century. The gem was found during the excavation of the site of the ancient town Kundzhile-tepe (1.5 km from the site of the ancient town Er-kurgan, Kashkadaryinsky region, Uzbekistan).[2] There is an inscription near the right side of the gem that obviously contains the name of its owner: βγ'n BRY /Vaγānpuš/ or /Vaγānzātak/, lit. "son of gods", comparable with Old-Indian devaputra (Fig. 1). The shapes of some letters, chiefly aleph and gimel, are more archaic than in the oldest handwritten Sogdian texts we have – "The Ancient Letters" (313–314 CE). Datable to the 2nd–4th centuries is the gem with a depiction of a standing goddess (probably Nanay/Nana) and a Sogdian inscription: xšwrδ to the right of the figure, and hβntk to the left. Again this is probably the name of the gem's owner: xšwrδh βntk /Xšōrθ-vandak/ "slave of (god) Xšōrθ(?)", cf. Avestan *xšnaoθra-* "Zufriedenstellung, Befriedigung" (AWb. 557), Middle Persian *šnōhr* "gratitude, contentment", Middle Persian and Manichaean Parthian 'šnwhr, 'šnwhr /išnōhr/ "id."[3] (Fig. 2 and 2a).[4] We also know of two gems with relatively intact Sogdian inscriptions (of the 4th–5th centuries?). One of them is kept in the museum of Calcutta. The second, in the British Museum, shows the same (full-face) busts of a man and a woman with crowns or diadems on their heads, the letters are almost the same, too. R. GHIRSHMAN tried to read these inscriptions as Parthian,[5] but actually, as W.B. HENNING[6]

1 W.B. HENNING said about Sassanian glyptics: "Sassanian Persia, the last refuge of the ancient art of stone carving, gave us a great amount of gems, the collection and careful examination of which is one of the main desiderata of Iranian Studies. The legends on the sealings, generally containing the names of the owner and often his title or rank, are very important not only for linguistics and paleography, but also for history, chiefly for studying administrative organization" (HENNING 1958, p. 45).

2 See K. ABDULLAEV/S. RAIMKULOV 1994; LIVSHITS 2000, p. 48.

3 DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 94.

4 Publication of the gem: A. CUNNINGHAM 1892, p. 115, Pl. XII, № 13; compare with LIVSHITS 1959, p. 57, n. 52.

5 R. GHIRSHMAN 1952, pp. 107–112, Pl. XXI, №s 5a, 5b.

6 HENNING 1958, pp. 57–58; 79, n. 17a.

Fig. 1

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Fig. 2

Fig. 2a

and A.D.H. BIVAR[7] noted, they are Sogdian. A superb photograph published in BIVAR's catalogue helps to perfect the readings of the inscriptions which have been proffered earlier: (1) 'yt myδrh cwn 'yntwmyc (2) p'nβšn[8] n'ntyh "This gem is from (property of) Indian mistress (or 'princess, empress') Nandy."[9]

The oldest gem kept in the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage is probably the gem with the signature Gl 1239. It is made of almandin, 1.2 × 0.9 cm. There is an engraved figure of a man's torso and face turned to the right side and with a short beard. In front of the face there is a short Sogdian inscription in cursive letters: γ'nk (less probably γ'ny) – the name of the gem's owner may be etymologically related to Sogdian γan – "strength, power; skill".

A bronze seal (Gl 1300, 2.7 cm in length) with a representation of a horse stems from the Kastalsky collection (Tashkent). In front of the horse's face we can read: šnwy (or γnwy, xnwy?), above the horse: BRY mwk'ny "Šnōy, the son of Mukān(?)" (Fig. 3). A golden seal with the figure of a rider on an elephant's back and a Sogdian cursive inscription to the right side of the figure: prn /farn/ "happiness, (his) majesty" and an imitation of a Greek inscription is kept in the Department. It is mentioned in BELENITSKY's work[10] (Fig. 4).

7 BIVAR 1969, p. 55, Pl. 4, BB 2.
8 There is a mistake on the gem from Calcutta: pnnβšn.
9 See LIVSHITS 1969, p. 57, n. 52; 2000, p. 48.
10 BELENICKIJ 1968, pl. 75, 76.

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Fig. 3

Fig. 4

A gem with the torsos of a man and a woman similar to figures on gems in the Museum of Calcutta and the British Museum,[11] is kept in the Department (Gl. 496). There is a cursive Sogdian inscription on it which was partly destroyed when the stone was engraved a second time. The preserved part is:](pr?)y/z n'[(Fig. 5 and 5a).

I am very glad to devote this article to NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS who is an eminent scholar and I am proud of our friendship. Among his other works I should mention the wonderful description of Sogdian gems from one of the Italian collections.[12]

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Fig. 5

Fig. 5a

11 See above.
12 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1997, pp. 313–314.

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Disseminating the Mazdayasnian Religion

An Edition of the Pahlavi Hērbedestān Chapter 5*

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The most extensive surviving text regarding the religious education of Zoroastrians in the pre-Islamic age, reaching from the Old Iranian to the Middle Iranian periods, is the Hērbedestān[1], a source which not only discusses matters related to religious training in its Avestan and Middle Persian versions, but also allows insight into the fundamental changes which were brought about in the Sasanian age. Unfortunately the text does not yield its information easily due to several reasons. Besides problems connected with the various techniques incurred in translating Avestan into Pahlavi,[2] the main difficulties lie in the short elliptical style of both the Avestan text and its Pahlavi Zand as well as the extensive use of an unexplained technical terminology, taken from the fields of theology and jurisprudence.[3] The specific language of these fields was employed especially in the Pahlavi commentary, allowing the exegetes of the Avestan text to treat complex problems on a highly sophisticated level, without having to resort to complicated explanations. There was no need to define such technical terms, since they were well-known to the trained theologians and jurisconsults of the Sasanian age. But without exact knowledge of both the religious and legal background of the text and its technical vocabulary the content of the Hērbedestān remains incomprehensible. An adequate treatment of this important source, taking its technical jargon into consideration, still remains to be carried out, despite the two recent editions by HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN[4] and KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK[5].

Another intriguing problem which has not yet been addressed adequately is the conspicious discrepancy between certain sections of the text in the Avestan original, on the one hand, and the Pahlavi version and its commentary, on the other. One of the main tasks of the Pahlavi commentary was to relate the content of the Avestan text, regarded as binding to Zoroastrian religious and legal

* The Avestan text has been edited by ALMUT HINTZE in this volume.
1 On the various translations of the term see KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, p. 15.
2 See especially JOSEPHSON 1997 and CANTERA 2004.
3 On the Hērbedestān as a legal source s. MACUCH (forthcoming a).
4 HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN 1990.
5 KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992; see also review of this edition MACUCH 1995a.

experts, to the completely changed conditions of the Sasanian age.[6] As in all legal systems based on sacred scriptures, the jurisconsults and theologians of the Sasanian age strove to base their arguments and decisions on the rules laid out in the sacred text, notwithstanding the fundamental social, cultural and political changes that had taken place during the long period of many centuries between the composition of the Avestan texts and the development of the Sasanian Church and State. The commentators' task was not only to explain the archaic text to their contemporaries, but also to demonstrate its continuing relevance to their own age. The result is that in a large number of cases the Pahlavi commentary does not seem to have any discernable connection to the Avestan original. But this is, in fact, exactly what we would expect, since the Pahlavi exegetes were not so much interested in expounding the Avestan text as in using it to support decisions relating to the prevailing conditions of their own time, which had altered fundamentally since the Avestan version had been created. The following attempt to understand the Pahlavi version of Hēr. 5 in its religious and legal context will hopefully be an acceptable tribute to NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS, in admiration of his invaluable work in the field of Iranian Studies.

AS ALMUT HINTZE has explained above in her edition of the Avestan text, the first eleven chapters of the Hērbedestān deal with the circumstances under which family members (men, women or children) should leave home in order to pursue an activity called *aϑauruna-* in the Avestan text, *āsrōīh* and *hērbedestān kardan* in the Pahlavi version. Chapter 5 treats this question with respect to the head of a family, the master of the house, and his wife. In the two relevant manuscripts of the text this chapter is extant in TD[7], but missing in HJ[8], and this creates additional problems. The corresponding passages in the two recent editions of the Hērbedestān are 5.1–5.11 in that of HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN (H/E in the following)[9] and 5.1–5.5 in that of KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK (K/K in the following)[10]. The following text and translation is divided according to the numbering proposed by KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK with the additional marking of the sentences by letters of the alphabet to clarify the structure: a) Avestan text (according to HINTZE's reading and translation); b) Pahlavi translation with short glosses in square brackets; c) Pahlavi commentary on the translation (in 5.5 there is no Pahlavi version of the Avestan text, but only a commentary[11]).

6 See also MACUCH (forthcoming a).
7 KOTWAL/BOYD 1980, 5r–5v.
8 SANJANA 1894.
9 HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN 1990, pp. 40–43.
10 KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, pp. 38–41.
11 The transliteration of the Pahlavi text follows the system of O. HANSEN with a few alterations, see MACUCH 1993, p. 7, no. 32.

Text and Translation

5.1 (TD 5r.10–12; missing in HJ; K/K and H/E 5.1)
a) *katārō aϑaurunəm ˣpāraiiāṯ (11) nāirika vā nmānō.paitiš vā.*
(Av.) Which one of the two should go away for priestly service, the wife or the master of the house?
b) (12) kt'r pṯ 'srwkyh m'npt ktkhwt'y
kadār pad āsrōīh (… …?) mānbed [kadag-xwadāy].
(MP) Who (shall go forth) for priesthood (… …?): the master of the house [the *paterfamilias*].

5.2 (TD 5r.12–5v.1; K/K 5.2; H/E 5.2–3)
a) *yezica (13) ˣuua gaēϑā̊ vīmā ˣkatarasciṯ ˣpāraiiāṯ*
(Av.) If both administer the possessions, either should go away.
b) (14) HT' KL' 2nyn' 'L gyh'n' bndkyh 'YK̲-š'n hw'stk sṛd'ryh (15) 'y(w)twm twb'n' kṛtn' kt'r-c-'y BR̲' HN' SQ̲YTWNyt'.
agar har dōnīn*[12] *ō gēhān bandagīh*[13] *[kū-šān xwāstag-sālārīh* (15) *ēw-tom tuwān kardan] kadār-iz-ē(w) be ē rawēd.
(MP) If both (are suited) for service of the possessions [that each one of them is able to exercise guardianship *(xwāstag-sālārīh)* of the property alone], either one may go.
c) (16) swš'ns gwpt' pṯ hyrptst'n' kṛtn' (5v.1) *nairiiō ratuš* k'r'.
Sōšāns guft pad hērbedestān kardan (5v.1) *nairiiō ratuš* ˣ***kār***[14].
(MP comm.) Sōšāns declared: "as to attending the hērbedestān, the *male (is) ratu (nairiiō ratuš)* (is) in force."

5.3 (TD 5v.1–4; K/K 5.3; H/E 5.4)
a) *nmānō.paitiš g(2)aēϑā̊ nāirika ˣpāraiiāṯ*
(Av.) (If) the master of the house (administers) the possessions, the wife should go away.
b) m'npt 'w' <'L> (3) gyh'n' bndkyh 'YK̲-š hw'stk sṛd'ryh ŠPYR̲ twb'n' (4) kṛtn' n'yryk BR̲' 'y[15] SQ̲YTWNyt'.
mānbed ō[16] ***<ō> (3) gēhān bandagīh [kū-š xwāstag-sālārīh weh tuwān* (4) *kardan] nārīg be ˣē rawēd.***
(MP) (If) the master of the house (is suited) for service of the possessions [that he is able to exercise guardianship of the property well], let the woman go forth.

12 K/K 5.2: 2-*ēn; H/E 5.2: *dō nēw.*
13 K/K 5.2: **bunigīh*; H/E 5.2: *bowandagīh.*
14 K/K 5.2: *nairiiō ratuš kār-*ē; H/E 5.3: *nairiiō ratuš kār-ē<w>.*
15 TD 5v.4: written as 3 ('yb).
16 m'npt and 'w' written as one word in TD 5v.2 (m'npt'n'); K/K 5.3: *mānbed,* no. 135: m'npt'n; H/E 5.4: *mānbed *nēw.*

5.4 (TD 5v.4–10; K/K 5.4; H/E 5.5–7)

a) *ˣnāirika ˣg(5)aēδā.vīš nmānō.paitiš ˣpāraiiāṯ.*
(Av.) (If) the wife looks after the possessions, the master of the house should go away.

b) (6) n'yryk 'w' gyh'n' bndkyh 'YḴ-š hw'stk sṛd'ryh twb'n' (7) m'npt<'n> BṚ' 'y SḠYTWNyt.
(6) *nārīg ō*[17] *gēhān bandagīh [kū-š xwāstag-sālārīh tuwān]* (7) *ˣmānbed be ē rawēd.*
(MP) (If) the woman (is suited) for service of the possessions [that she is suited for guardianship over the property], the master of the house should go forth.

c) HWḤ(t) LTMḤ pyt'k 'YḴ NYŠḤ (8) pṛ sṛd'ryh (Y) 'thš'n' pṛ m'tkwr š'yt' HWḤt' (9) TMḤ š'yt YHWWNyt' 'YḴ 'thš Y wrhr'n' ZK <Y> gyw'k (10) YTYBWNyhyy.
hād ēdar paydāg kū zan* (8) *pad sālārīh (ī) ātaxšān pad mādagwar šāyēd hād* (9) *ānōh šāyēd bawēd kū ātaxš ī Wahrām ān <ī> gyāg* (10) *nīšānīhē.
(MP comm.) That is, here it is revealed, that in principle a woman is allowed to exercise guardianship of (sacred) fires. That is true, and it is allowed there, where a Wahrām fire could be established in its place.

5.5 (TD 5v.10–15; K/K 5.5; H/E 5.8–11)

a) *nōiṯ ˣaēuuō ˣcina dāitīm ˣvīnāδaiiāṯ*
(Av.) Not even one will infringe the law.

c) (11) TMḤ pyt'k 'YḴ pṛ whycyt' š'yt' HWḤt' HN' r'd (12) MḤ ẒNḤ 'thš Y NPŠḤ ZK Y 'thš Y 'YŠ'n' 'YT' MNW (13) 'ytwn' YMḶḶWNyt HWḤt' hm'y pṛ whycyt' š'yt' MN (14) ZK gyw'k pyt'k *(ˣnōiṯ) ˣaēuuō ˣcina dāitīm ˣvīnā(15)δa(iiā)ṯ* ẒNḤ ZK YHWWNyt' 'MT 'thš ZK gyw'k L'YT'.
ānōh paydāg kū pad wihēzīd*[18] *šāyēd. hād ēd rāy* (12) *čē ēn ātaxš ī xwēš ān <ī> ātaxš ī kasān. ast kē* (13) *ēdōn gōwēd hād hamē pad wihēzīd šāyēd az* (14) *ān gyāg paydāg** *(ˣnōiṯ) aēuuō cina dāitīm ˣvīnā*(15)*δa(iiā)ṯ **ēn ˣany bawēd ka ātaxš ān gyāg nēst.
(MP comm.) (11) There it (is) revealed: in order to spread (the Good Religion/sacred fires) it is allowed. That is, because this fire is (her) own and that fire (belongs) to other people. There is (a commentator) who declares: That is, (that) it is always allowed in order to spread (the Good Religion/sacred fires) is revealed in the (Av.) passage: *Not even one will infringe the law.* This is ˣdifferent, if there is no fire in that place.

17 K/K 5.4: *nārīg ˣō;* H/E 5.5: *nāirīg ˣnēw <ō>.*
18 K/K 5.5: *n'yct' šāyēd;* H/E 5.8,10: *pad wihēzēd šāyēd.*

Commentary

5.1b

General observations on Hēr. 5.1b

Comparing the Pahlavi translation with the Avestan sentence, the first obvious difference is that the corresponding MP word for Av. *nāirika* "woman", which would be *nārīg* (according to the following sections) and the translation for *ˣpāraiiāṯ*, "should go away" (rendered in the following sentence 5.2b with the optative *be ē rawēd*) are missing. Both recent editions add "woman" (K/K) or "wife" (H/E) to their translation of the Pahlavi text in compliance with the Avestan original, but in fact the Pahlavi version makes no mention of the woman at all. As transmitted in TD, it only allows the "master of the house", *mānbed*, glossed by *kadag-xwadāy, "paterfamilias"*, to pursue priesthood *(āsrōīh)*. This could be merely a copyist's mistake, especially since women are referred to in that context in the succeeding sentences. On the other hand, it might also indicate that the topic of women setting forth from their homes to engage in religious study or become priests was either too far removed from the social realities of the Sasanian age to be of central interest to the exegetes of the Avestan text, or too alien to the legal system. Women were generally regarded (with only a few exceptions) as dependant persons having either no legal capacity or in certain cases (to be discussed below) only limited legal capacity. Throughout life they were under the guardianship *(sālārīh)* of a male (father, brother, uncle) either from their original lineage or, if they transferred to another descent group by marriage, from that of the husband. All persons under guardianship, that is, all women including wives, unmarried daughters, sisters and aunts, as well as underage children of both sexes, were obliged to obey the rulings of their guardian (*tarsagāyīh*, "obedience").[19] Under these circumstances it would not even have been conceivable for a woman to pursue any kind of education involving her departure from home without the explicit consent of her male guardian. This seems, in fact, to be confirmed indirectly by the Pahlavi gloss to the first sentence of the following Chapter 6 (addressing the question of women setting forth to pursue religious studies; K/K 6.1; H/E 6.2). Here in the Pahlavi commentary the woman is expressly told by her husband to go and pursue religious studies: *ō hērbedestān kardan šaw* "go to attend the Hērbedestān" (on *hērbedestān kardan* see commentary to 5.2c below), a command which must have been necessary to enable a woman to comply with the rules of *tarsagāyīh*. Moreover, being themselves under guardianship, women could generally not operate as guardians of the family (as *dūdag-sālār*) or of its property *(xwāstag-sālār)* except under certain circumstances – another problem the exegetes of the Avestan text had to solve (see commentary to 5.4b and 5.4c).

19 MACUCH 1981, pp. 88–89 (no. 26).

kadag-xwadāy, "paterfamilias"

It is unlikely that the gloss *kadag-xwadāy* was added to the translation solely in order to explain *mānbed*, since in the Sasanian period the latter term was certainly well-known to theologians as the usual translation of Av. *nmānō.paiti-*. Rather by explaining *mānbed* by *kadag-xwadāy* a link was created between the Avestan text, its Zand and the social conditions of the Sasanian period, relating the term to the position of a *paterfamilias (kadag-xwadāy)*, a lineage or descent group head, whose rights and duties were clearly defined by social norms and the legal system. In the Sasanian period the social system was based on descent groups, which were the backbone of political and economic power.[20] These more or less powerful lineages *(paywand, nāf, tōhmag)*[21] were the basic political, religious and economic units of society, in which the head of a household *(kadag-xwadāy)* was bound to both the community and his sovereign by several important obligations.[22] Legally he was regarded as a person *sui iuris*, one whose duty was to represent his lineage in the religious and social life of the community. As the only person capable of contracting and dealing with transactions for the family, he was obliged to manage the property of his descent group as the so-called *xwāstagdār*, lit. "possessor of the estate".[23] One of his most important tasks, explicitly referred to in the following sentences of Hēr. 5, was guardianship *(sālārīh)*[24] over family property (*xwāstag-sālārīh*, see commentary to 5.2b) and guardianship over the women and minors within the family *(dūdag-sālārīh)*. All these complex and diverse obligations were certainly well-known to Pēšagsar, the author of the *čāštag* "doctrine, teaching" from which the text of the Hērbedestān was compiled,[25] and are implied by the single expression *kadag-xwadāy*.

5.2b

har donīn, "both"

The Pahlavi version is full of reading problems, even though the content is fairly clear. First of all, how should the letters 𐭩𐭭 following *har dō* be read, rendering Av. *vā*, i.e. **uua*, "both"? K/K interpret them as the adjective suffix "-**ēn*", and, connecting it to the preceding number, read "*har 2-*ēn*" "both", whereas H/E read "*nēw*" "qualified" ("*har dō nēw*", "both of them are qualified"). Neither

20 See MACUCH 1995b.
21 MACUCH 1993, pp. 726 and 734, with further references.
22 On kinship and descent groups see MACUCH 2003.
23 MACUCH 1993, p. 734, with further references.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 730, with further references.
25 See the preface to the Hērbedestān, K/K 0, p. 26f.; the whole passage has been left out by H/E. The school of this jurisconsult is also mentioned in the Sasanian Lawbook (written Pēšagsīr here), see attestations MACUCH 1993, p. 765.

edition offers any explanation, but both readings are problematic and cannot be upheld. K/K have to delete the first letter 𐭩 in the sequence 𐭩𐭭 in order to construct -**ēn*. As will be seen below, this emendation does not take into account the fact that all the attestations of (number +) 𐭩𐭭 are written in this manner and thus that the initial 𐭩 cannot be ignored. H/E refrain from emending the word, but the only argument which could support their interpretation as *nēw* is the short gloss to 5.3b, in which ŠPYR *weh* "good" – as one might argue – corresponds in meaning to *nēw*, lit. "good". This reading is, however, quite improbable, first of all, since *nēw* does not even occur in 5.3b (H/E have to emend the preposition 𐭥 'w' *ō* to **nēw* here in order to construct the word), and secondly, since 𐭩𐭭 in combination with a preceding numeral is amply attested in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta and has to be interpreted differently.

In the Avestan-Pahlavi glossary *Frahang ī Ōīm* the ending is used in combination with the numbers 2 and 3: 𐭥𐭩𐭭 is the explanation given for Av. *duuaiiā̊*, gen. dual of *duua-* "two",[26] and 𐭮𐭩𐭭 explains Av. *θriiąm*, gen. pl. of *θraii-* "three".[27] As G. KLINGENSCHMITT has shown,[28] the clue to the correct reading of the Pahlavi words may be found in the corresponding forms in Manichaean MP dwn'n (and dwn''n) *dōnān*, pl. of dw *dō*, "two",[29] and sn'n *senān*, pl. of sḫ *se*, "three".[30] The Pahlavi words are similarly constructed, but instead of the pl. ending *-ān* (as in the MMP examples) they have the pl. *-īn*, which is also used in Pahlavi in several cases (e.g. *harwīn*[31] pl. of *har[w]*, "all" and *harwispīn*, pl. to *harwisp*, "all"[32]). The MMP examples indicate that 𐭩𐭭 is to be read as –nyn/*-nīn* and the Pahlavi words are 2nyn *dōnīn* and 3nyn *senīn* respectively. The origin of these curious forms is probably to be sought in the number "three", *senān, senīn* (with a second pl. ending *-ān, -īn)* from **sin* < **çinām*, derived from the OP gen. pl. **çiyām* under the influence of the gen. pl. endings *-ānām, -īnām, -ūnām*. The form *dōnān, dōnīn* is secondary, formed in analogy to *senān, senīn*.[33]

In these examples from the FīŌ *dōnīn* and *senīn* explain the gen. dual and plural forms of the corresponding Avestan cardinal numbers "two" and "three". Other attestations show that *-nīn* was transferred not only from an original *senīn* to *dōnīn* "two", but also to other numbers. In Vd. 5.28–32 the whole range of numerals from one (!) to eleven is used in this manner in the Pahlavi version to render the corresponding Avestan ordinals (all in the acc. sg.), beginning with 𐭠𐭲𐭭𐭩𐭭 11nyn' *yāzdahnīn* (which renders 5.28 *aēuuaṇdasəm*

26 FīŌ I, no. 8; REICHELT 1900, p. 182; KLINGENSCHMITT 1968, no. 8.
27 FīŌ I, no. 11; REICHELT 1900, p. 182; KLINGENSCHMITT 1968, no. 11.
28 KLINGENSCHMITT 1968, no. 8.
29 DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 143 (under dw "two").
30 *Ibid.*, p. 307 (under sḫ "three").
31 MACKENZIE 1971, p. 43.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
33 KLINGENSCHMITT 1968, no. 8.

[variant: *aēuuaṇdasō*, nom. functioning as acc.] of *aēuuaṇdasa-*, "eleventh"), to 𐭩𐭲𐭭𐭮 'ywk'yn' *ēknīn* (rendering 5.32 *paoirīm, paoiriia-*, "first"). The form is attested both with figures representing numbers, as in 𐭩𐭱𐭢 *10nīn* (5.28: *dasəməm, dasəma-* "tenth"), 𐭩𐭱𐭮𐭮 *6nīn* (5.29, 30: *xštūm, xštuua-* "sixth"), 𐭩𐭱𐭮𐭲 *4nīn* (5.31: *tūirīm, tūiriia-* "fourth"), 𐭩𐭱𐭲 *3nīn* (5.31: *θritīm, θritiia-* "third"), 𐭩𐭱𐭩 *2nīn* (5.31, 32: *bitīm, bitiia-* "second"), and with fully written numerals, e.g. 𐭩𐭱𐭠𐭱𐭮𐭲 *haštnīn* (5.28, 29: *aštəməm, aštəma-* "eighth"), 𐭩𐭱𐭯𐭩 *haftnīn* (5.29: *haptaθəm, haptaθa-* "seventh"), 𐭩𐭱𐭮𐭮 *panjnīn* (5.30: *puxðəm, puxða-* "fifth"). In Vd. 5.31, 32 *dōnīn*, the form corresponding to our text, renders the acc.sg. *bitīm* "second". The strange *ēknīn* (for Av. *paoirīm* "first") in Vd. 5.32 indicates that these forms were no longer understood correctly. 𐭩 *-nīn* could have been mistaken for the similarly written adjective suffix 𐭭 *-ēn*. Since all these forms in the Vidēwdād render Avestan ordinal numbers in the acc. sg. the Pahlavi correspondences could have been understood as numeral adjectives ending in *-ēn*, an ending which is not entirely unknown in this context. In NP the corresponding suffix *-īn* can be optionally added to ordinals (e.g. *dowwomīn* "second", *sewwomīn* "third" etc.). On the other hand, we can hardly assume that the translators of the text would not have known how to render Avestan ordinals correctly by using the regular MP ordinal ending in *-om* (other attestations show, in fact, that ordinals were translated correctly). For lack of a better explanation we will have to assume that the origin of these forms was no longer understood and the translation was made more or less mechanically. This seems to be confirmed by the corrupt variants transmitted in the enigmatic passage Y. 11.9, in which 𐭩 -nyn is written 𐭣 -ryn (!), replacing 𐭣 for 𐭭 in the numbers from two to ten:

𐭥𐭱𐭢 𐭥𐭱𐭲 𐭥𐭱𐭠𐭱𐭮𐭲 𐭥𐭱𐭯𐭩 𐭥𐭱𐭮𐭮 𐭥𐭱𐭩 𐭥𐭱𐭩𐭮𐭲 𐭥𐭱𐭠𐭱𐭮𐭲 𐭥𐭱𐭢
*dō*nīn* (variant: 𐭥𐭱𐭣 *2*nīn*), *se*nīn, čahār*nīn, panj*nīn ud šeš*nīn ud haft*nīn, hašt*nīn ud noh*nīn ud dah*nīn.*

Returning to our passage in 5.2b, there can be no doubt that Av. **uua*, "both" has been translated by MP *har dōnīn*. In fact, exactly the same expression is used in another passage of the FīÖ in an unmistakable context, explaining the Av. gen. dual of *uua-*, **uuaiiās³-ciṯ* (ms.: *vaiiās³ciṯ*):

FīÖ 37[34]: *vaiiās³ciṯ* MDM KL' 2nyn' (𐭩𐭱𐭲) nywk W SRY'.
**uuaiiās³-ciṯ abar har dōnīn nēk ud wad.*
"(Av.) of both (MP) of both, good and bad."

Here we have a remarkable parallel to our text, with *har dōnīn* rendering Av. *uua-* (with the following gloss "good and bad", referring to the two antagonistic powers in Zoroastrianism). The plural form of the number in Pahlavi is used to

34 IIb, no. 37; REICHELT 1900, p. 183; KLINGENSCHMITT 1968, no. 37.

elucidate the dual of the Avestan word, as in our example from the Hēr.[35] *har dōnīn* also occurs in a short gloss to Vd. 13.43.

gēhān bandagīh, "service of the possessions"

How is the following 'w' <'L> gyh'n bndkyh to be read? Both recent editions emend the last word: K/K have *ō gēhān *bunīgīh*, "responsibility for the material possessions"; H/E have *ō gēhān bowandagīh*, "integrity of (their) possessions" (without marking the emendation). The whole sequence is read and translated by K/K as *agar harw 2-*ēn ō gēhān *bunīgīh*, "if both have responsibility for the material possessions", and by H/E as *harw dō nēw ō gēhān bowandagīh*, "if both of them are qualified to (look after) the integrity of (their) possessions" (which is also the version BARTHOLOMAE suggests with the same emendation: *hakar har 2 … ō gēhān *bavandakīh*[36]). Unfortunately the Avestan version is itself problematic and of little help in deciding how the Pahlavi text should be interpreted, but **bowandagīh*, lit. "completeness, entirety, completion", could have been inspired by Hēr. 3.1 and 3.2.[37] In these two passages *gēhānīgān uspurrīgānīh* and *gēhānīgān uspurrīgīh*, "integrity of the property", translate Av. *gaēθanąm vā aspərənō* and *gaēθanąm aspərənō* respectively. In this phrase *uspurrīgīh/uspurrīgānīh* is the more or less mechanical translation of Av. *aspərənah-* "integrity" (K/K) or, as H/E have assumed, a mistaken rendering of *aspərənō.mazah-*. In any case, *uspurrīgīh* and *bowandagīh* are synonyms, both meaning "completeness, entirety, completion". This correspondance could be brought forward as an argument for this reading. In our passages 5.2–4, however, an Avestan expression corresponding to *aspərənah-* in 3.1,2 is lacking.

The only other attestation of the phrase is to be found in another difficult passage Hēr. 2.3 in a context referring to several brothers who have joint property and are shareholders going forth to pursue religious studies. Together with the preceding and following passages the text runs as follows:

2.2 (K/K 2.2; H/E 2.3; TD 2r.1–3; HJ 3r.8–10):
para bītiiō āiti[38] ***para θritiiō āiti***[39]
be dudigar ē rawēd be sidīgar ē[40] *rawēd.*
"(Av.) The second (shareholder) goes forth, the third one goes forth; (MP) The second (shareholder) should go forth; the third one should go forth."

35 On the translation technique of dual and plural forms see JOSEPHSON 1997, pp. 121–123.
36 BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 1450 (under *vī-mā[y]*).
37 K/K, p. 32ff.; H/E, p. 30f. On these passages see also HINTZE in this volume, p. 183 (and n. 46).
38 TD 2r.2: *āiti;* HJ 3r.8: *āi.*
39 TD 2r.3: *θritiiō āiti;* HJ 3r.9: lacuna *θ……iti.*
40 TD 2r.4: BR' stygr 'y SGYTWNyt; HJ 3r.10: lacuna: BR' … SGYTWNyt'.

2.3 (K/K 2.3; H/E 2.4; TD 2r.2–8; HJ 3r.11–3v.2):
aēta parāiiaiti[41] ***aδa gaēδābiiō *bāṇti***[42]
ka az ān ī ē[43] *rawēd [ka juttar be ē šawēd] čiyōn-iš*[44] *gēhānān *bandagīh*[45]
hēnd [kū xwāstag nē pad sālār[46] *hišt*[47] *bawēd].*
"(Av.) With this one (?) he (= the shareholder) goes forth, when they are (caring) for the flocks; (MP) When he (= the shareholder) should go from that one [when he should go in a different (direction)] whilst they are in service of the possessions [that is, the property has not been left with a guardian]."

2.4. (K/K 2.4; H/E 2.5; TD 2r.8–10; HJ 3v.2–5):
aēšō gaēδaṇąm irišiṇtiṇąm raēšē.[48]
ān ī ō <ī> gēhānān rēš čē rēš tōzēd.[49]
"(Av.) He (atones?) for the damage to the damaged flocks(?). (MP) He by whom the damage to the property (is caused), shall pay for the amount damaged."

Although these sentences are far from clear, in 2.3 MP *gēhān *bandagīh* (or: *bowandagīh*) obviously renders Av. *gaēδā-* (here *gaēδābiiō* dat./abl.pl.). There is no term corresponding to MP **bandagīh (/bowandagīh)* in the Avestan text. This could indicate that the word has been added to elucidate the MP translation. In this case both readings, *bandagīh* and *bowandagīh,* are possible.

Given that there is no correspondence to *bandagīh/bowandagīh* in the Avestan text, it seems that the word was added to *gēhān* in compliance with Sasanian legal terminology. In 5.4c and 5.5c the Pahlavi exegetes link the text concerning guardianship of family property to the service of sacred fires, since fire foundations constituted an important part of family property in the Sasanian era (see commentary to 5.4c below). In this context the term *bandagīh,* "service", is used in combination with *ādur(ān)* to denote the duty called "service of the fire(s)", for which women were also eligible. The tentative reading proposed here for the whole sequence as *agar har dōnīn ō gēhān bandagīh,* lit. "if both (are suited) for service of the property", refrains from emending the text (although *bandagīh* and *bowandagīh* are frequently confused and misspelt). The phrase is repeated with variations both in 5.3b *(mānbed ō <ō> gēhān bandagīh),* with the preposition *ō* written twice (eteographically as 'w' and again as the heterogram 'L) and in 5.4b *(nārīg ō gēhān bandagīh).* In the context of fire foundations under the guardianship of a *sālār,* the term *ādur-bandag*[50] (abstract *ādur-bandagīh*) is used to designate a person metaphorically "bound" to the

41 TD 2r.4: *parāiiaiti;* HJ 3r.11f.: lacuna: *para...*
42 Both TD 2r.5 and HJ 3r.13: *hānnti.*
43 TD 2r.6; the whole passage until *rawēd* is missing in HJ 3r.13.
44 TD 2r.7; HJ 3r.15: lacuna: cywn'...
45 Written in both mss.: bwndkyh (TD 2r.7; HJ 3r.15).
46 TD 2r.7; HD 3v.1: lacuna between L' and ŠBKWNt'.
47 TD 2r.8: ŠBKWNtn'; HJ 3v.1: ŠBKWNt'.
48 TD 2r.8f.: *gaēδaṇąm irišaṇtiṇąm raēšē*; HJ 3v.2f.: lacuna: *gaēδaṇą ... šaṇtiṇąm raēšē.*
49 TD 2r.10: wtwcyt'; HJ 3v.4f.: lacuna: r ... MḤ ryš wtwcyt'.
50 On this expression and its parallel in the Babylonian Talmud see MACUCH 2002.

fire with the responsibility of serving and taking care *(dāštārīh)* of the fire. This specific form of guardianship seems to be precisely what the author had in mind in his rendering of the Avestan text (in *ō gēhān bandagīh*), since fires are expressly mentioned in 5.4c and 5.5c and especially since guardianship of a sacred fire or of a foundation "for the soul" was the only kind that (under certain circumstances) women were allowed to exercise alone (see commentary to these passages below).

xwāstag-sālārīh, "guardianship of the property"

As indicated above, one of the main problems of the exegetes was to relate the ancient text to the conditions of their own time. We may assume that the "property" *(gaēδā-)* referred to in the Avestan text, consisted mainly of herds or flocks. This is in fact confirmed by allusions to the danger of wolves (*yezica vəhrkō gaēδā* "and if a wolf (attacks) the herds"[51]), one of the essential worries in a pastoral society, in which possessions consisted mainly of cattle. In the Sasanian period, on the other hand, the main form of property was real estate. Leaving one's property in order to undertake religious studies at a specific location was a far more complicated matter legally, since the head of a descent group or *kadag-xwadāy* would have to transfer responsibility for the management of this property either to a share-holder *(brad ī hambāy)* or to another guardian *(sālār, dūdag-sālar, xwāstag-sālār).* This was an elaborate procedure with exact regulations which are described in the legal texts (see commentary on 5.4b below). If we keep these differences in mind, the mechanical rendering of Av. *gaēδā-*, MP *gēhān* (which is not a legal term in Sasanian law) had to be explained or at least linked to the corresponding legal expression in Pahlavi. This is the reason why the whole phrase is clarified in the gloss by *xwāstag-sālārīh* "guardianship of the property". Interestingly, the Pahlavi translator chooses this legal term which refers *only* to the management of property *(xwāstag).* He does not use the more general term *dūdag-sālārīh,* which encompasses both the management of property *and* legal responsibility for other members of the family who were *personae alieni iuris* (all women, including wives, daughters, sisters, aunts etc., underage children, disabled persons). This choice of wording is significant, not only because *xwāstag* is the legal term corresponding to *gēhān (gaēδā-),* but also because women could never be engaged as *dūdag-sālār,* though they could practise *xwāstag-sālārīh* under certain circumstances.

Family property, usually consisting of large estates, was divided into several distinct categories. These included property "in ownership" (*pad xwēšīh,* over which family members had full power of disposal), property set aside for the institution of *stūrīh* ("substitute succession") as well as that reserved "for the keeping

51 H/E 3.5 and 3.8. translate "and when a wolf (is near) one's possessions" (p. 33); K/K 3.4 and 3.7 have "and if a wolf (seizes) the material possessions" (p. 35); variants see K/K, p. 34, no. 101–104.

of the soul" *(pad ruwān dāštan* or *ahlawdād)*. Fire foundations belonged to the latter category (hence the allusion to sacred fires in 5.4c and 5.5c). This property, called *xwāstag ī ruwān* "property of the soul", usually remained in the founder's descent group and was bequeathed from generation to generation. Members of the family, including the *paterfamilias*, only had a title to its "income" *(bar)*, but no right of ownership *(xwēšīh)* and no authorization to change its legal status.[52] The guardian *(sālār)*, practising *xwāstag-sālārīh*, was obliged to manage these three types of property. If he was *dūdag-sālār* he was also responsible for maintaining all persons under his guardianship with food, clothing and shelter and for representing them in the public sphere, dealing with legal transactions and claims. He also assumed the important religious obligation of performing the required rituals for the souls of the deceased *(ruwān yazišn)*[53] and of keeping the cult of the souls of the ancestors *(nāmgānīh)*[54].

General observations on Hēr. 5.2b

The problem our commentator from the Sasanian age had to solve is that all, whether men or women, who wish to pursue priestly services *(aϑauruna-)* are treated in the same manner in the Avestan text. The latter betrays no difference whatsoever in the position of the man and the woman: either may take care of the "possessions" *(gaēϑā)*; either may serve as *aϑauruuan-*.[55] Despite the difference in the legal status of men and women in the Sasanian period described above, this also seems to correspond to the Zoroastrian *ideal* propagated in MP *andarz*-literature.[56] Women were regarded as just as responsible as men

52 MACUCH 1991, 1994, 2002, 2004, 2005 with further references.

53 MACUCH 1993, p. 729, with further references.

54 On this term designing the ritual of the cult of the ancestors see KLINGENSCHMITT 1971, pp. 145–150.

55 This agrees with the results of MARTIN SCHWARTZ's recent investigation into women's social position as reflected in the Old Avesta, see SCHWARTZ 2007.

56 As in the following example from the *Čīdag andarz ī pōryōtkēšān* "Selected Admonitions of the Primeval Teachers" (JAMASP-ASANA 1897–1913, p. 46, no. 33–34, ll. 4–12): [33] (4) *čē har kē andar gētīg and čand yašt-ē be kardan* (5) *wināh ī andar dast ud pāh be dānistan abāyēd bē kē kar* (6) *ayāb gung ēnyā nē pādixšāy bē ka kunihēd ēn-iz* (7) *hērbedestān be kardan ud zand be dānistan.* [34] *pid ud mād* (8) *frazand ī xwēš rāy ēn and kār (ī) kirbag pēš az 15 sāl* (9) *bē āmōxtan abāyēd ud ka-š ēn and be āmōxt* (10) *har kār ud kirbag ī frazand kunēd pid ud mād ō bawēd* (11) *ud ka-š nē āmōzēd frazand pad* ˣ*mehtarīh* (ms.: ms'twryh instead of ms'tryh) *wināh kunēd* (12) *pid ud mād be bawēd.* "[33] Because everyone in the world is obliged to perform a certain amount of religious ceremonies, and to recognize the sin, which (is committed) by hand and foot, with the exception of the deaf and blind; this also (includes) attending the Hērbedestān und knowing the Zand. [34] The father and the mother should teach their own child good deeds before (the age) of fifteen years. And when they have taught him this much, (then) each good deed that the child commits is credited to (the account) of the father and the mother. And when they do not teach him and the child commits a sin as an adult, (then) it is credited to (the account) of the father and the mother." (See also KANGA 1960, p. 25, no. 33).

were for the religious education of children and every Zoroastrian (with the exception of the deaf and the blind) was expected "to attend the Hērbedestān and to know the Zand" (*hērbedestān be kardan ud zand be dānistan;* on the phrase see commentary to 5.2c below). Theoretically, at least, there seems to have been no difference between the Avestan and the Sasanian concepts of religious education for women. However, the restriction mentioned in the following Pahlavi commentary (5.2c) indicates that the matter was treated differently in practice from that reflected in *andarz*-literature. Despite the Zoroastrian ideal, the legal difficulties concerning women in the Sasanian age must have been almost insurmountable: only a male could exercise full guardianship of the family and its property (including all three categories of possessions) in the manner described above. A woman could only execute *xwāstag-sālārīh* with respect to a fire (or other pious foundation), which is the reason why our commentator was forced to relate the sections concerning women (5.4b,c and 5.5c) to the only known form of guardianship allowed to them in his own time, namely that of a sacred fire.

5.2c

nairiiō ratuš ˣkār, "the male (is) ratu (is) in force"

Another issue which seems to have been discussed among theologians is alluded to here in the quotation from the well-known religious and legal authority Sōšāns[57]: the question, as to whether women could attain higher ranks in the religious hierarchy if they undertook religious studies and attended the Hērbedestān. Sōšāns uses the Avestan quotation *nairiiō ratuš*, "male *ratu*" or "the male (is) *ratu*", to underline his opinion regarding women's incapability of reaching a higher position in the priestly hierarchy (which, as we may add, is also the view of the author of this text, Pēšagsar, since this is the only comment he adds here to this passage). Sōšān's short comment is full of problems, especially since the last part, written وسلد, has not been transmitted correctly. How is it to be read? Since the only possible unamended reading as the heterogram K'L' *wāng* "voice, cry" is impossible in this context, it is best to assume a copyist's mistake for either k'r ˣ*kār* or (an optative?) *kār* ˣ*ē (bawēd)*. Although both recent editions have also emended the word to "*kār-*ˣ*ē*" (K/K), "*kār-ē(w)*" (H/E), neither has recognized that *kār* here is a legal term and cannot be translated as "a question of" (K/K) or "necessary" (H/E).[58]

57 On the famous jurisconsult see attestations in MACUCH 1993, p. 771; on the chronology of jurisconsults and theologians of the Sasanian age see GIGNOUX 1995 and CANTERA 2004, p. 207ff.

58 K/K read and translate the whole passage: *pad hērbedestān kardan* ***nairiiō ratuš*** *kār-*ˣ*ē*, "in pursuing religious studies it is a question of *the male (is) in authority*"; H/E have *pad ērbedestān kardan* ***nairiiō ratuš*** *kār-ē(w)*, "To pursue religious studies a male Ratu [is] necessary".

In a legal context *kār* often has the specific meaning of "valid, in force, effective" (besides its other frequent meaning of "procedure") and is amply attested in this sense: e.g. *pādixšāy kardan pad čiš ī xwēš kār* "conveying a title (is) in force with regard to one's own (property)";[59] *gōwišn har *3 kār* "all three statements (are) in force";[60] *hamē sālārīh kār* "the guardianship (is) always in force".[61] The opposite of *kār* is *kār nēst* "it is void, null and void, invalid, ineffective, has no legal force", as in *hišt kār nēst* "The divorce is invalid";[62] *rāyēnīdan kār nēst* "pursuing (the trial) is ineffective";[63] *pursišn ī az xwāh kār nēst* "an application by the sister has no legal force";[64] *gōwišn kār nēst* "the statement is ineffective".[65] Both expressions, *kār* and its negation *kār nēst*, are attested in the following example: *framān ī pas kār ud ān ī pēš kār nēst* "the later disposition (is) in force and the former one is void".[66] (See also *kār nēst* in Hēr. 12.15–16 [H/E]; 12.3, 4–5 [K/K][67].) The reading suggested here takes into consideration the examples above, in which *kār* in the specific sense of "in force" is never used with a verb (the copula being understood).

herbedestān kardan, "to attend the *herbedestān*"

Moreover, what exactly does Sōšāns mean by *hērbedestān kardan*, lit. "to do *hērbedestān*"? Although the suffix *-stān* is used not only for place-names but also for chapter and book titles (the book title "Hērbedestān" could therefore be understood – as in both recent editions – in the latter sense of "Religious Studies",[68] and in the combination *hērbedestān kardan* as "to undertake, pursue priestly studies"[69]), in most attestations of the phrase a specific location must be meant. As Y. ELMAN has argued, the Avestan text and the Pahlavi Zand in the Hērbedestān demonstrate different concepts of religious training, which in turn reflect the different conditions in a pastoral society, on the one hand, and a settled one, on the other.[70] Comparing the task of the exegetes of the Avestan text to that of the Babylonian rabbis who interpreted the Bible under changed conditions, he argues that the Avestan text perceives the "priestly teacher" as an itinerant priest, who accepts an apprentice for training, not at a particular location, but essentially "on the road", whilst the teacher "tends to his flock or

59 MHD 38.1; MACUCH 1993, pp. 278 and 282.
60 MHD 95.15; *ibid.*, pp. 605 and 608.
61 MHD 23.16; *ibid.*, pp. 173 and 178.
62 MHD 4.17; 87.9; *ibid.*, pp. 70 and 72; 561 and 563.
63 MHD 6.12; *ibid.*, pp. 88 and 93.
64 MHD 43.8, *ibid.*, pp. 302 and 318.
65 MHD 63.8; *ibid.*, pp. 433 and 436.
66 MHD 105.10; *ibid.*, pp. 640 and 647.
67 See on this passage MACUCH (forthcoming a).
68 See H/E, p. 7, and K/K, p. 15.
69 See attestations in K/K, p. 100.
70 ELMAN (forthcoming).

herd, or attends his priestly duties".[71] For the Pahlavi exegete, on the other hand, instruction was carried out at a certain place, the *hērbedestān*, which could have been a "school" or maybe a smaller "study circle", comparable to early rabbinical classes, "with only a handful of students clustered around a master".[72] In fact, many of the discrepancies and enigmatic comparisons between the two versions of the text can be explained satisfactorily in this manner.[73] In this context KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK have analysed another question regarding the level of religious training in the *hērbedestān*.[74] According to their interpretation of the available attestations the *hērbedestān* was open to priesthood and laity alike: "... lengthy and intensive courses of religious studies were offered to members of the priesthood, while lay men and women who merely hoped to acquire merit could also attend such courses, but fewer demands were presumably made on them".[75] This would imply that "attending the *hērbedestān*" could, but did not necessarily always entail training for official priesthood. Apparently religious training included studying *dād* "law" and *zand* "the Pahlavi version of the Avesta with commentary", as several allusions indicate: *hērbedestān pad dād ud zand*[76] "*hērbedestān* (consisting) of law and zand"; *hērbedestān pad dād*

71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 For example, the correspondence between the length of time a person should study and the distance he should travel, as in 12.1. (TD 12v.15–13r.2; HJ 16v.8–12; H/E 12.1–2; K/K 12.1) (Av.) ***cuuaṯ nā aēδrapaitīm upōisāṯ? ýārə drājō.*** (MP) *mard čand paymān hērbedestān abar xwāhād sāl drahnāy [andar ān *ē pāymānag ī (se) šabag sīh frasang].* "(Av.) For how long shall a man stay with a teacher? For the duration of a year. (MP) For how long a period shall a man attend the *hērbedestān*? For the length of a year. [within the time-span *(andar ān *ē)* of a period of (three) nights (corresponding to) thirty frasangs]." In the Pahlavi translation of this passage an important change takes place: *aēδrapaiti-* is not rendered by the usual *hērbed* (as in K/K 9.9; 14.1; 15.2; 18.1; H/E 9.26; 14.1; 15.6; 18.1), but by *hērbedestān*, which shifts the focus from a person (the priestly teacher) to a particular place, a centre or school of priestly learning. According to both the Avestan and Pahlavi versions the pupil should study for "a year" (with the "priest" in the Avestan version, at the *hērbedestān* in the Pahlavi one). The short Pahlavi gloss would be incomprehensible if we did not assume that a fundamental change had taken place in the manner of teaching: in the Avestan text "on the road"; in the Pahlavi version at a certain location or "school". The gloss indicates that the time-span of "one year" is to be understood as follows: "three nights" correspond to "thirty *frasang*" (one *frasang* corresponding to 4 Roman miles). But how can there be a correlation between a period of time ("three nights") and a measure of length (30 *frasang*)? Pahlavi exegetes obviously had to find an equivalent for the distance an itinerant teacher would cover whilst instructing his pupil. Travelling 30 *frasang* corresponds in their interpretation to studying three days (lit. "nights") at the school. (On the insertion of "*se*" compare H/E 2.14, K/K 2.6; and H/E 4.13, K/K 4.4).
74 KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, pp. 15–18.
75 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
76 Hēr. 2.5 (TD 2r.17; HJ 3v.15–4r.1); K/K 2.5 (insert *ī [hērbedestān ī pad dād ud zand]*, which is in neither ms.); H/E 2.10.

<i> ud zand ē kunēd[77] "he should attend the *hērbedestān*, (consisting) of law and zand"; *hērbedestān pad dād ud zand ē kunēnd*[78] "they should attend the *hērbedestān*, (consisting) of law and zand". What is the exact meaning of *dād* in this context? In Hēr. 2.5 *dād* corresponds to the Av. term *dāta- zaraθuštri-*, which in turn is explained by *abastāg* "Avesta":

> *hērbedestān pad dād ud zand* ***kaṯ dātabe zar(a)θuštrōiš*** *abastāg čiyōn dād*[79] ***maŋnō mąθrō***.
> "*hērbedestān* (consisting) of law *(dād)* and commentary *(zand)*. (Av.) What belongs to the law of Zarathustra *(dātabe zar(a)θuštrōiš)*? The Avesta as it was created, (Av.) the pure *mąθra*."[80]

According to this definition it seems that *dād* refers to the original Avestan text (as opposed to the Pahlavi translation and its commentary, *zand*). However, as CANTERA has shown, *dāta- zaraθuštri-* is not always generally equated with the Avesta, as it is in this case. Avestan and Pahlavi texts distinguish between two categories of law, referred to as *dāta- vīdaēuua-* (MP *dād ī ǰuddēw*) and *dāta- zaraθuštri-* (MP *dād ī zardušt*).[81]

General Observations on Hēr. 5.2c

In the light of the above considerations we may interpret Sōšān's comment as follows. Both men and women were allowed to attend religious teaching at a centre of learning, called *hērbedestān*, in order to study Avestan texts with their Pahlavi translation and commentary. However, after having completed training at the *hērbedestān* only a male could achieve the position of *ratu*. Sōšāns underlines this interpretation of the Holy Scripture by quoting an Avestan passage: *nairiiō ratuš*, "the male (is) *ratu*". This rule is "in force" *(ˣkār)*, and, we may note, expressly excludes women from reaching the rank of a *ratu*. In the Sasanian period the *rad* was one of the most important dignitaries of the Church and State. He had two main functions, first as a personal spiritual guide to the

77 Hēr. 12.6 (TD 14v.3; HJ 19r.14f.); K/K 12.6; H/E 12.40. Both mss. have: hyrptst'n pṭ' d'd Y W znd 'y 'BYDWNyt.
78 N. 52.2 (TD 73r.14f.); K/K 2003, 34.2, p. 150f.
79 Both mss.: YHBWNt (TD 2v.1; HJ 4r.2).
80 Translated differently in the two editions. K/K 2.5, p. 31: "[[(when going to pursue) religious studies which include the Law and Commentary. *What of the Law of Zarathustra?* How was the Avesta created? *(As) the pure Sacred Word*". H/E 2.11–13, p. 23: "2.11. Instruction (is given) in the Law and its Commentary. 2.12. What belongs to the Zaraθuštrian Law? The Avesta as it has been created/given (by God): The basic text." On this passage see also CANTERA 2006, p. 59.
81 On these two legal categories and their reflection in the division of the nasks in the Dēnkard 8, see CANTERA 2006 and MACUCH 2007, pp. 153–155. In Pahlavi texts they correspond roughly to two main areas of priestly work, one dealing with "sins pertaining to the soul" *(wināh ī ruwānig)* and the other with "sins regarding adversaries" *(wināh ī hamēmālān)*.

believer, a moral leader every Zoroastrian was obliged to choose for himself *(rad ī xwēš*, "one's own *rad*")[82], and secondly, as a judge and high official *(kārdār)* of the Church and State, one who had – besides the *mowbed* – a large range of judicial and administrative duties.[83] Not surprisingly, Sōšāns restricts the position of *rad* to men (which, however, does not mean that women are principally banned from exercising other religious functions).

5.3b

General observations on Hēr 5.3b

Here again the Avestan version is quite clear in allowing the female to pursue religious studies at the *hērbedestān*. The Pahlavi Zand follows the Avestan text in letting the woman attend the *hērbedestān* on condition that the "master of the house" (*mānbed*, explained by *kadag-xwadāy, paterfamilias* in 5.1b) is qualified to exercise guardianship over family property *(xwāstag-sālārīh)*. As described above, this normally did not cause any legal problems, since guardianship of family members and property normally belonged to the important tasks of the *kadag-xwadāy*.[84] The Pahlavi text has no further commentary here and does not discuss the interesting question, whether the religious education of women at the *hērbedestān* had any further use, besides providing them with a foundation for bringing up their children properly and teaching them the basic Zoroastrian prayers and texts. As we have seen, in 5.2c Sōšāns rejected the idea that women could reach the high position and rank of a *rad*, but this does not mean that they could not be engaged in other activities or be allowed to participate in the Zoroastrian ritual in an official function. A short statement in Šnš 10.35 indicates this possibility with the words *zan pad zōtīh (ī) zanān šāyēd* "A woman is allowed to practise the office of *zōt (zaotar-)* for women".[85]

5.4b

xwāstag-sālārīh tuwān, "suited for guardianship over the property"

As the following Pahlavi commentary (5.4c) to this sentence reveals, Sasanian exegetes must have found it very difficult to relate this phrase to the legal requirements of their age. The Avestan passage allows the head of a household

82 On this expression and its implications see CANTERA 2003.
83 The responsibilities of the *rad* as a judge and an official of the State are listed in the Sasanian Lawbook, see MACUCH 1981, p. 189.
84 The Sasanian Lawbook discusses the subject of "guardianship" *(sālārīh)* and "guardianship of the family" *(dūdag-sālārīh)* extensively, but this text deals mainly with the most controversial and difficult problems which could arise, when a *kadag-xwadāy* (who was the natural guardian of the family and its property) has to be replaced by another person. All attestations should be taken into consideration, see MACUCH 1993, pp. 702 and 730. See also commentary to 5.4b below.
85 See TAVADIA 1930, p. 145.

to proceed to the *hērbedestān* on condition that his wife is suited to manage the property, "to practise *xwāstag-sālārīh*", according to the gloss. Replacing a *paterfamilias* as guardian of the family and its property was regulated exactly by Sasanian law. It was required to install a new *sālār* if the head of a household was absent for a long period of time or died in the following three cases: (1) when women, underage children and disabled persons were in the family, (2) if a sacred fire or (3) another kind of pious foundation "for the soul" *(pad ruwān)* had been established by the *kadag-xwadāy* himself or another member of the family under his guardianship.[86] The general rule states that guardianship can only be practised by a male, who is of age (at least 15 years old) and mentally sound *(ōšyār)*.[87] Legal texts distinguish between three different types of guardians according to the manner in which they are chosen: (1) *sālār* (or *dūdag-sālār*) *ī būdag* "natural guardian", who could be the mature natural or juridical son of the *paterfamilias*, a male engaged as "appointed proxy" *(stūr ī kardag)*, an adopted son *(pus ī padīriftag)* or a brother who is a share-holder *(brād ī hambāy)*;[88] (2) *(dūdag-)sālār ī kardag* "appointed guardian", who was authorized by the head of the household himself as guardian either in his will or by a separate statement;[89] (3) *(dūdag-)sālār ī gumārdag* "nominated guardian", who was a person chosen by judicial authorities *(rad, mowbed, padān ī dēn)* and held to be "most suited" *(sazāgtar)* for the task.[90] The procedure for choosing a guardian to replace the *kadag-xwadāy* was regulated exactly, since it was of the utmost importance to engage a responsible person most suitable for the complex duty of managing the large estates in the possession of descent groups. It was regarded as so important that the question of nominating a guardian could even be decided by the sovereign himself as the highest legal authority (apart from the *mowbedān mowbed*).[91]

In all these instances the general rule states that *only* a male could be guardian, though this does not correspond to the content of our Avestan text and its Pahlavi translation. As indicated above, the only exception to this rule is guardianship of a sacred fire (or another kind of pious foundation "for the soul", *pad ruwān,* to which sacred fires also belonged), and this is why the commentator in the following passage relates this sentence to the only situation allowing a female to act as a *xwāstag-sālār.*

86 General descriptions of the institution are given in REA 5.1–30 and Dd. 55.4–9. Establishing a *sālārīh* is also discussed extensively in the Sasanian Lawbook. All attestations should be taken into consideration, see MACUCH 1993, pp. 702 and 730. On pious foundations see MACUCH 1991, 1994, 2004.

87 REA 5.4.

88 See especially REA 5.5; Dd. 57.5; MHD 26.10–11. The question, whether an adopted son could be accepted as *sālār ī būdag* is a controversial one, see MHD 26.12; 69.9–10.

89 See especially REA 5.3; Dd. 57.5; MHD 25.11, 25.13f., 27.4f., 28.2.

90 REA 5.6; 5.19; Dd. 57.5; MHDA 14.9–11; 26.11–16.

91 See MHDA 14.10–12; MACUCH 1981, p. 143. On the significance of this passage see also MACUCH 1995b.

5.4c

zan pad sālārīh (ī) ātaxšān pad mādagwar šāyēd,
"a woman (is) in principle allowed to exercise guardianship of (sacred) fires"

We have good reason to assume that the question of a woman being engaged as guardian of a fire was controversial. This is probably why our Pahlavi commentator refers to the Avestan passage in support of the possibility of women acting in this capacity. The Sasanian Lawbook states several cases which correspond to the content of our passage:

> MHDA 14.1–2: *āt(axš) ī zan<īn> nišāst sālārīh pad zan kē nišāst.*
> "The (sacred) fire which has been founded by a woman: guardianship (is) with the woman who founded it."[92]
>
> MHD 27.12–14: *ka mard xwāstag ruwān rāy paydāg kardan nibišt kū-m zan ī xwēš dāštan rāy framān dād zan az framān ī šōy be ēstād nē pādixšāy u-š sālārīh kunišn.*
> "When a man has written with regard to the endowment of property for the soul: 'I have made the disposition that my own wife should hold it', the wife is not entitled to refuse the disposition of the husband and she has to practise guardianship."[93]

According to these passages women were allowed guardianship *(sālārīh)* of a fire *(ātaxš)* in two situations: (1) when the woman herself had established the fire; (2) when the husband expresses in his will that his wife should practise guardianship of a fire endowed by him. In the latter case, the wife did not even have the right to refuse to act as guardian of the fire. The following sentence presents an interesting case, in which a certain Ādurbād, son of Mardbūdān endows a sacred fire for his own soul *(pad ruwān ī Ādurbād)* and stipulates the sequence of guardianship in his will: first he transfers guardianship to his own wife, who is also his sister (in *xwēdōdah*-matrimony), called Dādxwaš; on her death guardianship should pass to a person called Farroxgyān and, after his demise, to another man. In this sequence the first guardian of the fire is a woman and only after her death does the guardianship transfer to the men named in the will:

> MHDA 36.6–12: *Ādurbād ī Mardbūdān būd pad ruwān ī Ādurbād ātaxš nišāst ud ātaxš pad sālārīh ī ōy kē Dātxwaš ī ham Ādurbād xwah ud zan būd dāštan *guft dāštan rāy framān dād ud pad dastwarīh ātaxš nišāst ud Dādxwāš ān ātaxš frāz az Dādxwaš Farroxgyān ud frāz az Farroxgyān any mard dāštan rāy guft.*
> "Ādurbād, who was the son of Mardbūd, founded a (sacred) fire for the soul of Ādurbād and declared, that this fire should be kept under the guardianship of the one, who (is called) Dādxwaš, who was the sister and (at the same time) the wife of the said Ādurbād. He gave this disposition with regard to holding (the fire in guardianship) and founded the (sacred) fire according to (this) entitlement. And

92 MACUCH 1981, pp. 36, 143.

93 MACUCH 1993, pp. 198, 203.

he declared, (that) Dādxwaš and after Dādxwaš Farroxgyān and after Farroxgyān another man should hold that (sacred) fire (in guardianship)."[94]

On the other hand, if guardianship of a sacred fire was bequeathed by a father to his daughter who subsequently married, it was then transferred to the daughter's new guardian, i.e. to her husband:

MHD 25.8–11: *ud abāg ān ī gyāg-ē(w) nibišt kū ka ātaxš pad sālārīh ō duxt ī xwēš dahēd ud duxt šōy kunēd and ō šōy barēd ud ka-š šōy az zanīh be hilēd ayāb be mirēd ēn kū sālārīh ānōh be mānēd ayāb abāz ō bun šawēd saxwan ud pahikār padiš nigerīdan.*

"And this is to be considered together with the (statement) written in a (certain) passage: When he (= the father) places a (sacred) fire under the guardianship *(sālārīh)* of his own daughter and the daughter takes a husband, (then) it (= guardianship) is transferred to the husband. And if the husband dismisses her from marriage or (if) she dies, (there are several) statements and disputes (regarding the question), whether guardianship remains there (with the husband) or reverts to its source (= the original lineage of the daughter)."[95]

The whole matter of a daughter exercising guardianship of a fire seems to have been controversial, since another passage states expressly – in compliance with the general rules of *sālārīh* described above in the commentary to 5.4b – that a daughter is not allowed to exercise guardianship of the fire *(ātaxš-sālārīh)*:

MHD 110.2–3: *duxt pad ātaxš-sālārīh nē šāyēd ud duxtdād ōh gumārišn.*

"The daughter is not allowed (to exercise) guardianship of a (sacred) fire and the (son) of the daughter *(duxtdād)* should be nominated."[96]

The question, whether a woman, wife or daughter, could be accepted for the role of guardian in the case of a fire must have been of utmost importance to Sasanian theologians and jurisconsults, since fire endowments played an important part in the economic, political and social life of the State and Church and were, moreover, a source of income for the families of the founders and the clergy alike. As mentioned above, fire endowments belonged to the important category of family property set aside "for the soul" *(pad ruwān, ruwān rāy* or *pad ruwān dāštan)*, and used to finance a pious foundation.[97] Apart from religious piety, one of the main reasons for establishing a charitable foundation was to secure an income for one's own children and descendants or those of other family members and friends. In the case of fire endowments, we have ample evidence that they were furnished with income-producing property called *xwēšīh ī ātaxš*[98] "(property in) ownership of the fire", *xīr ī ātaxš(ān)*[99] "property of the

94 MACUCH 1981, pp. 62, 219f.
95 MACUCH 1993, pp. 193, 200 and commentary no. 9, p. 208.
96 Macuch 1993, pp. 645, 652.
97 On pious foundations see Macuch 1994, 2002, 2004 with further references.
98 MHDA 39.6.
99 MHD 34.1; 93.4; MHDA 26.13; 27.1,3.

fire(s)" or simply *ādurān ud ātaxšān*[100] "of the fires". Property dedicated to the fire usually consisted of real estate and could assume huge dimensions, as indicated by the examples given in the great inscription of Šābuhr I on the Kaʿba-ye Zardošt and the description of the fire foundations established by the famous minister Mihr-Narseh.[101] The founder had the right to assign the management or guardianship *(sālārīh)* of the foundation to the person of his choice, which could – but did not necessarily have to – be a member of his own family. In the case where no particular person was named as a trustee in the endowment deed of the founder, his son or another relation was required to serve as guardian *(sālār)* of the foundation.[102] In the instances described in the Lawbook, the main beneficaries of the property dedicated to the soul were family members of the founder. In this manner the endowment remained in his family and was bequeathed as a distinct part of the property of the deceased to his descendants. The beneficiaries had no right of ownership *(bun-xwēšīh)*; they were not authorized to change its legal status, but they did profit from the foundation by their right of usufruct *(bar-xwēšīh)*.[103]

hād, "that is true, and/but"

The translation of *hād* follows SKJÆRVØ's observation that the technical function of the particle is to confirm a preceding statement while adding an elaboration or restriction to it: "That is true, and/but ..." or "Yes, and (also)/Yes, but (only) ..."[104]

General observations on Hēr. 5.4c

The Sasanian Lawbook indicates the existence of a large number of different sized fire endowments, which could be treated differently according to their religious and economic significance. This source distinguishes between three categories of fire, the large "cathedral" fire, the *ātaxš Wahrām*, which was established by collecting fires from 16 different sources and placing them in a specially constructed sanctuary, the *dādgāh*, after elaborate rituals of purification; a general category which is not clearly specified, called *ātaxš*, and a third minor fire called *ādurōg* "little fire" which could also burn in a place other than a *dādgāh* and in most cases may have been a family fire.[105] Although each type of fire was endowed with property, the extent of the estate given to them must have differed considerably.

100 MHD 50.3; MHDA 16.4 has *ātaxšān*.
101 MACUCH 2002, pp. 117–123, with further references.
102 MHD 29.9–11; 45.15–17; 46.9.
103 MHD 24.16–17; 24.17–25.1; 25.2–5; 46.4–9.
104 SKJÆRVØ (forthcoming).
105 See BOYCE 1968, pp. 58–66.

If we regard our passage in this context, the question of transferring guardianship of a foundation or fire to the right person appears to have been not only of religious, but also of economic importance. The Zoroastrian clergy must have been interested in encouraging the establishment of fire foundations, even if it meant entrusting guardianship to a woman, either because she herself was the founder or because she was granted guardianship by the head of the household in the best interest of the family (see passages quoted above). Our exegete interprets the Avestan passage, allowing the woman management of the property, in the following manner: the text reveals that in principle a woman is allowed to exercise guardianship of a fire *(ātaxš)*, belonging to the second category of fires mentioned above. But in his opinion guardianship is only granted to her, if a larger "cathedral" fire, an *ātaxš ī Wahrām*, "could be established" (*nišānīhē* 3. sg. opt. pass. of *nišāstan*, "to found, establish")[106] in place of the original fire. The question which now arises is: may the woman also be guardian of the *Wahrām* fire if it has been established from the fire which she founded? This question is discussed in the next section.

5.5c

pad wihēzīd šāyēd, "in order to spread (the Good Religion/sacred fires) it is allowed"

There is no Pahlavi translation in this section, but only a commentary which continues the discussion of 5.4c (with reference to the Avestan passage in 5.5a). The problematic *pad wihēzīd šāyēd* has been read and translated differently in the two recent editions: K/K have *n'yct' šāyēd*, "... it is barely permissible"; H/E (5.8–10) read *pad wihēzēd šāyēd*, "... on condition of 'wihēzēd' she/it is suitable", with no translation or explanation of "*wihēzēd*". The verb is *wihēzīdan, wihēz-*, "to move forward or in every direction, to expand", with *ul* "to move upwards",[107] MMP whyz- "to move, progress, set out";[108] the corresponding nouns: *wihēz, wihēzag, wihēzīh, wihēzišn* "movement, progression, expansion".[109] In the specific context of the calendar *wihēz* and *wihēzag* also mean "intercalation", (an extra period of time inserted into the calendar), the caus. *wihēzēnīdan* "to intercalate", lit. "to cause to move forward, push forward".[110] *wihēz* also has a metaphorical sense, denoting the "passage, departure" from one world to the next (as in DkM 646.15).[111] In the following example from the Dēnkard, describing the growth of mankind, the noun is used in the original sense of "movement, progression, growth in every direction, expansion":

106 On the optative ending 3. sg. -yy/-yyh *-ē* see CANTERA 1999, pp. 179ff.
107 HENNING 1933, pp. 178, 231 [reprint 1977, 85, 138].
108 DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 342.
109 NYBERG 1974, p. 211f.; MACKENZIE 1971, p. 342; DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 342.
110 See NYBERG 1974, p. 211, and attestations GIGNOUX/TAFAZZOLI 1993, p. 434.
111 See also Dk. 7. I. 48 (MOLÉ 1967, p. 12f.); V. 1 (*ibid.*, p. 62f.); VI.1 (*ibid.*, p. 66f.).

DkM 594.10–14: *ud pas az ān waxš abar barišnīh mad ō Siyāmag ī awēšān pus ud hampaywandān abar wihēz'īh* (ms.: wyhyc' Y) *ō kešwar kešwar ud kustag kust(ag) ī gēhān ān drahnāy kē dādār ō ān kešwar ud kustag wizīd.*
"And afterwards (= after Mašyā and Mašyānag) (the task of) transmitting the message came to Siyāmag, who (was) their son, and the spreading *(abar wihēz'īh)* of (their) offspring to each land and each region of the world (was) to that extent which the Creator chose for that land and region."

General observations on Hēr. 5.5c

The corresponding *pad wihēzīd* (lit.) "in order to expand" fits well into the context of our commentary, although it is not clear whether it refers specifically to the growth of fire foundations or more generally to the promotion of the Good Religion. The exegetes of the Avestan text express two different opinions:

1) The first commentator declares that a woman is allowed guardianship of the fire if it leads to expansion (of the fire or, in a general sense, of the Good Religion). But she is only allowed to exercise guardianship, because it is her "own fire" *(ātaxš ī xwēš)*, i.e. one which she has established herself, as in the example given in MHDA 14.1–2 (see commentary to 5.4c). Referring to the last sentence in 5.4c, this commentator distinguishes between "this" *(ēn)* fire, which is her own, and "that one" *(ān)*, i.e. the large *Wahrām* fire, which belongs to other people *(ātaxš ī kasān)*. In the opinion of this exegete, a woman would not be allowed to practise guardianship of a *Wahrām* fire, even if her fire was used to establish it, but only of a personal fire. The statement contains a significant restriction for women, since a man who has established a *Wahrām* fire is regarded as its guardian:

   ... *mard ī pad wahrāmīh ō dādgāh nišāst pad sālār dārišn*
   "... the man who has placed (the fire) as a *Wahrām* fire in its sanctuary *(dādgāh)* is to be regarded as its guardian *(sālār)*".[112]

2) The second commentator has no qualms about admitting a woman as guardian of a large "Cathedral" fire: she should "always" *(hamē)* be allowed guardianship if it leads to the promotion (of fires or of the Good Religion).

Conclusions

ALMUT HINTZE has shown in her discussion of the Avestan text that the activity of *aδauruna-*, for which Mazdā-worshippers leave their homes, is connected with the spreading of the Mazdayasnian religion. Any member of a household, whether man, woman or child, "who had the greatest esteem for truth" and was

112 MHD 94.5; see the whole passage 94.3–6 MACUCH 1993, p. 597. See also MHD 110.5–11, *ibid.*, p. 652.

least needed to manage the property could engage in the work of the *aθauruna-*. The expression is translated by *asrōīh* "priesthood" and combined with the activity called *herbedestān kardan,* "to attend the *herbedestān*", in the commentary, suggesting the pursuit of religious studies at some sort of school. In the Pahlavi version of the text the main aim of the Sasanian exegetes was to relate the content of the Avestan text to the completely changed conditions of their own age. Since the text was regarded as sacred, the translation keeps slavishly to the original, using the well-known technique of rendering Avestan terms by their exact Pahlavi derivations (such as *mānbed* for *nmānō.paiti-*, *gēhān* for *gaēθā-*, etc.). None of these expressions were used as legal technical terms in the Sasanian period. In order to understand and explain the implications of the Avestan text, the exegetes used Sasanian legal terminology in the short glosses to link the text to the social and legal conditions prevailing in their own time. Thus *kadag-xwadāy,* with the technical meaning of *paterfamilias* with far-reaching implications, explains *mānbed; xwāstag-sālārīh,* "guardianship of property", a legal term referring to a large range of regulations related to the proper managment of possessions, elucidates *gēhān bandagīh,* "service of the property".

In the Pahlavi commentaries further explanations were added. Since the Avestan text shows no partiality in its treatment of men and women, the main problem the exegetes had to solve was to explain how the text should be interpreted in the context of a religious and legal system in which men and women were treated differently. Although religious training at the school called *hērbedestān* was open to both sexes, in 5.2c the famous commentator Sōšāns, using Sasanian legal terminology and citing an Avestan text, restricts the position of a *ratu/rad* to males (***nairiiō ratuš ˣkār, "the male [is] ratu*** [is] in ˣforce"). Another problem to be solved was that, in contrast to men, women were generally not allowed to serve as guardians or managers of family property *(xwāstag-sālār)* with the sole exception of guardianship of a sacred fire. In the event that a fire had been founded by the woman herself or guardianship had been granted to her by the head of a household, this was permitted, since, as explained in 5.5c, it was in the best interest of spreading either fire foundations or the Good Religion (*pad wihēzīd šāyēd,* "in order to expand, it is allowed"). The question, whether she was only allowed to serve as the guardian of a minor fire *(ātaxš)* or also of a larger "Cathedral" fire *(ātaxš ī Wahrām)* is discussed by the commentators stating different opinions in 5.4c and 5.5c. Thus, finally, although the Avestan text was adapted to the changed legal conditions of the Sasanian age with its different laws regarding men and women, it seems as though its main goal, that of spreading the Mazdayasnian religion, was still understood perfectly by the Pahlavi exegetes of the Avestan text.

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Hēr. = Hērbedestān

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Hindrances in the Khotanese *Book of Vimalakīrti*

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As an all too small tribute to Nicholas Sims-Williams' outstanding contribution to our understanding of so many Iranian texts and languages, I offer here a metrically arranged re-edition with a new translation and commentary of one more question and answer from the Late Khotanese *Book of Vimalakīrti*, a catechism of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The passage, which is concerned with the hindrances (Sanskrit *āvaraṇa*) to correct vision concerning the true nature of things and to awakening, has been only handed down to us in ll. 264–293 of the very carelessly written miscellaneous ms. Ch. 00266 in the British Library (= *Vim* C), so that its interpretation depends on the delicate balance between the necessary but always risky emendation of the manuscript readings and the respect for the transmitted text in the light of all linguistic, palaeographic, metrical and doctrinal details. I hope I have overcome most of the hindrances in the way of interpretation.

This is the fifth article in a series devoted to the interpretation of this "difficult Late Khotanese text"[1] that I have decided to publish instead of waiting years before the interpretation of the text can be completed.[2] I hope eventually to collect the separate articles in a full-fledged, updated edition with translation, commentary, facsimiles and glossary.

Since the *Book of Vimalakīrti* is acephalous, in the previous four articles I numbered the first preserved verse provisionally as v. 1. Differently from those articles, I adopt here a more precise verse numbering that I have calculated counting back from the verse numbers found in lines 1–60 of ms. P 2026 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (= *Vim* P), the only other witness of the text, which overlaps with the last lines of *Vim* C and contains the last preserved verses of the text. Unfortunately, the verse numbering in *Vim* P is incomplete in that the hundreds are not expressed, so that the first preserved verse, which I number now as v. 100, might also theoretically be v. 200, 300 etc. The correspondence between the provisional numbering and the one adopted here is shown in the following table:

1 *Guide* 36.
2 Maggi 2003a, 2003b, 2004, and 2007, q.v. also for general information on the text and its study.

New verse nos.	Manuscript lines	Edition and translation	Old verse nos.
100–107	224–232	MAGGI 2004	1–8
108–132	232–263	MAGGI 2003b	9–33[3]
133–134	264–266	MAGGI 2003a	34–35
135–153	266–293	–	–
154–163	293–308	MAGGI 2003a	55–64
164–170	308–316	–	–
171–195	316–350	MAGGI 2007	72–96[4]

The passage presented here opens with a question which has its starting point in two seemingly contradictory statements taken from the *vajrramaṇḍala sūttra* (v. 133a) and the *karmāvaraṇavīśudha sūttra* (v. 134ab) respectively. The quotations are marked by double quotes in the translation below. For the second quotation which is in reality an abridgment of two separate though contiguous sentences from the *Karmāvaraṇaviśuddhisūtra*, both the Sanskrit original and the Tibetan parallel could be readily identified.[5]

On the other hand, the quotation from the *vajrramaṇḍala sūttra* escaped identification at first. Since a *Vajramaṇḍanāmadhāraṇī* is preserved in two Chinese translations and a Tibetan version[6] where the terms *'dod chags* 'passion', *zhe sdang* 'aversion' and *gti mug* 'delusion' occur together a number of times, I took the manuscript reading as a lectio facilior for *vajrramaṇḍa[la] sūttra*.[7] Unfortunately, it proved impossible to locate the relevant quotation in the *Vajramaṇḍanāmadhāraṇī* for the simple reason that the quotation comes from a different text. In fact, there also exists a Prajñāpāramitā tantric text entitled *Vajramaṇḍālaṃkāra*. This is preserved both in a Tibetan version, which contains a passage corresponding to the Khotanese quotation, and in a partial Chinese translation.[8] The expunction in *Vim* 133a *vajrramaṇḍa[la]* is thus confirmed.[9]

3 Vv. 120–121 also in MAGGI 2003a as vv. 21–22.

4 As the present article deals with vv. 133–153, a metrically arranged edition is now available for vv. 100–195 with the exception of vv. 164–170.

5 See MAGGI 2003a, pp. 87 and 89–90.

6 *Taishō* 1344–1345 and *Tōhoku* 139 respectively.

7 MAGGI 2003a, pp. 87 and 89.

8 *Dpal rdo rje snying po rgyan zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po* = Skt. *Śrīvajramaṇḍālaṃkāramahātantrarāja* (*Tōhoku* 409) and 金剛場莊嚴般若波羅蜜多教中一分 *Jīngāngchǎng zhuāngyán bānruòbōluómìduō jiàozhōng yīfēn* (Vajra essence ornament: a part of the Prajñāpāramitā doctrine; *Taishō* 886), the Chinese text corresponding to the last part of the Tibetan (see CONZE 1978, p. 90, NAKAMURA 1980, pp. 328–329, TSUKAMOTO/MATSUNAGA/ISODA 1989, p. 220).

9 The Sanskrit title was changed to *Śrīvajramaṇḍ<al>ālaṃkāramahātantrarāja* in *Tōhoku*, p. 87, and was given as *Śrīvajramaṇḍalālaṃkāramahātantrarāja* by CONZE and NAKAMURA, possibly under the influence of Vajramaṇḍala as the name of a samādhi

Like other quotations in *Vim*,[10] the quotation 133cd *brrīyā ysūra jaḍī baiśa ba'ysūśta bvāña* 'Passion *(rāga)*, aversion *(dveṣa)* (and) delusion *(moha)*, all are to be known as awakening *(bodhi)*' is not a close rendering but a condensed rewording of the corresponding passage, that in Tibetan reads:

> *'dod chags rnam par dag pa'i gnas gang yin pa de ni 'di lta ste byang chub sems dpa'i gnas so || zhe sdang rnam par dag pa'i gnas gang yin pa de ni 'di lta ste byang chub sems dpa'i gnas so || gti mug rnam par dag pa'i gnas gang yin pa de ni 'di lta ste byang chub sems dpa'i gnas so ||*
>
> 'That which is the state purified of passion *(rāga)* is such as the state of a Bodhisattva. That which is the state purified of aversion *(dveṣa)* is such as the state of a Bodhisattva. That which is the state purified of delusion *(moha)* is such as the state of a Bodhisattva'.[11]

It is worthy of note that the *Vajramaṇḍālaṃkāra* quotation is most similar to *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* VI.9 (*VkN*-Skt 276) *rāgadoṣamohaprakṛtir eva vimuktiḥ* 'deliverance has its origin exactly in passion, aversion *(doṣa = dveṣa)* and delusion'.[12] That *Vim* quotes from the *Vajramaṇḍālaṃkāra* rather than the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* is evidence of the fact that there is no special relationship between *Vim* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*.

In the edition of the text, the following conventions are used: < > = editorial supplement where the manuscript has no lacuna; [[ ]] = deletion by the copyist; { } = editorial deletion; an asterisk * precedes emendations that are not otherwise indicated (the manuscript readings are given in footnotes). Manuscript lines are numbered by bracketed numbers in the body of the verses.

In the translation, the Sanskrit equivalents of the Buddhist technical terms are given in parentheses.

In the commentary, numbers preceded by the abbreviations *Vim* C and *Vim* P refer to the manuscript lines. Except for a few special cases attention has not been drawn to differences in HAROLD W. BAILEY's edition or in SKJÆRVØ's recent re-edition and translation,[13] since these can easily be compared. Differing translations that are found in BAILEY's *Dict.* are recorded in the commentary.

mentioned in *Mahāvyutpatti* 529 (*Vajramaṇḍalo nāma samādhiḥ*, Tib. *Rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor zhes bya ba'i ting ne 'dzin*) and *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* 1417.8 (*BHSD* 468 s.v. *Vajramaṇḍala*). Because Tib. *snying po* and Chin. 場 *chǎng*, that are found in the Tibetan and Chinese titles, are the regular renderings of Skt. *maṇḍa-* 'best part, best point' (cf. *BHSD* 415 s.v. *maṇḍa* and SOOTHILL/HODOUS 1937, p. 369 s.v. 場), it is probably unnecessary to change the Sanskrit title as given in the Tibetan translation.

10 Cf. MAGGI 2007, pp. 207–208.

11 *TT*, vol. 5, p. 195.5.3–5 (Peking, vol. tha [10], f. 4a3–5). The quotation was kindly located for me by GIULIANA MARTINI.

12 Cf. LAMOTTE 1962, p. 274.

13 *KBT* 104–113 and *SDTV* 6.489–499.

Text and translation

133 [264] ttī vajrramaṇḍa[la] sūttra maista [[+ +]] ba'ys<ū>ña rahāsa
vara tta[14] hva brrīyā[15] ysū[265]ra jaḍī baiśa ba'ysūśta bvāña

Question. – *Then (there is) the* Vajramaṇḍasūtra, *the great Buddha mystery. There it is said thus: "Passion* (rāga), *aversion* (dveṣa) *(and) delusion* (moha), *all are to be known as awakening* (bodhi)".

134 u karmāvaraṇavīśudha sūttra vīra vara tta tta [266] hva
ys<ū>rā jaḍī brrīyā byanai ba'ysa dā bīsaga byana

And, in the Karmāvaraṇaviśuddhisūtra, *there it is said thus: "Aversion, delusion (and) passion (are) hindrances* (āvaraṇa)", *(and) "the Buddha, the Doctrine, the Community (are) hindrances".*

135 cuḍai ṣt<ā>na[16] [267] samai ṣai' *artha[17] śuje jsa ṣai' cu ṣa' rahāsa
hvāña vā mvaśja jsa pātca [268] hāva kaiṇa satva va hv<ī>dai ttā

Why (is) the meaning (of those seemingly contradictory statements) equal to one another? Whatever the mystery (is), tell me, then, out of compassion for the sake of benefit towards beings.

Answer. – *It is said to you:*

136 ba'ysūśta prrara jsa drrāma sa khu vīna pyaurā [269] āśa'
haḍai hīsīda hāṣṭa byava āvatve[18] pyaure

Awakening (is) by nature just such as the sky without clouds, but lightning (and) chance clouds come upon it.

137 tta tta ja[[+]]ḍ<ī>[19] brrīyā [270] ysūra kīḍaiśa' ā[śa']][[ha]]vatva[20] baiśa[21]
hadana yā[271]va natcana dra-bāḍū vara nai by<au>rai

Thus, delusion, passion, aversion, all (are) incidental defilements (āgantu-kleśa)*: from within to without they are not (to be) found there in the three times.*

14 *ttya* corrected to *tta* by the copyist.
15 *y-* has four, instead of three, descending strokes.
16 Supplement by BAILEY.
17 **artha* by emendation for ms. *athā* (MAGGI).
18 Read as one word by EMMERICK, *Studies* 2.124.
19 Supplement by BAILEY, *Dict.* 373 s.v. *vatva*.
20 Read as one word by expunction of *śa'* by EMMERICK, *Studies* 2.125.
21 Between *baiśa* and *badana* the copyist deleted the words *[[dharma abyehāme jsa]]* mistakenly written by him in anticipation of the following verse.

138 ttu naijsaḍa harbaiśa dharma aby<e>[272]hā<me>[22] jsa ttuśā
kū ṣṭa naiśta kṣaṇa-masa dharma ṣai' jsa ba'ysūśta ṣṭa sa

In that way, all phenomena (dharma) *are empty through not-attaining: where there is no phenomenon for the space of a moment there is just awakening.*

139 bya[273]na vā ttā vaiña hvīde baysūñavuysā maista
kū ṣ<ṭ>a[23] burai[24] saña[25] [274] *himāve[26] nai ṣa' baudhasatva hvañai

And now "hindrance" (āvaraṇa) *is described to you: as for the great Bodhisattvas, whenever a notion* (saṃjñā) *should arise for one, he is not to be called a Bodhisattva.*

140 ysvarai-saña brrīyā-saña jaḍī-saña [275] cai ttye *himāva[27]
ttye ṣa' kīrīnai byanä: nai ṣai' baudhasatva hvañai

When a notion of aversion, a notion of passion, a notion of delusion should occur to him, for him that (is) a hindrance due to actions (karma-āvaraṇa)*: he is not to be called a Bodhisattva.*

141 cu ttye vā [276] ṣe' ba'ysa-saña dāva-saña bīsaga[28]-saña
ba'ysūśtai byanī[29] maista nai [277] ṣai' baudhasatva hvañai:

Or when he (has) a notion of Buddha, a notion of Doctrine, a notion of Community, (that is) a great hindrance for him (on the path) to awakening: he is not to be called a Bodhisattva.

142 kā ja vā ṣai' baudhasatva cu ysūrai hīvī paiṣkala
[278] ttu nairvāṇ[ḍ]a-paiṣkala daitta vasūśtī kīrīnai byana

But whichever Bodhisattva sees the state of aversion (dveṣa-dharma) *as the state of extinction* (nirvāṇa)*, for him the hindrance due to actions is cleared away.*

143 kā ja vā ṣai' baudhasa[279]tva cu jaḍī-paiṣka<la>[30]
[ttu nairvaṇa-paṣkala] ttu nairvā<ṇa>[31]-p<ai>ṣkala daitta vasūśtai
kī[280]rīnai byanä

Or whichever Bodhisattva sees the state of delusion (moha-dharma) *as the state of extinction, for him the hindrance due to actions is cleared away.*

22 *<me>* supplemented by BAILEY.
23 Supplement by BAILEY.
24 The dot over *bu* is more likely an ink spot than an anusvāra. Various spots are found in the following lines.
25 *sa-* has an odd shape and is apparently the result of a partially written *ña* corrected to *sa*.
26 **himāve* by emendation for ms. *hāmāve* (MAGGI).
27 **himāva* by emendation for ms. *hāmāva* (MAGGI).
28 *śa* corrected to *ga* by the copyist.
29 A large ink spot or a deleted ligatured consonant or vowel diacritic under *n-*.
30 Supplement by BAILEY.
31 Supplement by BAILEY.

144 kā ja vā ṣai' baudhasatva cu brrīyā-paiṣkala
ttu nairv<ā>ṇa-pai[281]ṣkala daitta vasūśtai kīrīnai byanä

Or whichever Bodhisattva sees the state of passion (rāga-dharma) *as the state of extinction, for him the hindrance due to actions is cleared away.*

145 kā ja vā ṣai' baudhasatva cu vainai [282] ttu avainai daitta
vasūśt<ai> [[ra]] kīrīnai byanä *u[32] hajvattā byeha ṣai' maista

Or whichever Bodhisattva sees (his) pupil (vaineya) *as a non-pupil* (a-vaineya), *for him the hindrance due to actions is cleared away and he obtains the great knowledge.*

146 kā [283] {kau} ja vā ṣa' baudhasatva cai ba'ysa dā yāva bīsaga
hamagtte prrarai jsa dai[284]tta ñavuna ṣai' bau[[+]]\dha/satva[33]

Or whichever Bodhisattva sees the equality (samatā) *by nature of the Buddha, the Doctrine, as well as the Community, that Bodhisattva is a determined one* (niyata).

147 kā ja vā ṣai' baudhasatva cu baiśa *hira[34] ttuśā pa[285]ysauda
*ahimya[35] aja naṣau'da *ñavuna[36] ṣai' baudhasatva[37]

Or whichever Bodhisattva has recognised all things as empty (śūnya), *unoriginated* (anutpada), *unborn* (aniruddha), *tranquil* (praśānta), *that Bodhisattva is a determined one* (niyata).

148 kā ja vā ṣai' [286] baudhasatva cu kṣamīde parśa' ysūṣka
dra-bāḍū[38] harbaiśa ba'ysa jastuñau pa[287]jsamyau uera

Or whichever Bodhisattva wishes to serve all the dear Buddhas of the three times appropriately with divine honours (pūjā),

149 ttye samāhāña akhauṣṭa avārautta aysmva śtāka
ttye ttai pajsama[288]ḍa haimāre dra-bāḍū harbaiśa ba'ysa

a mind unsupported in unmoved concentration (samādhi) *(is) necessary for him: all the Buddhas of the three times become honoured* (pūjita) *by him.*

32 **u* by emendation for ms. *na* (MAGGI).
33 *dha* below the line without a caret.
34 **hira* by emendation for ms. *hāra* (MAGGI). There is a T-shaped sign after *hāra* and a cross in the right margin.
35 **ahimya* by emendation for ms. *ahāmya* (MAGGI).
36 **ñavuna* by emendation for ms. *ñavyana* (MAGGI).
37 After *baudhasatva* the copyist deleted the word *[[hajvattai]]* mistakenly written by him in anticipation of v. 150.
38 *°bāḍu* corrected to *°bāḍū*.

150 kā ja vā ṣai' baudhasatva hajvatte [289] kūśa' ca jsāna
cu būrai avaiśaiṣṭa sūttra *kṣamīda[39] sīyā dīrye

Or whichever Bodhisattva should look for wisdom, whichever sūtras without distinction it should please him to learn and retain,

151 ttye nairva[290]lkalpa akhauṣṭa samāhā bāvāña sa vyachai
aharīna vamaśta harbaiśā [291] sūttrā artha

he must produce a concentration free from discrimination (nirvikalpa), *unmoved: as soon as he is intent upon it, he perceives the meanings of all the sūtras without remainder.*

152 kāma tta *cu[40] [[tta]] *pvāde[41] rraṣṭa ttu vasva ba'ysā dā
byehīda bvā[292]ma maista vaina-āvaraṇa haimāra

Whoever (are) those who may hear correctly the pure Doctrine of the Buddhas, they obtain the great knowledge, they become free from hindrances,

153 āśa' māñada akhauṣṭa aysmva na parail<ā>[293]ka ttsīda
vyach<ī>da bāvaña gīhna vasva nairv<ā>ṇa[42] parrī

(their) mind (is) unmoved like the sky, they do not go to the other world (paraloka), *(yet) with the aid of meditation they are intent upon pure extinction, deliverance* (vimokṣa).

Commentary

133a: On the expunction in *vajrramaṇḍa[la]* see above.

133b: For the supplement in *ba'ys<ū>ña rahāsa* 'Buddha mystery' cf. *Vim* C 347 *SDTV* 6.496 *ba'ysūña rahāsa* and Ch. i.0021b.b 5 *SDTV* 6.553 *ba'ysūña rahāsä*. Kh. *maista ... rahāsa* apparently reflects *°mahā-tantra°* in the Sanskrit title *Vajramaṇḍālaṃkāramahātantrarāja* as given in the Tibetan translation.

135a: The occurrence of the particle *ṣṭ<ā>na* after *cuḍai* may be compared with the occurrence of the particle *āṃ* after *cūḍai* in Or. 11252/4b6 *SDTV* 6.87 *cvai tta jsārä cūḍai āṃ puṣa ni hajsẹmä* 'Why do you not collect completely whatever grain you have thus?'.

135d: I take *va* in *satva va* as the Late Khotanese continuation of OKh. *vara*, *varä* 'towards, with respect to', which governs the accusative and is found in e.g.

39 **kṣamīda* by emendation for ms. *kṣamadī* (MAGGI).
40 **cu* by emendation for ms. *vu* (MAGGI).
41 **pvāde* by emendation for ms. *pvārye* (MAGGI).
42 Supplement by BAILEY, *Dict.* 216 s.v. *parī*.

Z 3.133 *satva varä* 'with regard to beings'.[43] This interpretation has the advantage that it permits us to keep the manuscript reading. However, in consideration of the many copying mistakes that are found in this manuscript, two other interpretations based on emendations are theoretically possible. On the one hand, the occurrence of OKh. Z 2.189, 12.38 *satva vätä*, 12.21 *satva väte* and 11.2 *satva vīrä*, 11.41, 13.44 *satva vīri* 'towards beings' would suggest emending the manuscript reading to *satva v<ī>* with LKh. *vī* < OKh. *vätä* and *vīrä*. On the other hand, *va* can also continue OKh. *vaska* 'for the sake of, on account of',[44] which is construed with the genitive-dative, so that an emendation *satv<ā> va* 'towards beings', to be compared with OKh. Z 3.77 *satvānu vaska*, is equally likely and especially attractive in view of the omission of the *ā* diacritic in the gen.-dat. pl. governed by *va* = *vaska* in *Vim* C 379 *tty<ā> va* 'for them', where the omission is assured by the variant *Vim* P 13 *ttyāṃ va*.

136d and 137b: EMMERICK's masterful readings 136d *āvatve pyaure* 'chance clouds' and 137b *kīḍaiśa' ā[śa']/[[ha]]vatva*, i.e. *kīḍaiśa' āvatva* 'incidental defilements' (Skt. *āgantu-kleśa-*)[45] get rid of the ghostword *vatva-* that BAILEY read in *ā vatve pyaure* 'or fleeting (sudden) clouds' and "*āśa'***ya*[46] (blurred *ha*) *vatva* 'fleeting into the mind (B[uddhist] S[anskrit] *āśaya-*)'"[47]. However, the following *baiśa* need not be expunged as EMMERICK suggests: whereas the insertion of the spurious akṣaras *śa'* and *ha* in *ā[śa']/[[ha]]vatva* is most likely an echo of 136bc *āśa' haḍai* and was favoured by the common initial *ā-*, the subsequent wrong insertion in *baiśa [[dharma abyehāme jsa]]* was written in anticipation of 138ab *harbaiśa dharma aby<e>hā<me>* and is an obvious mistake that was favoured by the *(-)baiśa* common to both passages.

137d: *dra-bāḍū* (also in 148c and 149d) is an instance of the LKh. nom.-acc. pl. ending *-ū* of *-ua-* adjectives, as was noticed by BAILEY, which can be added to OKh. *-uva* and OKh. and LKh. *-va* that are the only endings recorded by EMMERICK (besides the rare OKh. neuter ending *-uve*).[48] This suggests that the LKh. nom.-acc. pl. ending *-vā* of *-ua-* nouns is not "due to confusion of N[ominative-]A[ccusative] P[lural] *-va* ... with L[ocative] P *-vā*", as was posited by EMMERICK,[49] but rather is another instance of the LKh. spellings *vā* and *uā* for *ū* that are otherwise known.[50]

43 *Dict.* 376 s.v. *va* 'to, towards'.
44 *Dict.* 372 s.v. *va* 'for'.
45 *Studies* 2.124–125 s.v. **vatva*.
46 I.e. *āśa'<ya>*.
47 *Dict.* 373 s.v. *vatva*. The readings *ā vatve* and *āśa [[ha]] vatva* are still retained by SKJÆRVØ, who does not translate *vatva-*.
48 Cf. *SGS* 326 and *Dict.* 380 s.v. *vasū*: "For *-ū* plural note also K 108.288 *drabāḍū harbaiśa ha'ysa* 'all Buddhas of the three times'".
49 *SGS* 324.
50 For the LKh. spellings *vā* and *uā* for *ū* see EMMERICK, *Studies* 1.16 s.v. *abvātta* and SKJÆRVØ, *Studies* 1.130 s.v. *huna*.

138b: The insertion of *<e>* in *aby<e>hā<me>*, though not strictly necessary as the syllable is not stressed, is based on the deleted *[[abyehāme jsa]]* in l. 270.

138c: For *sa* at the end of the pāda cf. the similar pādas 174d *hamye kṣaṇa dā *vaiṣṭa sa*, 194d *hamye kṣaṇa dā vaiṣṭa sa* 'at the same moment only the Doctrine remains'.[51]

139b–d: This passage corresponds fairly closely, apart from the slightly different wording and the here unnecessary reference to 'a being' *(satva°)*, with *Vajr* 10a4–b1 *KT* 3.22 *cī subhūta baudhi<satvä>*[52] *satva-saṃña hämätä ni ṣä' baudhisatvä hvañai* 'When, Subhūti, a notion of a being should arise for a Bodhisattva, he is not to be called a Bodhisattva', Skt. *sacet subhūte bodhisattvasya sattva-saṃjñā pravarteta, na sa bodhisattva iti vaktavyaḥ*.[53]

142b: The Khotanese word *piṣkala-* 'part, division, element, region, section, chapter'[54] corresponds, in *ysūrai hīvī paiṣkala* 'state of aversion', 143b *jaḍī-paiṣka<la>* 'state of delusion', 144b *brrīyā-paiṣkala* 'state of passion' and 142c *nairvāṇ[ḍ]a-paiṣkala* etc., to Skt. *°dharma-* in the sense of 'state, condition', which also occurs in the compounds *dveṣa-dharma-*, *moha-dharma-* and *lobha-dharma-*[55] as well as in the phrase *nirvṛtau ... dharma* 'in the state of *nirvāṇa*' in *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* 9.6.[56]

142d: *vasūśtī kīrīnai byana* may be compared with *Ananta* 14 Dumaqu 0127v3 *SDTV* 6.138 *] + byanä thatau vasuśtä* '[his] hindrance [due to actions] is quickly cleared away', Tibetan *de'i las kyi sgrib pa myur du 'byang ba*.[57]

144b: The suggested equivalence of *brrīyā-paiṣkala* 'state of passion' with Skt. *rāga-dharma-* rather than *lobha-dharma-* is based upon the equivalence of Kh. *brrīyā* with Skt. *rāga-* (Tib. *'dod chags*) in the Sanskrit parallel passage in the *Karmāvaraṇaviśuddhisūtra* as quoted in *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 90.6.[58]

145d: The manuscript has *na hajvattā byeha ṣai' maista* but the clear *maista* was tacitly emended to *baista* by BAILEY, who offers the translation 'he does not get wisdom; he understood it' with the following explanation: "*baista-* older *busta-* 'known' "[59]. BAILEY's reading is followed by SKJÆRVØ, who does not translate this pāda. BAILEY's translation, which does not make much sense from a doctrinal viewpoint, has to be changed on account of the reading *maista*, although in

51 See MAGGI 2007, pp. 209, 213–214 and 221 (vv. 75 and 95).
52 Supplement by LEUMANN 1912, p. 80.
53 Ed. CONZE 1974, p. 29.
54 *Dict.* 241 s.v., DEGENER 1989, p. 9 s.v. and EMMERICK 1993, p. 60.
55 See *SWTF* 2.513 s.v. *dveṣa-dharma-* with bibliography.
56 See *BHSD* 276 s.v. [2]*dharma* 4.
57 Ed. INAGAKI 1987, p. 231.
58 See MAGGI 2003a, p. 90.
59 *Dict.* 305 s.v. *baista*.

another passage the copyist actually wrote *maista* as a lectio facilior for **bausta* 'he realised' (v. 192).[60] Unfortunately, the reading *na hajvattā byeha ṣai' maista* can only be translated 'he does *not* obtain the great knowledge', which is nonsense because this is just the opposite of what one would expect in the context. The way out of the difficulty is the minor emendation of *na* 'not' to **u* 'and', which only differs from *na* by a short leftward flourish. Another occurrence of *na* instead of *u* is found in 159b *karma *u vavā artha* 'the meaning of action *(karman)* and fruition *(vipāka)*'.[61]

146d: *ñavuna* is the same word as *Sudh* A 42 *ñavune* = C 90 *ñavyane* = P 16 *ñavau'nai*[62]. BAILEY translated this as 'certainly' and explained the form as containing LKh. [*]*ñava-* < OKh. *nätata-/nägata-* (*Bhaiṣ*, *Sgh*, *Suv*, Z) from Skt. *niyata-* 'held, firm, sure' (cf. Gāndhārī *nigata-*) and the LKh. 2 sg. enclitic pronoun *-e* < OKh. *te*, but was unable to account for the *-n-*.[63] Although the adjective is not to be found in ALMUTH DEGENER's work on Khotanese suffixes, it is clear that LKh. *ñavuna-* derives from *nätata-* with the addition of the denominal suffix *-ūna-*, which forms adjectives from other adjectives without change of meaning.[64] The adjective *ñavuna* (Skt. *niyata*) 'determined' refers to "the true bodhisattva ... who will certainly attain Enlightenment and whose way to *bodhi* is fixed as to the duration and nature of his rebirths".[65] The adjective also occurs in 147d where it is misspelled *ñavyana*. The similarly mistaken spelling *Sudh* C *ñavyane*, which corresponds to A *ñavune* and P *ñavau'nai* and occurs in the same manuscript that contains *Vim* C, confirms, if necessary at all, that *Vim* 147d *ñavyana* has to be emended to **ñavuna*.

147c: An identical pāda occurs in *Mañj* 2 (v. 2b) *ahamye aje naṣau'da*.[66]

147d: For the emendation of ms. *ñavyana* to **ñavuna* see on 146d *ñavuna*.

148bc: For these pādas, that literally mean 'whom it should please to serve all the dear Buddhas of the three times', I follow DEGENER's interpretation 'der allen lieben Buddhas der drei Zeiten dienen möchte'.[67] To translate *parśa' ysūṣka* as 'acceptable service' as given by BAILEY seems unlikely in principle since he himself provides three Late Khotanese examples of *ysūṣka-* as 'dear' referring to persons.[68]

60 See MAGGI 2007, pp. 213 and 221 (v. 93).
61 See MAGGI 2003a, p. 92 (v. 60).
62 *Sudh* A = P 2957.3–161 *KBT* 31–39; *Sudh* C = Ch. 00266.44–223 *KBT* 21–30; *Sudh* P = P 2025.80–267 *KBT* 13–20.
63 BAILEY 1966, pp. 521–522.
64 Cf. DEGENER 1989, p. 169, esp. §28.B9.3.
65 LAMOTTE 1958, p. 693 with bibliography.
66 See EMMERICK 1997, p. 82.
67 DEGENER 1989, p. 292 s.v. [*]*parśä*.
68 *Dict.* 354 s.v. *ysūṣ-*.

148d: BAILEY's translations 'suitable to the celestial worships' and 'suited to the celestial honours'[69] are superseded because *jastuñau pajsamyau* is an instr.-abl. expressing the means and *uera* is more likely to be an adverb than an attribute of the infinitive *parśa'*.

149ab: *ttye samāhāña akhauṣṭa avārautta aysmva śtāka* 'a mind unsupported in unmoved concentration (is) necessary for him' may be compared with *Vajr* 20a2–3 *KT* 3.24 *baudhisatva avārauttä aysmū śtaka* 'an unsupported mind is necessary for a Bodhisattva', Skt. *bodhisattvena ... apratiṣṭhitaṃ cittam utpādayitavyaṃ*.[70]

150d: For **kṣamīda* instead of ms. *kṣamadī*, with the *ī*-diacritic misplaced on the subsequent syllable, cf. 148 *kṣamīde*.

150d: In *sīyā dīrye*, the infinitive **sīye* to *sāj-*, *sīya-* 'to learn' is attached to the ambiguous conjunction *ā* and *dīrye*, not translated by SKJÆRVØ, is the expected LKh. infinitive to *ḍṛjs-* 'to hold', whose ppp. is spelled *ḍṛta-*, *drita-*, *däräta-*, *dreita-*, *draita-* (infinitive *Z* 20.18 *ḍṛte*) in Old Khotanese and *dīrya-*, *dirya-* in Late Khotanese.[71] LKh. *ā* is usually a spelling for OKh. *o*, *au* 'or', but a translation 'learn *or* retain' is to be excluded because retaining a sūtra is not an alternative to learning it. Another possibility is to regard this *ā* as a Late Khotanese spelling for OKh. *u* 'and'. The practically identical spelling *ą̄* attached to the preceding word is found in *Si* §26.21 (147v4) *karä tcimañāṃ *ttīña*[72] *biṃdä saṃkhalyą̄ñą̄ tciṃña hą̄ ni paśą̄ñä* '(the lotion) must be smeared *(pramṛjyād)* on the outer skin *(bahiḥ)* around the eyes *(locanaṃ)*, and it must not be allowed to go into the eye' (EMMERICK's translation), where the context rules out the meaning 'or'.[73] Accordingly, *sīyā dīrye* means 'learn and retain'. This interpretation, which does not require any change of the text, is to be preferred to a theoretically possible emendation **sīyi* (for ms. *sīyā*) *dīrye* 'learn (and) retain'.

151c: BAILEY's "K 108.290 *ṣai' dā vamasāma vamaśta* 'he realizes the realization of the *dharma*-doctrine'"[74] does not exist as such, as it is an erroneous conflation of 160d *ṣai' dā vamasāma* 'that (is) devotion to the Doctrine' (l. 304)[75] and 151c *vamaśta* (l. 290).

152a: For the emendation **cu* for ms. *vu* with interchange of the similar letters *c-* and *v-* cf. *Vim* C 366 *vaivaittre* instead of **vaicaittre* 'various' and, with *c-* in-

69 *Dict.* 36 s.v. *uaira-* and 200 s.v. *pajsama-*.
70 Ed. CONZE 1974, p. 35.
71 *SGS* 47.
72 **ttīña* by emendation for ms. *ttiña* (EMMERICK).
73 The passage is quoted in *Dict.* 35 s.v. *u* as an example of "*-āṃ* from *-ā u*" with the transliteration *saṃkhalyą̄ñāṃ*. See also *Dict.* 127–128 s.v. *ttīña*.
74 *Dict.* 375 s.v. *vamas-*.
75 Cf. MAGGI 2003a, p. 92 (v. 61d).

stead of *v-*, 101b *duṣai'currdai* instead of **duṣai'vurrdai* 'hard to overcome'[76] and 130b *haspāsva* instead of **haspisca*[77]. For the emendation **pvāde* 3rd pl. subj. act. to *pyūṣ-* 'to hear' for ms. *pvārye*, suggested by SKJÆRVØ's translation 'Whoever may hear(?)', cf. LKh. *Suv* 3.10, 11, 81 (P 62r3, 62r4, 71v3) *pvāṃde*, *MPPS* 40v3 *KBT* 61, *Suv* 3.74, 3.93 (P 70v4, 73v1) *pvāṃdi*, all without the expected subscript hook. BAILEY's interpretation of this passage with "*tta-vu<ṃ>* 'so to them'" and the hapax "*pvārye* 'drawn out'" ("*tta-vu pvārye rraṣṭa ttu vasva ba'ysā dā byehīda* 'so to them he prophesied right; they attain that pure Buddhas' *dharma*-doctrine'") is superseded.[78]

152c: An identical pāda is in *Mañj* 173 (v. 153c).

152d: Since the preposition *vina* governs the genitive-dative or instrumental-ablative, and *āvaraṇa* can hardly be a gen.-dat. sg. here, where a plural is expected, or a gen.-dat. or instr.-abl. pl. unless one emends it to **āvaraṇ(y)ā*, I take *vaina-āvaraṇa* as the nom.-acc. pl. of a compound adjective *vaina-āvaraṇa-* 'free from hindrances (lit. without-hindrances)' with a preposition as the first member. Compounds of this type are e.g. the clear OKh. nom. sg. f. *väna-klaiśa* 'free from afflictions' in *VkN* 1.10.5 *balysūśtu kye väna-klaiśa näṣaunda* 'Buddhahood, which (is) without *kleśa*s, at peace'[79] and the LKh. nom.-acc. pl. *hatsa-āspava* 'provided with a refuge' in *Vim* 105b *pajsa-ge' satva ttu bāḍa hatsa-āspava haimāre* 'The beings in the five destinies gain refuge at that time'[80].

153d: I prefer to see in *nairv<ā>ṇa parrī* two coordinated nouns rather than a modifying noun followed by its regent noun as BAILEY ('nirvāṇa deliverance') and SKJÆRVØ ('the release of ... nirvana').[81]

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Abbreviations of Khotanese texts are in line with those suggested in *Guide*. Paragraph numbers of *Si* according to EMMERICK 1982.

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76 Cf. MAGGI 2004, p. 134 (v. 2b).
77 Cf. MAGGI 2003b, p. 251 (v. 31b).
78 See *Dict.* 257 s.v. *pvārye*.
79 See SKJÆRVØ 1986, p. 235. The passage is quoted in *Dict.* 386 s.v. *vina*.
80 Cf. MAGGI 2004, p. 135 (v. 6ab).
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Einige uigurische Wörter indischen und iranischen Ursprungs

DIETER MAUE, Coelbe-Schwarzenborn

Vorbemerkungen

In die Vielfalt von Völkern und Staaten entlang den Seidenstraßen, ihre Sprachen und Religionen, Schriften und Artefakte, deren Abfolge und wechselseitige Beeinflussungen Licht zu bringen, ist Aufgabe der Zentralasienforschung, die sich jedoch – anders als etwa Ägyptologie und Altorientalistik – nicht als selbständiges Fach etablieren konnte. Die Aufgaben sind auf verschiedene Disziplinen verteilt. Gemeinsame Fragestellungen und Forschungen, die der Komplexität der Verhältnisse gerecht werden, sind eher selten.

Zu den interdisziplinär besser beackerten linguistischen Feldern gehört die Lehn- und Fremdwortforschung, weil Lehn- und Fremdwörtern in der Entzifferung und Erschließung zentralasiatischer Texte und Sprachen seit Beginn eine besondere Bedeutung zukam. Hier reihen sich die „Indian elements in Parthian and Sogdian"[1] ein, worüber NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS referiert hat, als wir uns 1981 auf der Hamburger Tagung „Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien" kennenlernten. Es ist also nicht zufällig, daß mein Geburtstagsgruß zu diesem Themenkreis gehört. If it should happen, that I trespass too far into foreign territory and betray my ignorance, then I must beg for indulgence.[2]

1. †*abizan*

Das ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, das seit ARAT 1932 (S. 426, Z. 131) als *abı/izan* geführt wird, war von Anfang an eine interpretatorische und etymologische Crux. ARAT verzichtet auf eine Übersetzung, fragt sich aber in der Anmerkung zur Stelle (*o.c.*, S. 438), ob etwa iranischer Ursprung anzunehmen sei, und verweist auf npers. آبزن, das von STEINGASS beschrieben wird als „a particular kind of bathing-vessel made of copper or iron, the full length of the human body, filled with warm water medicinally prepared, in which the patient sits or lies down".[3] Die Etymologie wird

1 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1983.
2 Sehr frei nach SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981, S. 347.
3 STEINGASS 1892, S. 8a.

von CLAUSON[4] vorbehaltlos übernommen, die Semantik für die genannte Stelle etwas zurechtgerückt; *abızan kılmıš k(ä)rgäk* übersetzt er durch „you must give him a medicated bath". Hiernach, wenngleich mit einem gewissen Zweifel, RÖHRBORN: „man soll ein Heilbad bereiten(?)".[5] Als „Heilbad(?)" begegnet *abizan* auch bei ZIEME in einer Liste uigurischer Wörter, „die neupersischen Ursprungs sein können, vielleicht aber auch auf mittelpersische Vorläufer zurückgehen".[6]

Den entscheidenden Fortschritt bringt R. E. EMMERICKS Identifizierung[7] des fragmentarischen Texts[8] als uigurische Wiedergabe von Si 6.28–37. Der Zusammenhang, hier Si 6.30, verdeutlicht, daß nicht von der Zubereitung eines Heilbads die Rede ist, sondern von der Anwendung eines Klistiers. Das im Skt.-Text vorliegende *vasti-* „Klistier" scheidet als Etymon des uig. Wortes aus. Eine andere Bezeichnung ist *anuvāsana-*, womit üblicherweise speziell das ölige Klistier benannt wird.[9] Sie ist ins TochB gekommen in der Form *anuwasāṃ*.[10] Dieser sehr ähnlich ist, was, wie die Abb. 1 zeigt, in unserer uig. Handschrift an Stelle des bisherigen *abi/ızan* gelesen werden kann: <'nw vz 'n>, in Transkription *anuv(a)zan*.

Die Unterschiede liegen 1. im Sibilanten (uig. ‚z' vs. tochB ‚s') und 2. in der diesem vorausgehenden Vokalisierung (uig. ‚Ø' vs. tochB ‚a'). Nach der herrschenden Lehre, die dem Tocharischen stimmhafte Konsonanten abspricht, kann das Wort nicht aus dem Tocharischen ins Uigurische gekommen sein, worauf auch die Nichtschreibung des Binnenvokals hinzudeuten scheint. Als Gebersprache bietet sich vielmehr das Sogdische an. Es spricht nichts dagegen, daß das dort bisher unbelegte Wort dieselbe Schreibung[11] aufwies wie im Uigurischen, deren nächstliegende mögliche *interpretatio Sogdica* /anuß(a)zān/ ist. Die Quantitätensequenz *(a)–ā*[12] entspricht der im TochB, steht aber im Kontrast zu *ā–a* der mutmaßlichen prakritischen Quelle *anuvāzana-. Sie ist am ehesten als akzentbedingte tochB Entwicklung verstehbar.[13] Trifft das zu, ist das TochB die Quelle für sogd.

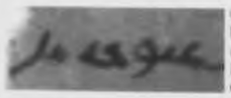

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Abb. 1: <'nwvz'n>

4 CLAUSON 1972, S. 17a.
5 *UigWb*, S. 37a.
6 ZIEME 2005, S. 286.
7 EMMERICK 1980, Introd., S. 13.
8 Jetzt U 561 *verso*, zugänglich im *Digitalen Turfan-Archiv* (DTA) der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
9 Vgl. z. B. JOLLY 1901, §24.
10 Vgl. ADAMS 1999, S. 13, mit falscher Bedeutungsangabe „washing, bath", die auf einem Mißverständnis von FILLIOZATS (1948, S. 107) *lavement* beruht, das neben intendiertem „Klistier" auch „Waschung" bedeutet.
11 Alternativ im Anlaut mit doppeltem Aleph. Ausführlicher s. u. Nr. 6.
12 Sie ist im Uig. auf die sogd.-uig. Schrift beschränkt und imitiert die sogd. Graphie, wie die Brāhmī-Schreibung <a nu va zaṃ> in MAUE [im Druck], Text 3, r 3, lehrt. (Darin steht das <v> in Anlehnung an das Skt. Dubletten mit <v>/<w> [entsprechend in sogd.-uig. Schrift <w>/<v>] sind bei Lehnwörtern indischen Ursprungs nicht selten.)
13 Zur Sache vgl. ISEBAERT 1980, §§25ff.

*/anuv(a)zān/. Daraus würde folgen, daß das ‚s' im Tocharischen stimmhaft realisiert wurde. Denn die Sogder, für die /s/ und /z/ phonologisch relevant sind, würden wohl kaum [s] durch [z] substituieren. Damit entfiele zwar der Hauptgrund gegen eine Entlehnung des uig. Wortes direkt aus dem TochB,[14] die synkopierende Schreibung rät aber doch zum Sogdischen als Quelle. Der Entlehnungsweg ist also vermutlich folgender:

pkt. *anuvāzana- → tochB anuwasāṃ [anuvazān?] → sogd. *'(')nwvz'n /ānuβ(a)zān/ → uig. 'nwvz'n /anuv(a)zan/.

2. *gawmušti*

Die bisher bekannten zwei Belege aus den uigurischen Bearbeitungen des *Siddhasāra*[15] und *Yogaśataka*[16] hatten wohl einen Zusammenhang mit „Harn, Urin" erbracht, aber keinen befriedigenden Bedeutungsansatz. Nun ist ein dritter Beleg hinzugekommen. Er steht – zwar nicht vollständig erhalten, aber doch sicher rekonstruierbar – auf einem Kleinstfragment, das in meiner Edition der uig. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* unbestimmt geblieben ist.[17] Zwischenzeitlich konnte auch ihm sein Platz zugewiesen werden. Ausgangspunkt für die Lokalisierung war auf Seite A (jetzt: *recto*) die Zeile a: *[…] közi gawmu[š]t[i …]* „sein Auge, [sein] gawmušt[i]". Die unmittelbare Folge von „Auge" und einem Wort, das in den semantischen Bereich von Harn gehört, habe ich in dem umfangreichen medizinischen Werk nur an einer Stelle finden können, in DAS/EMMERICK 1998, I 11, 9 *(°-netra-mūtra-°)*. Dort heißt es, daß überschießender Chylus *(rasa-)* neben anderen Krankheiten Rötung von Haut, Augen (skt. *netra-*, uig. *köz*) und Urin (skt. *mūtra-*, uig. *gawmušti*) hervorruft. Im Uig. dürfte das paraphrasiert worden sein durch „[seine Haut], sein(e) Auge(n), [sein] Urin [werden rot]".[18] Das Fazit aus unserer Stelle: *gawmušti* bedeutet „Urin". Die einfach

14 Als zusätzliches Argument könnte jemand die phraseologische Übereinstimmung zwischen tochB *a. yām-* und uig. *a. kıl-* beides (wörtl.) „ein Klistier machen" bemühen wollen. Aber eine Periphrase aus Substantiv und dem Allerweltsverb „machen" ist als Beweis ungeeignet. Sie ist elementar und oft – so wie in diesem speziellen Fall – die einzige, zumindest aber die bequemste Möglichkeit, Verben zu übersetzen, für die es in den Zielsprachen keine Äquivalente gibt.
15 ARAT 1932, Text 3, Z. 2 (S. 418).
16 MAUE 1996, **22** Nr. 10, S. 117f.
17 MAUE [im Druck], Text 5B (U 6821). Die Photos können im Internet aufgerufen werden im *Digitalen Turfan-Archiv* (DTA) der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
18 Die Zuordnung wird völlig gesichert dadurch, daß auch die übrigen Wörter des Fragments im kalkulierten Abstand im Skt.-Text auftreten: Einziges erhaltenes Wort in *recto*, Zeile b ist *boguzta* „am Hals". Die im Sanskrit-Text folgende Strophe spricht von überstarkem Fleisch „am Hals usw." (skt. *kaṇṭha=ādiṣu*). Auf der Rückseite lesen wir in der einen Zeile *čog* „Glanz" und in der nächsten Zeile *[… sǰöŋöki kog[š]a[k …]* „seine

erscheinende Lösung war zuvor unter anderem auch dadurch blockiert, daß neben dem indigenen **sidük*[19] „Urin" ein weiteres Lexem gleicher Bedeutung nicht zu erwarten war. Es scheint aber, daß das Erbwort für tierischen Urin gebraucht wurde: *tävä sü'düki* „Kamelharn"[20], *ud siki* „Rinderharn"[21], *äčkü siki* „Ziegenharn"[22], *kočoŋar siki* „Widderharn"[23]. Zumindest gibt es keine Gegeninstanz.

An den beiden anderen Belegstellen[24] ist nun zu prüfen, ob der neue Bedeutungsansatz sich bewährt:

- *gawmušti tarumı[š ...]* im Sinne von „[bei] Beengung des Harn(flusse)s" ist als Wiedergabe von skt. *mūtra-kṛcchre* „bei Dysurie, Harnzwang" (wörtl. „Harnbeschwerden") nicht zu beanstanden.
- Auch *gawmušti ünmäsär* „wenn der Harn nicht herauskommt" ist nichts anderes als eine Umschreibung von skt. *mūtra-kṛcchra-*, dem Typus nach vergleichbar mit gleichbedeutendem khot. *cu bīysma na nirāme.*[25] Das Problem ist, daß in diesem Punkt das Uigurische von dem Sanskrit-Text abweicht.[26] Der ungeklärte sachliche Hintergrund veranlaßt allerdings nicht, an der Bedeutung „Harn" zu zweifeln.

Was die Herkunft des fremden *gawmušti* angeht, war und ist es verlockend, an ein Kompositum mit Vorderglied gaw-, etwa sogd. /gāw/ „Rind, Kuh, Ochse", zu denken. Das Sogdische hat nichts Vergleichbares, dagegen das Mpers., dessen *gō-mez* „bull's urine"[27] sowohl das vermutete Vorderglied enthält als auch ungefähr die erwartete Semantik trifft. Die auf Grund der Wortbildung verständliche, aber vom Standpunkt des Uig. aus störende Einengung auf den Rinderurin ist in dem npers. گمیز „Urin"[28] und dem abgeleiteten Verbum گمیزیدن „urinieren"[29] – bei letzterem auch schon im mpers. *gōmēz-* „urinate"[30] – zugunsten der allgemeinen Bedeutung verloren.[31] Dieselbe Bedeutungserweiterung wäre auch für die Quellsprache des uig. Fremdwortes zu fordern. Nun ist uig. °*mušti* selbstverständlich nicht Kontinuante von °*mēz* o. dgl. Vielmehr muß, wenn die bisherigen Überlegungen nicht völlig abwegig sind, eine dentalanlautende Ableitung von der Schwundstufe der iran. Wurzel *miz (< *miǧh)* „urinieren" vorliegen,[32] mit Labialisierung des Vokals **-mi-* zu *-mu-*. Einen genaueren und belegbaren Vorschlag kann ich nicht machen.

Glieder [werden] schlaff"; beides findet sich in der Beschreibung der Symptome schwindender Galle (DAS/EMMERICK 1998, I 11, 16): Verlust der Farbe (wörtl. des Glanzes, skt. *prabhā*, uig. *čog*) und am Ende der Aufzählung *ślatha-saṃdhi-tā* „der Zustand (skt. *-tā*), in dem die Gelenke (skt. *saṃdhi-*, uig. *söŋök*) schlaff (skt. *ślatha-*, uig. *kogšak*) sind".

19 Tatsächlich belegt einmal *südük* und viermal *sik*, das vermutlich aus *siʸik (< *siyük < *sidük) kontrahiert ist.

20 ARAT 1930, Z. 54.

21 ARAT 1930, Z. 102 mit Komm. (S. 468).

22 ARAT 1932, Text 1, Z. 95 und 105 (S. 410).

23 ARAT 1932, Text 1, Z. 106 (S. 410).

24 Sie sind in MAUE 1996, S. 118, ausführlich besprochen, so daß ich mich hier auf das Wesentliche beschränken kann.

25 KT I, S. 20, Z. 3, entspricht in Si 2.19 *(mūtra)kṛcchra-*.

26 Dort ist die Rede von durch Harnruhr hervorgerufenen Pusteln (skt. *piṭaka-*). Den früheren Versuch (MAUE 1996, S. 118), den uig. Text durch den Bedeutungsansatz *gawmušti* „Harnleitergeschwulst" damit in Einklang zu bringen, und alle dazu angestellten Überlegungen betrachte ich als erledigt.

27 MACKENZIE 1971, S. 37; als *gao-maēza-* bereits im Avestischen belegt.

28 STEINGASS 1892, S. 1097b.

29 STEINGASS 1892, S. 1097b. HORN (1893, S. 226, unter Nr. 1006) merkt an: „*gimīz* (d.i. *gumēz*) der Wörterbücher, auch ... *gimīzīden* ‚harnen' (...) sind sämmtlich unbelegt".

30 MACKENZIE 1971, S. 37.

31 Im Npers. ist auch aus der Lautgestalt nicht mehr der Zusammenhang mit گاو ablesbar.

32 Zu denken wäre an ein PPP auf *-ta-* oder ein Verbalabstraktum auf *-ti-* als Grundlage.

33 Das *w* wird als u-Vokal interpretiert, zuletzt GHARIB 1995, Nr. 5531. Der einzige Brāhmī-Beleg im Uig. dagegen weist *-o-* auf.

34 MÜLLER 1922, S. 15, T III, M. 84–67, Z. 4.

35 In „Sogdian Tales", in: BSOAS XI (1943–1946), S. 468, Anm. 4.

36 YOSHIDA 2008, S. 472.

37 Im Glossar, S. 93, „Schmuckkette (?)". *Ibid.* ist unbekannte Herkunft des Wortes angezeigt. Daraus geht hervor, daß der Verfasserin MÜLLERS und HENNINGS Einlassungen nicht präsent waren.

38 Siehe MAUE [im Druck], Text 2, v 5 mit Komm. Eine andere, vielleicht vom Verfasser der *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* intendierte Interpretation als Dvandva-Kompositum „Perlen(schmuck) und (Blüten)girlanden" zieht der uig. Bearbeiter nicht in Betracht.

39 ZIEME 1995, S. 243f.

40 GENG/KLIMKEIT 1985, S.104, und ZIEME 1995, S. 243, verbauen sich den Zugang zum Verständnis, indem sie *suv(a)rnasutr morvandı monču̇k osuglug* auf den unmittelbar folgenden König Śaṅkha (statt auf Ketumatī) beziehen und dann gewissermaßen folgerichtig „der wie eine Perle (Hend.) einer Goldkette ist" übersetzen.

3. *morvand*

Als Bedeutung von uig. *morvand* und seinem sogdischen Etymon *mwrβnt*[33] war seit MÜLLER[34] und HENNING[35] die Bedeutung „Perle" weitgehend akzeptiert. Für das Sogdische hat jüngst YOSHIDA mit überzeugenden Gründen stattdessen „necklace" angenommen und, was naheliegt, in dem zweiten Teil des Wortes *(-βnt)* die Kontinuante von **banda* „Band, Fessel" gesehen.[36] Für das Uigurische war bereits ANNEMARIE VON GABAIN zu einer ähnlichen Vermutung gekommen. In Text I, Z. 17 (VON GABAIN 1954), hat sie *yinčülüg morvandlar* mit „Perlen-Ketten (?)"[37] übersetzt. Das ist nun vollauf bestätigt worden durch die seit kurzem bekannte Sanskrit-Parallele *muktā-sraj-* „Perlen-Kette".[38] In einer einschlägigen Untersuchung stimmt ZIEME zu, allerdings nur für diese Stelle. Im übrigen favorisiert er die Bedeutung „Perle".[39] Hierfür soll GENG/KLIMKEIT 1985, fol. 9a, Z. 8–14 stehen, eine Passage mit etwas verzwickter Struktur, die bisher nicht völlig durchschaut worden ist. Es wird wohl genügen, durch Gliederung des Texts und Übersetzung zu zeigen, daß auch dort die „Perle" nicht gemeint sein kann.[40]

(A') *suryakant ārdinitā āksük k(ā)rgāk* (B') *suv(a)rnasutr morvandi*[41] *monču̇k osuglug*
(A) *šanke č(a)kr(a)v(a)rt elig xanta āksük k(ā)rgāk* (B) *ārdinilig ketumati kānt uluš*
(C) *čogsuz yalansaz bolmiš*

"(C) Glanzlos$_2$ ist (B) die aus Juwelen bestehende Stadt$_2$ Ketumatī, (A) wenn ihr der Cakravartin-Herrscher$_2$ Śaṅkha fehlt$_2$, (B') so wie die Suvarṇasūtra-Kette$_2$ (glanzlos ist), (A') wenn ihr das Sūryakānta-Juwel fehlt$_2$."

4. *gasni*

Zu den spärlichen Belegen dieses Wortes[42] kann aus dem unveröffentlichten Fragment U 5212a A 1[43] nun noch <ha sṇi> hinzugefügt werden, das die spirantische Aussprache des Gutturals beleuchtet, wie die andere Brāhmī-Schreibung <g$_1$a sñi>[44] dessen Stimmhaftigkeit[45]. Hiernach ist eine Lautung [γasni][46] anzunehmen, nach den sogd.-uig. Schreibungen dagegen [γ(ɨ/a)sni, γɨsni], vorausgesetzt die beiden Formen sind tatsächlich Varianten desselben Wortes. ZIEMES (1999, S. 324) glücklicher Fund, قسنی *yasnī*,[47] führt von der früher für das Uig. vorgeschlagenen Bedeutung „Ferula asafoetida"[48] weg zu einer anderen Ferula-Art, der Ferula galbaniflua und dem daraus gewonnenen Galbanum. Aus diesem sachlichen Grund ist die Verknüpfung mit Ġazna aufzugeben, die nach einer an sich brillianten Kombination LAUFERS[49] auf Ferula asafoetida zugeschnitten war.[50] Sie war allerdings auch deswegen fragwürdig geworden, weil keiner der Belege den zu erwartenden stimmhaften Sibilanten bezeugte. Stattdessen scheint mir sogd. <γsn> mit Nom. sg. <γsny> /γasni/[51] eine gute etymologische Option zu sein. Die wörtliche Bedeutung „stinkend" ist als Benennungsmotiv einleuchtend, wenn auch dem Galbanum ein weitaus weniger unangenehmer Duft zugesprochen wird als dem Stinkasant der Ferula asafoetida. Neben der sogd. Graphie in ARAT 1932 findet sich schwankende Vokalisierung γa/ɪsni, wie das bei Lehnwörtern aus dem Sogd. üblich ist, vgl. uig. *ča/ɪxšapa/ut* , sogd. *čxš'pδ* usw. Unklar bleibt vorderhand, welche Rolle das Galbanum in der Medizin Zentralasiens spielte. Die indische Medizin jedenfalls kennt es nicht, wohl aber die westliche antik-arabische Tradition.

Gegen die vorgeschlagene Lösung gibt es einige mögliche Vorbehalte. Da ist zunächst das bei dem Kāšγarī überlieferte Wort *xasni*. Als erster hat es ARAT zur Erklärung von damals noch singulärem <qsny> herangezogen.[52] Es soll nach dem kaschgarischen Lexikographen ein indisches Mittel zur Kräftigung von Babies bezeichnen. Wegen der völlig abweichenden Bedeutung gehört das Wort nicht hierher. Ein anderes Lexem hat ZIEME[53] beigetragen, čagat. *kasni*, nach BOROVKOV im Arab. قنّة *qinna* „Galbanum" und im Pers. بارزد *bārzad*, auch dieses „Galbanum".[54] Ob sich dessen anlautender stimmloser Verschlußlaut mit der von uns angenommenen stimmhaften Spirans in Einklang bringen läßt, kann ich nicht beurteilen. Schwierig gestaltet sich wegen des Anlauts auch das Verhältnis zu man.-sogd. <xnsk>,[55] wenn die von GHERSHEVITCH vermutete Bedeutung „galbanum(?)" zutreffen sollte, es sei denn <γsny> wäre eine volksetymologisch entstandene Nebenform.

5. *imde* und Verwandtes

Die unter der Bezeichnung *triphalā-, phalatraya-* „Früchtetrias" zusammengefaßten Früchte und ihre Trägerpflanzen sind die schon im *Ṛgveda* belegte Terminalia belerica *(vibhīdaka-)*,[56] die Terminalia chebula *(harītaka-)* und die Emblica officinalis *(āmalaka-)*. Durch die heilkundliche Praxis wurde dieser Zusammenhang vermutlich gestiftet, wenigstens aber gefestigt. Er hat, worauf bereits TURNER hinweist,[57] wechselseitige Beeinflussungen der Bezeichnungen hervorgerufen schon auf indischem Boden und vor Einsetzen der schriftlichen

41 Das auslautende *-i* ist unerklärt.
42 ARAT 1932, S. 430, Z. 218 <qsny>; MAUE 1996, **47** B -3 <g$_1$a sñi>; ZIEME 1999, Text 1, Z. 2 (S. 323) <q̈ysn̈y>.
43 Digitales Photo im *Digitalen Turfan-Archiv* (DTA) der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
44 MAUE 1996, **47** B -3.
45 Dies ist die einzige eindeutige Schreibung, die das Merkmal „stimmhaft" beglaubigt.
46 [-i] beruht auf den Annahmen, daß das Wort entlehnt ist, daß der Auslautvokal aus der Gebersprache stammt und (noch) nicht lautharmonisch verändert ist.
47 STEINGASS 1892, S. 970b; bei A'LAM 2001 ist das Wort mit abweichender Vokalisierung als *qāsnī* angeführt. Es stamme aus dem Azeri und sei bis in die neuere Zeit auf dem Drogenmarkt und in der Literatur in Gebrauch gewesen.
48 MAUE 1996, S. 188, Anm. 11.
49 LAUFER 1915, S. 274 mit Anm. 4, und erneut 1919, S. 361. Letztgenannte Stelle ist in MAUE 1996, S. 188, Anm. 11, referiert und bei ZIEME 1999, S. 325, ausführlich zitiert, so daß ein erneutes Eingehen darauf sich erübrigt.
50 Zu vorsichtig formuliert ZIEME (1999, S. 325), daß „die Herleitung aus dem Namen Ghazna damit in Frage gestellt wird." – Zur Ehrenrettung LAUFERS sei angemerkt, daß gegen ZIEME wenn schon nicht *kasnī*, so doch wenigstens *kisnī* und *gisnī* als „Ferula asafoetida" bei STEINGASS 1892, S. 1030a, resp. 1090a, verzeichnet sind.
51 GHARIB 1995, Nr. 4282, Variante <γns> Nr. 4138. Verwandtes bei BAILEY 1979, S. 79a, MACKENZIE 1971, S. 35, HORN 1893, Nr. 934, im größeren Rahmen *KeWAi*, I, S. 322 und *EWAi*, I, S. 461.
52 ARAT 1932, S. 438 *ad* 3_{218}.
53 ZIEME 1999, S. 324.
54 A'LAM 2001, S. 257, anders STEINGASS 1892, S. 142, und BOROVKOV *apud* ZIEME *l.c.*, beide „Benzoe-Harz".
55 In der Berliner Handschrift M 568 v 6. N. SIMS-WILLIAMS verdanke ich die Kenntnis der Handschrift und einer Umschrift von GERSHEVITCH mit zum Teil auf HENNING zurückgehenden Deutungsversuchen. Das Original der Umschrift befindet sich beim Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge.
56 Die Nüsse dienten als Würfel (s. *VedInd*, II, S. 303) beim Spiel, dem die alten Inder leidenschaftlich ergeben waren. Bekannt ist die desaströse Rolle des Würfelspiels in der Auseinandersetzung zwischen den Kauravas und Pāṇḍavas (Mahābh., 2. Buch), auch Nalas und Damayantīs Abenteuer haben ihren Ursprung in einem verlorenen Spiel.
57 TURNER 1966, Nr. 11817 und 13997.

Überlieferung[58] aber auch in den Sprachen, in die die indischen Bezeichnungen entlehnt wurden.[59] Es ist ferner sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Drogen und die zugehörigen Namen als Ensemble verbreitet wurden und die Bezeichnungen im Falle der Entlehnung aus derselben Gebersprache stammen (Ensemble-Hypothese).[60] In der folgenden Tabelle stelle ich das bisher eher zufällig zusammengekommene, nicht systematisch gesammelte Belegmaterial vor.[61] Hinzugefügt sind *-Formen, deren Existenz als Grundlage des tatsächlich Überlieferten vorausgesetzt wird.

Tabelle 1: Die Myrobalanen und ihre Bezeichnungen

Sache / Sprache	Terminalia chebula	Terminalia belerica	Emblica officinalis
Sanskrit	harītakī-, °a-[62]	vibhīd/taka-	āmalaka-, °ī
Prakrit	harīṭaka-, hariḍaya- usw. *harīraga-, *harīlaga-	vibhītaka, bihelaga-, bahēḍaa- usw. *virīḍaga-[63], *virīraga-	āmalaka-, āmalaya-
Chinesisch	訶黎勒 hēlílè, EMC xa lɛj lək, LMC xa liaj ləɔ̄k	毗梨勒 pílílè, EMC bji li lək, LMC pɦji li ləɔ̄k	庵摩勒 ānmólè EMC ʾəm/ʾam ma lək, LMC ʾam mua ləɔ̄k
Tocharisch B	arirāk	*virirāk	amalāk
Sogdisch	*ārirak > ārirē[64]	*virirak > *virirē[65]	ām(a)δak[66], *amδak[67] > *-ē
Uigurisch	arïre[68]	virire[69]	ımde, ımıde, ımıdı[70]
Mongolisch I			imidi[71]
Mongolisch II	arura, arur-a[72], arur[73]	barura, barur-a[74] barur[75]	doloγan[76]
Tibetisch	arura	barura[77]	skyurura
Khotansakisch	halīraa-	vīhīlaa-	āṃmalaa-
Mittelpersisch	halīlag[78]	*balīlag	*amīlag
Neupersisch I	halīla	balīl[79]	amīla
Neupersisch II	harrā[80]	bahēra[81]	āmula, amula[82]

58 Es ist teilweise unmöglich, die ursprünglichen Formen mit Sicherheit zu ermitteln. So wird vermutet, daß *-ī-* und *-ka-* in *harītaka-* aus *vibhīdaka-* übertragen sind und das *-t-* in dem als sekundär betrachteten *vibhītaka-* unter dem Einfluß von *harītaka-* entstanden ist. Ferner ist wahrscheinlich, daß das verschiedentlich seit dem Mind. begegnende *-a-* in der ersten Silbe der Terminalia belerica unter dem Einfluß der anderen beiden Myrobalanen zustande gekommen ist. Im Falle von *āmalaka-* ist vermutlich primäres *amalā-* nur noch als spätvedischer Einzelbeleg faßbar, vgl. *EWAi*, I, S. 96.

59 Zu einem verhältnismäßig klaren Fall s. Anm. 83.

60 Mongolisch II und Neupersisch II geben zu erkennen, daß der Vorgang der Ensemble-Entlehnung sich im Laufe der (Handels-)Geschichte wiederholen kann.

61 Vielleicht fühlt sich jemand zu einer eingehenderen Untersuchung angeregt, die neben linguistischen auch interessante medizin- und handelsgeschichtliche Ergebnisse zu bringen verspricht.

Nach dem Augenschein lassen sich folgende Überlieferungsgruppen zusammenfassen:

- Gruppe A, bestehend aus Tocharisch, Sogdisch, Uigurisch und Mongolisch I, ausgezeichnet durch gutturallosen Anlaut der T. chebula und /vi-/ im Anlaut der T. belerica;
- Gruppe B mit Tibetisch und Mongolisch II, gekennzeichnet besonders durch das mittlere *-u-*[83];

62 Die masc. und, soweit vorhanden, fem. Formen der Myrobalanen bezeichnen tendenziell die Pflanze, das Neutrum die Frucht.

63 Mit *-r-* nach der Terminalia chebula.

64 Belegt in Brāhmī in der Schreibung <ā ri re>, das auch ārīrē (dann aus *ārīrak) darstellen kann, so bei MAUE/SIMS-WILLIAMS 1991, S. 493.

65 Oder *virīrak > *virīrē.

66 GHARIB 1995, Nr. 162.

67 Zur Begründung s. weiter unten im Text.

68 Das Lemma *arire* in *UigWb*, S. 195, ist mangelhaft. Es gibt nur einen br.-sogd. Beleg, nicht deren zwei. TochB *arirāk* wäre problemlos nachzuweisen gewesen, z. B. in FILLIOZAT 1948, S. 107. Warum wird ā ri ri-γ in VON GABAIN 1954, Text G, 36 angezweifelt (vgl. die Skt.-Vorlage, *CPS*, Vorgang 5.1)? Unklar bleibt die dem tochB *arirāk* zugewiesene „Zwischenstufe". Unverständlich ist „skr. *harītakī*, bzw. *haritaki* (sic)". Im übrigen ist es, auch wenn die Wahrheit allen gehört, noch üblich, die Quelle der nicht selbst gewonnenen Erkenntnisse anzugeben, was in diesem Lemma und auch sonst bis zur 5. Lfg. des *UigWb* in Bezug auf die als „unpubliziert" gekennzeichneten Brāhmī-Belege unterbleibt, obwohl dem Verfasser des *UigWb* MAUE 1981 und die Vorarbeiten dazu bestens bekannt waren, wie er selbst in ZDMG 152 (2002), S. 202, zu erkennen gibt.

69 Statt bisherigem †*vinini*, s. weiter unten.

70 Belege und Begründung der Transliteration s. weiter unten.

71 Weiteres Material bei KARA 2000, S. 94.

72 KOVALEVSKIJ 1844–1849, S. 149b.

73 HANGIN 1986, S. 32b.

74 KOVALEVSKIJ 1844–1849, S. 1108b.

75 HANGIN 1986, S. 56b.

76 SÁRKÖZI/SZERB 1995, Nr. 5799 (S. 394). Die Bedeutung ist „Weißdorn" und somit ist *doloγan* ein einheimisches Substitut für die Importdroge Emblica.

77 TCW, S. 1803b, nennt als Synonym *bahala*, das andere Wörterbücher nicht verzeichnen.

78 Nach MACKENZIE 1971, S. 39, in der Schreibung <hlylk'>.

79 Erwartet, aber nicht bei STEINGASS 1892 angeführt: *balīla*; neben *balīl* genannt in YULE/BURNELL 1903, S. 608.

80 Jüngere Entlehnung aus dem Neuindischen, vgl. z. B. hindī *harrā*.

81 Jüngere Entlehnung aus dem Neuindischen, vgl. z. B. hindī *baherā*.

82 Wahrscheinlich jüngere Entlehnungen aus dem Neuindischen, vgl. hindī *āmlā*.

83 Aus *skyurura* „Emblica officinalis", bei dessen Benennung sachlich richtig skt. *amla-* „sauer", tib. *skyurba* assoziiert wurde, haben die beiden anderen Myrobalanen das mittlere *-(r)u-* bezogen, während diese umgekehrt möglicherweise das finale *ra* zu *skyurura* beigesteuert haben, falls *skyuru* die ursprünglichere Form gewesen ist. Daß die kürzere Form auch im Sinne von Emblica officinalis verwendet wird, zeigt *Yog*(Schm.), Str. 80. Im übrigen nähren TED 27a und TCW 148b gewisse Zweifel an der Äquivalenz von *skyuru* und *skyurura*; TSD 147a und DTMM 15 kennen nur *skyurura*. Die Frage, unter welcher Bezeichnung Terminalia chebula und Terminalia belerica zunächst in Tibet

– Gruppe C mit Mittelpersisch und Neupersisch I[84] mit dem vorherrschenden *-l-*.

Das Khotansakische steht mit seiner konservativen Lautung von *vīhīlaa-* < **vihilaga-* für sich, konservativ insofern als *-(b)h-* nicht wie in den anderen Überlieferungszweigen durch Liquida (*-r-* bzw. *-l-*) verdrängt ist.

Die genauere Zugehörigkeit der chinesischen Bezeichnungen ist nicht klar ersichtlich. Der erste *-i-*Vokal in *pílílè* spricht für Gruppe A, die anlautende Spirans in *hēlílè* für Gruppe C. Im weiteren wird nur noch die Gruppe A betrachtet.

Den systematischen interlingualen Zusammenhang der Bezeichnungen der beiden Terminaliae hat schon früh der ungemein belesene LAUFER erkannt und gewissermaßen aus der Proportion tib. arura : chin. hēlílè : toch.B arirāk = tib. barura : chin. pílílè : toch.B X die Gleichung X = **virirāk* aufgestellt.[85] SCHAFER hat nach diesem Muster für die Emblica officinalis toch.B **amalāk* vorausgesagt,[86] ohne zu wissen, daß exakt diese Form längst belegt ist.[87] Für uig. <''ryry> – die beiden Brāhmī-Belege waren noch nicht bekannt – setzte BAILEY[88] eine entsprechende (spät-)sogdische Vorlage voraus, die durch den Brāhmī-Beleg <ārire> tatsächlich bestätigt wurde, während die von ihm angenommene und mit tochB *arirāk* verglichene Vorgängerform auf *-'k* noch immer unbezeugt ist. Dem rekonstruierten **virirāk* des Toch.B sollte im Sogd. *βyryr'k und spätsogdisches *βyryry entsprechen, die beide bisher nicht nachweisbar sind. Daraus entlehntes uig. *vyryry schien bisher auch zu fehlen. In Wirklichkeit verbirgt es sich aber hinter verlesenem †vynyny in ARAT 1932, Text 4, Z. 13 und 19 (S. 430).[89] Im Falle der Emblica schließlich ist sogd. <'(')mδ'k> /ǎmδak/[90] das, was man erwarten durfte. Aufgrund des bisher Ausgeführten würde für das Uig. die spätsogd. Form */ǎmδē/ zu prognostizieren sein. Das seit 1932 von ARAT

bekannt geworden sind, läßt sich nicht recht beantworten. Den Zielformen am nächsten kämen *arira und *barira. Für ersteres findet sich Vergleichbares im Neuindischen (vgl. TURNER 1966, no. 13997), nicht jedoch für letzteres.

84 Neupersisch II findet, wie in den entsprechenden Fußnoten angedeutet, Anschluß an die hier nicht erfaßte neuindische Überlieferung.

85 LAUFER 1915, S. 275–276.

86 SCHAFER 1963, S. 312, Anm. 55.

87 Siehe FILLIOZAT 1948, S. 106.

88 BAILEY 1954a, S. 134f.; 1954b, S. 7, Anm. 5.

89 In Z. 13 ist *virire* flankiert von den beiden anderen Myrobalanen. Dieselbe Sequenz zugleich mit unzweifelhafter r-Schreibung <vyryry> bietet Mz 212 a 3. Die Kenntnis dieses Belegs verdanke ich einer Umschrift O. F. SERTKAYAS, die er mir in den 80er Jahren überlassen hat und die zur gemeinsamen Veröffentlichung vorgesehen war. Inzwischen ist dieses und ein weiteres Fragment „transkribiert und bearbeitet und als Vortrag beim IV Kongreß für Geschichte der Medizin am 20. Sept. 1996 gehalten worden, jedoch noch nicht veröffentlicht" (SERTKAYA 1999, S. 134). Es ist mir nicht bekannt, ob und in welcher Form darin auch <vyryry> behandelt wurde.

90 GHARIB 1995, no. 162 transkribiert *ām(a)ōak*.

belegte *imiti*[91], später noch durch einen Brāhmī-Beleg unterstützt,[92] erfüllt die Erwartungen nur unvollkommen, ist aber doch dem sogd. Wort zu nahe, als daß nicht ein Zusammenhang zu vermuten wäre. Dem Sogdischen ähnlicher sind zwei Brāhmī-Belege, der eine in VON GABAIN 1954, Text I, Z. 13[93], wo *[i]mde* statt bisherigem *[]mdaṃ* zu lesen ist, der andere in MAUE 1996, **47** A1 mit *imde* statt *imta*. Sie präsentieren den erwarteten Auslaut *-e*. Durch markierte Schreibung <d_1> an der erstgenannten Stelle wird die auch im Sogd. vorliegende Stimmhaftigkeit des Dentals[94] erwiesen, die in den beiden zuerst bekannt gewordenen Belegen unmarkiert ist. Weiter wissen wir nun, daß das mittlere <*-i-*> in den dreisilbigen uig. Formen sekundär ist, und vermuten daher, daß die sogd. Form ebenfalls zweisilbig war.

Drei Details sind noch zu klären, zum einen das Verhältnis der uig. Formen zueinander (a), zum anderen die Differenz zwischen den anlautenden Vokalen im Sogd. und Uig. (b). Schließlich ist der Entlehnungsweg zu bestimmen (c). Das letzte zuerst.

Ad (c): Wegen Sogd. -δ- (< -l-) vs. Toch. -l- scheidet eine Entlehnung aus dem Sogd. ins Tocharische aus. Wenn beide nicht unabhängig aus einer gemeinsamen Quelle geschöpft haben, bleibt nur der umgekehrte Weg. Und den sollten dann auch gemäß der Ensemble-Hypothese die Bezeichnungen der anderen Myrobalanen genommen haben.[95]

Ad (b): Angenommen, die Emblica officinalis sei unter der Bezeichnung toch.B *amalāk* zu den Sogdern gekommen. Für die Umsetzung des Anlauts gab es zwei Möglichkeiten: entweder Schreibung mit <'> mit Erhaltung der Kurzvokaligkeit, aber Realisierung durch [ɨ], also Verlust der Vokalfarbe oder <''> mit Aussprache [ā][96], wodurch der *a*-Vokal erhalten blieb, nicht aber die Quantität.[97] Die letztgenannte Schreibweise ist belegt. Aber nur die andere Schreibweise <'mδ'k>, später *<'mδy> mit Aussprache [ɨmδē] kann zu der brāhmī-uig. Transcodierung <imd_1e>, <imd^he> führen. Demnach müssen im Sogd. beide Schreib- und Aussprachеweisen nebeneinander bestanden haben. Da uig. <i> bzw. <'y> den sogd. Laut [ɨ] darstellen, sollte konsequentermaßen im Uigurischen *ımde* (nicht *imde*) transkribiert werden.[98]

91 ARAT 1932, Text 1, Z. 22 (S. 404); Text 4, Z. 14 (S. 430). Daß <*-t-*> auch [d] repräsentieren könnte, stand damals noch nicht zur Debatte.

92 MAUE 1996, **2** Nr. 2, ebenfalls mit <t>.

93 Der ganze Text ist zusammen mit neuentdeckten Fragmenten neu ediert in MAUE [im Druck].

94 Ob im Uig. auch Spirantizität, ist umstritten, vgl. MAUE 1983.

95 Vgl. oben unter Nr. 1 zum Entlehnungsweg von *anuvāsana-*.

96 So auch in <''ryr'k>.

97 Nach SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981, S. 356ff.

98 Für kaum diskutabel halte ich die alternative Annahme, daß das anlautende *i-* einer inneruigurischen Hybridisierung von **amde* zu *imde* unter dem Einfluß von *virire* zuzuschreiben ist.

Ad (a): Es besteht aus uig. Sicht keine artikulatorische Erfordernis, die Konsonantenverbindung -md- aufzulösen.[99] Darum dürfte der Übergang von der zwei- zur dreisilbigen Form im Uig. auf Angleichung an die dreisilbigen Bezeichnungen der beiden anderen Myrobalanen beruhen. Der Ausgang <-i>, der durch die Brāhmī-Schreibung <i mi ti>[100] beglaubigt ist, ist wohl das Ergebnis der Beseitigung des untürkischen Lautmusters [i - i - e].[101] Der erste Schritt mag die verdumpfte Aussprache des *-e* in hintervokalischem Milieu gewesen sein, die eine Annäherung an [i] mit sich brachte und schließlich die Verdrängung von <-e> durch <-i>. Eine entsprechende Erklärung kommt auch für <ā ri ri-g$_1$>[102] *arirıg* (Akk.) neben älterem *arire* in Frage.[103]

6. †*guntik*

In ARAT 1932 kommt im Text 4, Z. 26, 29 und 33, das Wort *guntik*[104] in fester Verbindung mit *kıl-* vor. ARAT übersetzt „Pillen machen" und bemerkt in der Anmerkung zu Z. 26: „Es [das Wort *guntik*, DM] ist wohl mit dem Skr. *guḍikā* oder *guṭikā*[105] identisch." Er fährt fort mit der berechtigten, aber nicht beantwortbaren Frage: „Woher kommt aber *-n-*?" Liest man stattdessen *gurtık*, löst sich das Problem auf. In einer skt.-sogd. Bilingue in Brāhmī, bs 1 r 1,[106] folgt der skt. Phrase *guṭikāṃ prakuryāt*[107] „man soll eine Pille herstellen" die Übersetzung *yurtak [kn]e*. Im Sogd. wird – möglicherweise nur in gelehrten Entlehnungen – das indische retroflexe *ṭ* näherungsweise durch <rt> dargestellt, wie auch aus <kwrty> *kurti* zu skt. *koṭi/ī-* „zehn Millionen" usw. bekannt. Dieses Merkmal sowie g → γ erweisen das uig. Wort als Entlehnung aus dem Sogdischen. P. ZIEME verdanke ich die folgenden weiteren Belegstellen: ZIEME/KARA 1978, Z. 895 <qwrdyq> und dreimal <qwrtyk> in U 3088, r 1 und 3, wo <r> unverwechselbar ist. Die Schreibung mit <q> im Auslaut trägt dem hintervokalischen Charakter des Wortes Rechnung.

99 Zu sehr oft belegtem lautstrukturell vergleichbarem *amtı* verzeichnet das *UigWb*, S. 125ff., keinen Fall mit Anaptyxe.
100 MAUE 1996, 2 Nr. 1.
101 Genuin-türkisch ist vordervokalisches *e* in der Regel auf die ersten Silben beschränkt; in nicht ersten Silben kommt es nur assimilatorisch vor.
102 VON GABAIN 1954, Text G, Z. 36.
103 Die Phase des Übergangs spiegelt sich in den zahllosen regellos wechselnden *-i* und *-e*-Schreibungen der Brāhmī-Interlinearglossen in der *Dešastvustik*-Handschrift, s. RADLOFF/VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN 1910, S. 123ff., YAKUP 2006, S. 29ff., ähnlich in der Hami-Handschrift der *Daśapathakarmāvadānamālā*, vgl. LAUT 1996 und GENG/LAUT/WILKENS 2005.
104 *yuntik* in ARATS Schreibweise.
105 Lies *guṭikā*.
106 Digitales Photo im *Digitalen Turfan-Archiv* (DTA) der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
107 Die Handschrift hat: pr kṛ ryā-ṛ.

7. *marım*

Das uig. Wort ist letztlich indischer Herkunft. Hätte es eines Beweises bedurft, so wäre er mit MAUE [im Druck] Text 3 r 5 geliefert, wo im Mūla-Text an entsprechender Stelle skt. *marman-* steht. Aber weniger die Etymologie als vielmehr die Semantik ist den Interpreten schwer geworden. Bei einem Begriff, der in der Lehre vom Körper[108] zu Hause ist, wird es nicht verkehrt sein, von dem medizinischen Sprachgebrauch auszugehen. Unter *marman*-s werden Körperbereiche verstanden, deren Schädigung zumindest ernste Folgen, unter Umständen sofortigen oder dilatierten Tod nach sich zieht.[109] Ihre Zahl wird mit 107 angegeben, ihre Identität variiert etwas bei den verschiedenen Autoritäten.[110] Trotz ihrer großen Zahl bilden sie jedoch eine Einheit, insofern sie Sitz des Odems (skt. *prāṇa-*) sind.[111] Abgesehen von dem anfangs erwähnten stammen alle anderen uig. Belege zwar aus nicht-medizinischen Texten; die besterhaltenen stehen aber in Schilderungen des drohenden Todes, die, auf genauen Beobachtungen beruhend, sich mit den aus der medizinischen Literatur bekannten Vorzeichen des Todes berühren.[112]

> (I) *äŋ ašnu ät'özintäki indriları kačıgları bašıntın ölüp barır. kün t(ä)ŋri yarokı köziŋä kapkara közünür. karakı agtarılur, yürüŋ karakı örü yoklayur, yüz yüzägüsintä mar(ı)mlarınta barča ölüm yadılıp anta-ok ög ıčginur …*[113] „zu allererst sterben allmählich seine im Körper befindlichen indriya-s, seine Sinnesorgane, vom Kopf her ab. Das Sonnenlicht erscheint seinen Augen tiefschwarz. Seine Augäpfel verdrehen sich, das Weiße seiner Augen dreht sich nach oben,

108 Auf die mögliche Herkunft aus der Kampf- und Kriegskunst macht ROŞU 1981 aufmerksam.
109 Naheliegend haben bereits die Inder eine Verbindung zur Wurzel *mṛ-* „sterben" hergestellt, die auch in der modernen etymologischen Forschung erwogen wird, vgl. *KeWAi*, II, S. 596. ROŞU 1981, S. 417, zitiert Ḍalhaṇa mit *mārayanti = iti marmāṇy ucyante* „da sie töten *(mārayanti)*, heißen die *marman*-s so", ähnlich Vasubandhu (*AbhiKBh*, S. 156, 24–157, 1) *śarīra-pradeśāḥ kecid upahanyamānā maraṇam ānayanti. te hy etad ucyante marmāṇi = iti* „etliche Körperregionen führen, wenn verletzt, den Tod *(maraṇa-)* herbei. Darum nennt man sie ‚marman-'".
110 Eine anschauliche „topographie āyurvédique des *marman*" bei ROŞU 1981, S. 424f.
111 DAS/EMMERICK 1998, II 4, 39c–d *prāṇa=āyatana-sāmānyād aikyaṃ vā marmaṇāṃ matam.*
112 Vgl. JOLLY 1901, § 21. – Der Zusammenhang ist nicht stringent. Die Symptomatik des eintretenden Todes ist für den (āyurvedischen) Arzt insofern bedeutungslos, als er in dieser Phase nicht mehr therapeutisch eingreifen kann. Für ihn relevant sind vielmehr Vorboten des Todes, die zeigen, daß eine Behandlung zwecklos und daher zu unterlassen ist.
113 LAUT 1984, Z. 49ff. – Nach dem Zusammenhang soll die Schilderung auf das Sterben eines Menschen zutreffen, der gegen das Verbot des Tötens verstoßen hat. Tatsächlich aber handelt es sich um eine allgemeine Beschreibung, die notdürftig für den aktuellen Kontext zurechtgemacht wurde.

indem sich der Tod völlig über sein Äußeres (und) seine marman-s[114] ausbreitet, schwindet alsbald das Bewußtsein ..."[115]

(II) *toŋa yaŋa täg küčlüg ärsär ymä, anta-ok tolp marımları ät'öz[lär]*[116]*i barča kogšayur, kögüzintä yüräki sočınur*[117]*, bütün ät'özintin tär agıp ünär, kün t(ä)ŋri y(a)rokı kapk(a)ra közünür ... tili tamgakı kurıyur, kırtšı sar(ı)garur, kanı katıp barır*[118] „selbst wenn es (das mit dem Tod ringende Lebewesen[119]) kräftig wie ein kapitaler(?)[120] Elephant ist, wird alsbald die Gesamtheit seiner marman-s und sein Körper völlig schwach, schlägt sein Herz in seiner Brust unregelmäßig, kommt aus seinem gesamten Körper Schweiß heraus, erscheint (ihm) das Sonnenlicht tiefschwarz ... Seine Zunge und sein Gaumen werden trocken, seine Farbe wird gelb, sein Blut wird allmählich fest."

(III) */ ... suv]suz bolmıška kogšap barıp yertä kamıltı. tilin salınturup köpüki yarı agızıntın üzüksüz akar ärdi. birär birär tına, tolp marımları barča tägsilip küčsiräp bar[ıp] äŋ mintin yummıš közin [ača] umadın. isig özin-li t[ını]n-lı titip tdalap ...* „indem sie durch Wassermangel allmählich schwach wurde, fiel sie zur Erde. Indem sie ihre Zunge heraushängen ließ, floß ihr beständig Schaum und Speichel aus ihrem Mund. Indem sie (nur noch) gelegentlich atmete, und all ihre marman-s allmählich vollständig Veränderung (skt. *vikṛti-*) erlitten und schwach wurden, und sie, ohne daß sie auch nur die geschlossenen Augen öffnen konnte, ihr Leben und ihren Odem verlor$_2$ ..."

Was ist natürlicher als in diesen Passagen die Teile des Körpers erwähnt zu finden, an deren Integrität das Leben hängt? Es gibt keinen Grund, dort für *marım* eine von „lebenswichtige Körperteile; (kollektiv:) Sitz des Lebens" abweichende Bedeutung anzunehmen. Zwanglos reihen sich an:

(IV) *tolp*[121] *marımları kogšap, toŋa küči kävilip ... öz koddı öldi*[122] „indem alle seine marman-s schwach wurden und seine Heldenkraft nachließ, gab er das Leben auf und starb".

114 LAUTS Kommentar zur Stelle (1984, S. 130) leidet unter dem Präjudiz, daß *marımlar* „antithetisch" zu *yüz yüzägü* „äußere Organe" stehe und so dem *ič ičägü* „semantisch sehr nahestehend" sei. Zum einen ist eine gemeinsame aufzählende Nennung nicht *per se* antithetisch. Zum andern ist dem Begriff des *marman-* die Beschränkung auf „innen" fremd; gehört doch der Kopf zu den *marman*-s ebensogut wie das Herz.

115 Das weitere in der Übersetzung LAUTS (1984, S. 128): „Er zerfetzt sein eigenes [Fleisch] (mit den Fingernägeln?), knirscht mit seinen Zähnen und blickt starr [?, mißtrauisch, DM] auf seine Verwandten. Wenn er es unternimmt zu sprechen, so kann er es nicht. Er wird äußerst schwach und bewegt ... seinen Mund."

116 Meines Erachtens Verschleppung des Pluralsuffixes aus *marımları*, wo es berechtigt ist. Es gibt keinen Hinweis darauf, daß von einer Mehrzahl von Geschöpfen die Rede ist.

117 Vgl. *OTWF*, S. 483f. (zu -o-) und 614 (zur Semantik).

118 MÜLLER 1908, S. 37, Z. 1–6, 11–13.

119 *ölümči tınl(ı)g* in Z. 7 desselben Texts.

120 Wörtl.: heldenhafter. Vielleicht ist aber mit P. ZIEME (briefl.) *toŋa yaŋa* ein Binom „Held$_2$"; vgl. auch in Text IV *toŋa küči* „Heldenkraft".

121 Ed. (s. die folg. Anm.) Z. 425 versehentlich: *tüp*. In der Übersetzung richtig.

122 GENG/LAUT/WILKENS 2005, Z. 425–427.

(V) *kop marım kogšayu ämirkäšü,*
kolı budı titräyü bäzä
tolp ät'özintä barča kan öŋlüg täriläri sačrayu ünüp
turmıš yerintä bilinčsiz bolup[123]
„indem alle marman-s schwach werden[124] und jucken, indem Arme und Beine zittern$_2$, indem am ganzen Körper vollständig blutfarbene Haut(flecken?) herauskommen$_2$, indem er auf der Stelle, wo er sich befindet, bewußtlos wird".

Das folgende Exzerpt aus dem *Buyan ävirmäk* des *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* ist etwas weniger glatt:

(VI) *marımımtın čın köŋülüm üzä yükünürm(ä)n.*[125]

Auffällig ist der Singular *marımımtın* ohne vorausgehenden Quantifikator. Ich nehme kollektiven Singular an und paraphrasiere: „aus dem, was mein Leben konstituiert"; mit anderen Worten, aber ähnlich im Inhalt würden wir sagen „aus tiefster Seele, von ganzem Herzen".[126] Die gesamte Passage: „von meinem ganzen Herzen verneige ich mich mit meiner wahrhaftigen Gesinnung (vor den zuvor genannten Bodhisattva-s)".

Auf die Belege in zerstörtem Kontext kann verzichtet werden. Erwähnenswert ist noch die Junktur *öz konuk marımlar*[127], in der die Wiedergabe von *marımlar* „Sitz der Seele, des Lebens" dem Lehnwort vorangestellt ist.[128]

Es ist plausibel, wenn auch nicht sicher,[129] daß eine der tocharischen Sprachen, TochA mit **marm* oder TochB mit **märm,*[130] direkte Quelle des Uigurischen ist. Ist das so, gibt es nun einen Grund mehr, die Semantik der tocharischen Wörter einer Überprüfung zu unterziehen. Denn weder von der gebenden Seite (Indisch) noch von der nehmenden (Uigurisch) ist „Ader, Nerv" zu rechtfertigen, schon gar nicht aus den Kontexten, wo sich unter Zugrundelegung dieser Bedeutung eher Unverständliches oder Kurioses ergibt. Doch das wäre Stoff für eine weitere Untersuchung.

123 SHŌGAITO 2003, S. 316, Z. 24–25.

124 *UigWb*, S. 376b, „sich häuten(?)" ist ein Mißgriff.

125 *SuvUig*, 679, 12.

126 LAUT 1984, S. 130f., reduziert *marımımtın* auf adverbielles „ganz" mit Bezug auf *čın*, wie aus seiner Übersetzung „ich verneige mich mit ganz aufrichtiger Gesinnung" hervorzugehen scheint. Mit dem bloßen Hinweis, daß „unser Wort [*marım*, DM] in übertragener Bedeutung" vorliege, ist das nicht begründbar.

127 MÜLLER 1922, S. 83, Z. 1–2 *[to]lp öz kon[uk] m[arı]m[ları]mın*; ZIEME 1985, Text 12, Anm. zu Z. 60 mit zwei Belegen: *öz konuk marımlarınta [...]*, das ZIEME durch „in den Gliedern des Aufenthalts der Seele (?)" wiedergibt und *[...]ku öz konuk marımlar[...]*. Vermutlich ist zu *[al]ku* zu ergänzen.

128 Anders als ZIEME (s. vorausg. Anm.) beziehe ich die possessiven Pronominalsuffixe auf die Subjekte, die „Eigner" der marman-s, und nicht auf *öz konuk*.

129 Denn, wie weiter oben an einigen Fällen gezeigt wurde, hängt der heilkundliche Wortschatz der Uiguren stark vom Sogdischen ab. Da nun aber das Wort im Sogdischen bisher nicht belegt ist und das uig. Wort keine formale Besonderheit hat, die auf das Sogd. hinweist, muß die Sache auf sich beruhen.

130 In beiden Sprachen sind aus verständlichen Gründen nur Pluralformen belegt und die Zitierformen im Nom.Sg. erschlossen.

8. *hüirsne*

Unentdeckt hat sich in der Zeile 8 des astronomischen Texts L in VON GABAIN 1954[131] eine sonst nicht belegte sogd. Entlehnung erhalten. Dort steht <hyui-ɾ sṇe>, das nach den Usancen der uig. Brāhmī als *hüirsne* zu transkribieren ist. In sogd. Schrift umgesetzt ist das <xwyrsny>. Genau diese Schreibung findet sich bei GHARIB 1995, Nr. 10848[132], wo als Lautung des „Sonnenaufgang, Osten" bedeutenden Wortes *xoyr-/xuwər-sanē* angegeben ist. Das deckt sich nicht ganz mit dem uig. Befund. Nun verbirgt sich nach einer älteren Vermutung von SIMS-WILLIAMS[133] hinter der Schreibung <wy> „in heavy stems such as ... *xwyr* ‚sun' ... a diphthong [oi], but it is equally likely to be a long rounded front vowel such as [ō]". Brāhmī-Schreibungen wie <hyue-ɾ> „essen/trinken lassen" veranlaßten eine Modifikation: „A diphthong such as [üe] or [üē] would perhaps best fit the Brāhmī spellings".[134] Mit *hüirsne* ist nun ein unabhängiges Beweismittel für diese Annahme zur Hand. Außerdem legt die uig. Schreibung gegen GHARIB zweisilbige Aussprache nahe.

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131 Photo in MAUE 1996, Tafel 93; Digitales Photo im *Digitalen Turfan-Archiv* (DTA) der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

132 Mit Verweis auf Schreibvarianten.

133 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1984, S. 206f.

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The Buddhist Sogdian P 7 and its Chinese Source

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It is with great pleasure that we dedicate to Nicholas Sims-Williams the continuation of our joint work on Buddhist Sogdian texts in relation to Chinese sources.[1] The Buddhist Sogdian text P 7 belongs, like the other Sogdian texts in the Bibliothèque nationale, to the Pelliot collection and is from Cave 17 in Dunhuang. It was published for the first and only time by Benveniste in facsimile and edition in 1940.[2] P 7 is a roll of 3,64 m by 0,25 m containing 233 lines. The first 201 lines contain a text that relates how the dhāraṇī *Amoghapāśahṛdayasūtra* received the approval of the Buddha and details its efficacy. The supposed Sanskrit text of the dhāraṇī (called *ôrzy'wr* and *ôry'zwr* = Skt. *hṛdaya-* "heart" at various points within the text) is given in the ms after the Sogdian text and continues for more than 30 lines until the scroll was torn off.

On the relationship of the Sogdian text to the supposed Chinese source, Benveniste writes (1940b, p. 93):

> Le texte paraît traduit sur la version chinoise de Bodhiruci, rédigée en 693 ap. J.-C. (Taishō 1095). C'est du moins avec cette redaction qu'il montre le plus de ressemblances; mais en maint endroit il s'en écarte ou l'abrège fortement. L'original n'aide pas toujours à surmonter les difficultés de la présente recension.

Benveniste 1940b, pp. 210–215, makes detailed reference to the Chinese text in translation at various points. D. A. Utz accordingly lists the text under those

1 We have dealt with aspects of the "Sutra of the causes and effects" in Sogdian and Chinese in "Some remarks on the Chinese and Sogdian 'Sutra of the Causes and Effects'", in: D. Weber (ed.): *Languages of Iran: Past and Present. Iranian Studies in memoriam David Neil MacKenzie*, Wiesbaden 2005 (Iranica 8), pp. 109–127, and have been able to confirm that the Sogdian *Vessantarajātaka* is independent of the known Chinese versions "On the literary form of the Vessantara-jātaka in Sogdian" to appear in the volume *Vorträge zum Colloquium "Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit" zu Ehren des 70. Geburtstages von Prof. Dr. Werner Sundermann, Berlin, 30.–31. März 2006*. Some of the present work was referred to in an overview "Buddhist Sogdian texts and their Chinese originals" given by D. Durkin-Meisterernst on the 18th of May 2007 at the gathering "100 Years Dunhuang" in London. We would like to express our gratitude to Yutaka Yoshida who suggested we look at P 7, to Jens Wilkens for a discussing many points with us, to Nicholas Sims-Williams for making his transliteration of the Sogdian text available in TITUS and to CBETA for the Chinese text.

2 E. Benveniste: *Codices Sogdiani*, Copenhague 1940 (Monumenta Linguarum Asiae maioris III) [= Benveniste 1940a] and E. Benveniste: *Textes Sogdiens édités, traduits et commentés*, Paris 1940 (Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale II) [= Benveniste 1940b].

Buddhist texts with a known Chinese original and gives the detailed reference to the Chinese text as T. 1095, vol. 20, 406a–407b6, but adds no further information.[3] BENVENISTE's observations seem to show that, whether the specific Chinese source has survived or not, it is undeniable that there is a difficult relationship between the Sogdian and the Chinese texts.

The Sogdian text is identified in the first two slightly damaged lines as:

> *rty ywn'k pwstk ZK ''ry'βrw[kδyšβr pwtystβ] # mx'stβ ''m'kp'š δry'zwr ZK ['yw prw'rt]* (1–2)
> "And this book (is): The Amoghapāśa-heart of Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Ārya-avalokiteśvara (Aβarokiδēšvar). [One scroll]."

Given the use of one scroll only to write the text, the restoration is quite certain.

The setting is the traditional one of sutras, beginning with *KZNH ZY my ptywšty* "Thus have I heard" and describing how the Buddha resided on mount Potalaka *('wy pwtr'ky γry')* together with *''ry'βrwkδyšβr* (Arya-Aβarokiδešβar = Avalokiteśvara[4]) and an enormous number of monks. Avalokiteśvara addresses the Buddha, telling him that he has with him a text *''m'kp'š n'm δry'zwr* "a/the heart named amak(a)pāš (= Amoghapāśa-)" which he received from the Buddha *rwk'yntr r't(!)* (= lokendrarāja-). Avalokiteśvara gives details about the efficacy of the text, identified as a *t'rny* (= *dhāraṇī-*) and a *mntr* (= *mantra-*) but also as Sogdian *ptsrwm* "charm", and obtains the Buddha's approval for it. At the Buddha's request, Avalokiteśvara recites the dhāraṇī.

The most obvious difference between the Sogdian and Chinese versions is that the various things listed in the text are numbered in the Chinese version but are not formally structured in this way in the Sogdian version, though the Sogdian version states that 20 advantages accrue to the user of the text (and mentions ten at about the half-way stage) and subsequently adds 8 more. The first element in each Sogdian list is marked with *prtmw* and *'prtmw* respectively but no further numbering is given and, in fact, the exact number of units is hard to determine in the Sogdian version which seems to be short in both sections. The Chinese version numbers each item. Both versions may therefore 1, go back to a common one without the explicit numbering (i.e. the Chinese version added this element subsequently) or 2, the Sogdian version has abandoned the formal structure of its source or 3, the Sogdian version reproduces a Chinese version that had already abandoned the formal structure. Alternatives two and three are more likely. There is also a further possibility 4, that the Sogdian version is not a translation of any Chinese version but a translation or loose adaptation of

3 D. A. UTZ: *A survey of Buddhist Sogdian studies*. Tokyo 1978, p. 9 (nr. 7).

4 With *r* for *l*, *k* for *k* but *δ* for *t*. Given Gāndhārī *tasaghada* for Sanskrit *tathāgata* (showing *gh* for older g and *d* for older *t*) the spellings indicates a Middle Indian or even specifically Gāndhārī form of the name, though *δ* rather than *d* for *t* is unexpected. As BENVENISTE 1940b, p. 213, points out, *'wβ's'k* in l. 127 (against *'wp's'k* in l. 71) also shows an unexpected *β* for *p* (Skt. *upāsaka-*). He comments that it "indique une forme plus récente ou une prononciation populaire".

a version in another language. The Sogdian version seems to contain no Chinese word. The word *s'm'r* "meditation" which occurs in the text three times on ll. 30, 31 and 124 – and of all the texts in BENVENISTE 1940b only in this one – and seems to have a Chinese final *r*, does not in itself prove the dependence of the text on a specific Chinese text (the Sogdian occurrences are without correspondences in the extant Chinese text). The occurrence of an Indian loanword *'psm'r* in l. 62 does not prove a direct Indian original for the Sogdian version. The form of the transcription of the dhāraṇī gives no indication whether an Indian script or a version in a Chinese syllabary was its base because though the expected one-syllable units occur (those based on Indian akṣaras should be more complex than those based on a Chinese syllabary), many units of two or more syllables are also found there. Nevertheless, a Chinese original remains very likely, despite the differences between the Sogdian version and the closest Chinese one.

The Paris collection of Sogdian texts includes further dhāraṇīs besides the one partly preserved in P 7. P 18 and part of P 8 contain Sogdian transcriptions of Sanskrit dhāraṇīs, and the *Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī* is also a transcription of a Sanskrit text (in addition, P 15 contains two half-lines of Sanskrit in Brāhmī and P 16 contains part of a Sanskrit text in Devanāgarī). Characteristic of these formulae are repeated syllables (e.g. P 7, l. 210: *k'r' k'r' kyry kyry kwrw kwrw*) that do not contain recognizable Sanskrit or Sogdian text and which seem to merit the designation "magical formulae". BENVENISTE 1940a, p. xii, accordingly says "une série de mantras et invocations sanskrits en transcription" but does not attempt to translate them in 1940b, pp. 103–104. Dhāraṇīs are well attested in the Buddhist literature of Central Asia and elsewhere.

Differences between the Sogdian and Chinese texts

The Sogdian translation follows the Chinese in general and in many instances. On quite a number of occasions it departs from the attested Chinese version, possibly to follow a different Chinese version to that available now or perhaps adapting freely from a number of versions including memorized or orally transmitted variants. Selected words and passages of the Sogdian version are discussed below in the sequence of the text, pointing out the point of interest and the correspondence or lack of it in the Chinese.

ll. 20–21:

''ry'βrwkδyšβr Arya-Aβarokiδešβar (Avalokiteśvara) gets up in the assembly and prepares to address the Buddha:

> *rty ZKw h*[5] *# nywδn mrxy w'sty*
> "And he straightened his robe."

5 *h* is a line-filler at the end of line, indicated here and below by #.

The Chinese text has:

從座而起偏袒右肩。(T406b03)
cóng zuò ér qǐ piān tǎn yòu jiān
From seat and get up one-side bare/strip right shoulder
"He got up from the seat and bared his right shoulder."

The element of preparation is common to both texts but its expression differs. The baring of the shoulder in the Chinese version is a mark of respect, and one not restricted to Buddhist contexts alone, which also involved moving his robe into the correct position, the straightening referred to in the Sogdian.

l. 26:

βyr'wkt'yn

This is the name of the place where Avalokiteśvara obtained the dhāraṇī from the Buddha *rwk'yntr r't(!)* (lokendrarāja-). At first glance, the Chinese 勝觀 (T406b05) shèng guan does not coincide with the Sogdian, but the second character is used as part of the Chinese version of the name Avalokiteśvara. A. HIRAKAWA gives *vipaśyana* and *vipaśyin* as the Sanskrit equivalents of the two characters together.[6] With the Sanskrit verbal root *lok* instead of the semantically similar *paś* the Sogdian offers the prefix *vi-*, though *avalokaya-* (or a derivative) or *avalokita-* would be the most attractive reading, suggesting a connection to the "hero" of the story. Sanskrit *vilokin* "looking at" is in fact attested. This does not entirely fit the final part *t'yn* which remains unclear, as is the reason for the intrusion of the term into what should be a place name, but there is a clear connection between the Sogdian and Chinese forms.

ll. 36–38:

'ky 'PZY ZK # ywn'k mn' xypō ōry'zwr 'skwty rty 'kw pw ptšm'r # pwt'yšt 'PZY 'kw rx'nt s'r xw txmy pr'knty βwt
"Whoever has this my heart (= the dhāraṇī), to/for the numberless Buddhas and to/for the Arhants this seed is planted."

The use of *'kw* and *'kw ... s'r* in the Sogdian is incomprehensible, as it suggests a dative object. The Chinese is different:

。。。佛所種諸善根 (b14)
... Fó suǒ zhǒng zhū shàn gēn
... Buddha REL plant PL good root
"... the Buddhas, which(ever) good roots they plant."

Here the Buddhas are the subject. The generalised object is introduced by 所 which can also be used to mark a passive sentence. This multifunctionality may have led the Sogdian translator astray.

6 A. HIRAKAWA: *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary*. Tokyo 1997, p. 209.

ll. 39–50:

nyw'nt w'tō'r ''zwnty ZK ywn'k t'rny ptywš't # rty βy'n βxtm pwt' 'my'mnty 'βyz'nk'r'k mrtxm'k # ZKw 'krt'nyh 'krtk βwt ZKZY wyzry ôyn ō'rt prw # ôrym' prk'š 't xw n'mynty 'krtk βwt ZKZY ZKw # mz'yxw prβ'r ôrm prw'c/t/' KZNH 'PZY šy ZNH ''βyc # tmyh-cyk 'krt'nyh 'krtk βwt 'PZY wyspw pwtyšt # 't pwôystβ 'PZY rx'nt 't 'xw prt'yk-pwt /prw'k/ 'PZY # ynt'k n'm wnty rty kō' ptsrô cyw'nt 'βyzktyh # s'r pckwyrt /nm'n'k wnty/ rty 'xw 'xšn'm xwyzt rty w'nw w'βt # 'zw ZY βy'tr ywn'k 'βz'yk 'krtyh L' wn'n rty # ywn'k mrtxm'k xwyz'y zp'rt ptšmyrty 'βc'npôy # xwštr'
"Of the living beings he (who) will hear this dhāraṇī; o Buddha, godliest of the gods, for such an evildoing person – he is the evil-doer who (subjects(?)) the true religionists to lie(s), imprisonment and he is the slanderer who slanders the law (dharma) of the great vehicle – so that for him this (applies): The sinner is of (= belongs to) the Avīci-hell. And he slanders and blackens the name of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattva(s) and Arhant(s) and the pratyeka-Buddha(s). And when subsequently he fears this sin, he does repentance, he requests mercy, and he says as follows: "I will not do this evil deed any more", (then) this person is reckoned (to be) very pure, o chief of the world!"

The Sogdian passage starts without a conjunction and is missing at least a relative pronoun. It continues as a longer complex of sentences that seem mostly to contain parentheses. The first of these are two parallel sentences *ZKw ... βwt ZKZY* (41) and *'t xw ... βwt ZKZY ... prw'ct* (42–43) only the second of which seems to have a verb *prw'ct*, unless *ō'rt* is the verb of the first parenthesis.[8] Since the second sentence begins with *xw*, the *w* of *ZKw* cannot designate the accusative. Apparently a nominal sentence follows: *KZNH 'PZY šy ZNH* "so that to him this (applies)". This rather atomistic structure may have been caused by the difficulties in translating a complex sentence which was therefore broken into manageable pieces despite the resulting lack of structure words in the Sogdian.

The Chinese uses a conditional sentence with a difficult temporal reference:

世尊若復有人聞此咒心，
Shì zūn ruò fù yǒu rén wén cǐ zhòu xīn,
World honour if again have man hear this dhāraṇī heart,

是人先造惡業行於非法。
shì rén xiān zào è yè xíng yú fēi fǎ.
this man previous make bad deed act at wrong law

毀辱賢善誹謗正法。
Huǐ rǔ xián shàn fěi bàng zhèng fǎ.
Destroy shame virtuous good slander slander correct law

7 The // enclose letter(s) added above the line in the original.
8 *ZKZY wyzry ôyn ō'rt prw # ôrym' prk'š* would then mean "who holds the true religion in false imprisonment" but the verb *ō'rt* is not where is should be, at the end of the sentence.

及以誹謗一切佛菩薩聲聞緣覺。
Jí yǐ fěi bàng yīqiè fó
When therewith slander slander together Buddha
púsà shēngwén yuánjué.
Bodhissatva Śrāvaka Pratyeka-Buddha

決定應墮無間大地城中。
Juédìng yīng duò wú jiān dà dìyù zhōng.
Certainly ought fall NEG space great hell middle

世尊彼人若聞此神咒心而生悔愧。
Shì zūn bǐ rén ruò wén cǐ shén zhòu xīn
World honour that man if hear this holy dhāraṇī heart
ér shēng huǐ kuì
and grow repentance shame

於一日夜受持齋戒讀此神咒。
Yú yī rì yè shòu chí zhāi jiè dú cǐ shén zhòu.
At one day night accept hold fast rule read this holy dhāraṇī.

即能銷滅一切罪業. (b15–b19)
Jí néng xiāo miè yīqiè zuì yè.
Then can diminish destroy all guilt deed

"Honoured Buddha, if there is again someone who hears this dhāraṇī, and he previously did bad deeds and acted according to the wrong law, he destroyed the virtuous and good and slandered the right law; and when he slandered all the Buddhas and Bodhisatvas, the Śrāvakas and the pratyeka-Buddhas like this, he must fall into the limitless great Avīci hell. Honoured Buddha, if that man hears this holy dhāraṇī heart and develops repentance, and by day or night maintains the precepts and the purification (rites) and reads this holy dhāraṇī, then he will be able to diminish all his guilty deeds."

l. 62:

'psm'r

This Sanskrit loanword for "epilepsy" (identified by BENVENISTE 1946, p. 136: Skt. *apasmāra-*) will not have been transmitted through the Chinese 癲癎 (b24) *diān xián* "epilepsy", but this alone neither proves a direct Indian original for the Sogdian text nor precludes a Chinese intermediary.

ll. 78–81:

rty ms # xwnx w'tδ'r ''zwn 'ky ZY mn' xypδ δr(z)y'wr 'ns'yty # βwt
rty mw 'krtyh 'krt'k ''δ'yk L' 'šm'rt # L' βyrt L' ''r'xst
"And furthermore that living being which my own heart has prepared, no sinner thinks of him, obtains (him), wishes (for him)."

The enclitic *mw* indicates that the subject of the first sentence is the object of this one, i.e. that this sentence has a new subject characterized as *''δ'yk* "someone".

The Sogdian text departs from the details of the Chinese in this and the following sentences.

l. 83:

... rty L' ZKw ''zy wynt L' ZKw wyδyw
"... and does not see (= experience) rebirth (and) not disappearance (= nirvana?)."

After the verb *wynt* a further object is placed. There is no precise Chinese correspondence (though the series of negated phrases in c02–c03 has a general similarity) but the Sogdian can be understood as an ellipse of the second verb which will have been semantically similar to the first one.

ll. 84–86:

rty ms L' ZKn xrt'k L' ZKn wyn'ntk L' 'wyn L' # ''γt šm'r'k wy'ky βyrt rty ms L' 'sty wy'kyh # s'r kt'r tys 'WZY 'nw'z nškrt wn'y
"And furthermore (he) does not obtain in(?) the place the thought of the past, not of the present, not of the not (yet) come. And furthermore can he explain either the entry to the place of non-existence or the gathering (there)?"

These two sentences are difficult. If "place" is the object of the verb *βyrt* "obtains" we would expect *wy'k* instead of the oblique *wy'ky*. The scribe may have written the oblique because of the following *L' 'sty wy'kyh s'r* "to the place 'is not'", where *s'r* is dependent on the following *tys* "entry", yielding a strange word-order.

l. 112:

rty xwnx βwδ w'nw L' šm'rt
"And this scent does not think as follows: ..."

The unusual, inanimate subject is similarly presented without comment in Chinese:

而彼香等終無是念。(c15)
Ér bǐ xiāng děng zhōng wú shì niàn
And that fragrance PL finally not-have this thought
"And these fragrances never have these thoughts."

l. 124:

'PZY ZKw s'm'r βyrtk'm 'PZY γrβ'kt'ny
"And he will obtain *samādhi (samār)* and wisdom."

An additional object is placed after the verb. There is no exact correspondence in the Chinese. There (c19), "meditation on wisdom" is mentioned in a different context.

ll. 131–132:

... rty nyw'nt mrtxm'k pr wyn'nty ''zwn 20 znk'n wr'kh 'sty 't βwtk'm
"... for this person in the present/visible existence there is and will be a twenty-fold advantage."

The Sogdian uses two verbs "is and will be" = "he has and will have", but the Chinese simply has:

彼人現身得二十種殊勝利益. (c23)
Bī rén xiàn shēn dé èr shí zhǒng shū shèng lì yì
That man visible body get two ten kind special surpass advantage advantage
"That man in his present being will obtain twenty-fold extraordinary advantages."

l. 133:

rty twx py'mtk'm
"he/it will heal quickly."

The Chinese provides no help in deciding whether the usually transitive Sogdian verb *py'm* is being used here intransitively, because the Chinese text uses a different phraseology:

二者由先作業有諸疾病速得銷滅. (c25)
Èr zhě yóu xiān zuò yè yǒu zhū
Two NOM from previous make deed have PL
jí bìng sù dé xiāo miè
illness sickness quick get diminish destroy
"Second, who(ever) previously did some deeds and had illness(es) will quickly obtain their disappearance."

ll. 133–134:

rty prw CWRH 'ns'yty 't zp'rt βwtk'm wyspny pry ptsynt'rmyk
"And he will be ready and pure in body; to all dear (and) agreeable."

Here the Sogdian seems to add a phrase after the verb though the ambivalence of *pry* which often seems to be an adjective but sometimes to act as a verb, could also allow a translation "(he is) dear to all (and) agreeable". The Chinese has:

三者其身光澤皮膚細軟見者歡喜。(c26)
Sān zhē qí shēn guāng zé pí fū xì ruǎn jiàn zhě huānxǐ
Three NOM his body bright lustrous skin skin thin soft see NOM like
"Third, their body is bright and lustrous, their skin is thin and soft and those who see [them] like [them/it]."

Perhaps the latter part of the Sogdian means "all like him (as) agreeable"? However, it may in fact be a version of the first part of the Chinese text quoted immediately below.

l. 135:

rty šw 'nw'štk ZK m'n βwtk'm L' šyštk
"And his mind will be collected, not scattered, ..."

The enclitic accusative *šw* seems to be a mistake for the enclitic genitive *šy*. This sentence has the appositive adjective (past participle) *'nw'štk* in a prominent

place before the subject of the sentence and also has a second adjective (past participle) expressing the same idea negatively placed after the verb. The Chinese is phrased differently:

四者眾人愛敬密護諸根。(c26)
Sì zhě zhòng rén ài jìng mì hù zhū gēn
Four NOM all man love respect closely guard PL senses
"Four, all men are loving and respectful and closely guard the senses."

ll. 136–137:

... rty šw cw # ZNH ''m't'k yr'm'k βwt
"... And whatever amassed wealth he has, ..."

This is expressed differently in the Chinese:

六者得財寶已不為盜賊之所劫掠。(c27)
Liù zhě dé cái bǎo yǐ bù wéi
Six NOM get wealth treasure finish NEG PASS
dào zé zhī suǒ jié lyuè.
robber bandit ZHI PASS rob plunder
"Six, and after they have obtained wealth and riches, they will not be robbed by robbers and bandits."

ll. 139–140:

rty šw pr kβny # 'xw 'rkh yrβ yr'm'k βwt
"And for little work he will have/get much wealth."

The "article" *'xw* occurs here between the adjective and the noun. Is this a mistake at the beginning of the line? There is no close Chinese correspondence.

ll. 141–142:

In the list of things that the dhāraṇī is able to prevent the following point occurs:

L' ZY ms w'r 'WZY # c'wn w't s'r nšt' βwt
"Nor furthermore rain or from wind will it be destroyed (or: can it be destroyed)."

十者所種苗稼。不為惡風暴雨霜雹蟲蝗之所損害。(T407a01)
Shí zhě suǒ zhǒng miáo jià.
Ten NOM REL plant sprout grain.
Bù wéi è fēng bào yǔ shuāng báo chóng huáng zhī suǒ sǔn hài.
NEG PASS bad wind cruel rain frost hail insect locust ZHI PASS diminish harm
"Ten: the corn and crops which one had planted, through bad wind, cruel rain, frost, hail, insects and locusts they will not be diminished or harmed."

For want of a better term, the translation seems to show a certain hesitancy or delay in responding to the Chinese text. Despite the lack of the initial number and

the initial noun phrase of the Chinese, the Sogdian version shows in the initially placed negation *L'* close conformity to the Chinese with the initial negation 不. The Sogdian leaves the first noun *w'r* "rain" unmarked and does not provide the necessary preposition *c'wn* until the second element *w't* "wind" though all the nouns are subject to the same passive construction in the Chinese. In both texts the relevant marker occurs only once but whereas the passiviser 爲 is in its proper place to refer to all the following nouns, the Sogdian *c'wn* can only refer to the noun following it and not the preceding one. We pointed out that in the "Sutra of the Causes and Effects" the Sogdian version reacts to changes in the structure and wording of repeated sentences of the Chinese version with a slight delay but there the delayed reaction does not affect the sense of the text whereas here it results in an irritation. There is the possibility that the Sogdian translator simply did not understand the function of 爲 in the Chinese. Though the sentence as a whole is clearly passive and is marked as such by 爲 and 所, if the translator did not look that far ahead he could have construed 爲 as the semantically weak verb "to make" and therefore translate the first part of the sentence as he did, intending to put the supposed verb in its proper place at the end of the Sogdian sentence. But in the following he realised the need to translate differently, perhaps because he then saw 所 and took that alone as the passiviser. However, that does not explain why the resulting irritation was not removed by the translator or the scribe of a subsequent copy. Is seems unlikely that P 7 is the raw translation, the autograph that had yet to be corrected. Some mistakes in this copy have been corrected by the scribe (e.g. *prw'c/t/* in l. 43 quoted above with the letter *t* added above the line and other examples in the same passage) but these may have been mistakes he noticed while writing. The text may have been written as an act of piety and may never have been read. Being of large size, it may have been intended for display, in which case too many corrections would have destroyed the good impression. Nevertheless, this passage seems to be a clear indicator that the Sogdian text was translated from the Chinese (either from this Chinese version or a similar one).

ll. 142–145:

rty kδ ZKw ywn'k ''mwkp'šôrzy'wr ZY kt'r ''š'k ptsr'w'y 'M ''p rty šy βrxšky'š'š'y rty prw ôs' kyr'n βwmh wyspny w'tδ'r ''zwnty c'wn wyspn'c 'βyzy' wx'nštk'm
"And if he consecrates this amoghapāśa heart or the ashes with water and scatters (it) by throwing/sprinkling, he will save the living beings of the earth in ten directions from all evil."

The prepositional phrase *'M ''p* is placed after the verb.

咒灰及水八方上下灑散結界。(T407a03)
Zhòu huī jí shuǐ bā fāng shàng xià sǎ sàn jiē jiè
Dhāraṇī ashes and water eight direction above below sprinkle distribute link world
"The ashes of the dhāraṇī and the water will be sprinkled in the eight directions (and) above and below and link the world."

As JENS WILKENS kindly pointed out to us, the "ten directions" of the Sogdian will comprise the "eight directions (and) above and below" of the Chinese.

l. 146:

rty ms ZKn wyspny w'tδ'r ''zwn pry βwt xwyz'k
"And furthermore he will be dear to all living generation(s); very much."
(alternatively: "and furthermore all living generations will have love, very much.")

十三者一切有情愛樂喜見。(T407a04)
Shí sān zhě yīqiè yǒu qíng ài lè xǐ jiàn
Ten three NOM altogether have nature love happy pleased appear
"Thirteen, everything has feelings, love of the good and the beautiful (priyadarśana-)."

It is hard to decide how the translator understood the Chinese. BENVENISTE 1940b, p. 212, already posed this question with regard to lines 80–90 of the Sogdian. Two features of the Sogdian are remarkable: the use of the genitive/dative in *ZKn wyspny* (but not in *w'tδ'r ''zwn*) and the placing of *xwyz'k* after the verb *βwt*. Combined with the word *pry* this yields a sentence with a range of possible meanings. This Sogdian rendering can be regarded as a development of the alternative translation of the Chinese, but is in fact not supported by the Chinese, because at the very least it lacks a dative preposition (such as *wei* 為).

ll. 151–153:

rty ZK L'# ''tr L' c'wn ''p L' c'wn zyn L' c'wn z'r s'r # myrty
"And he not fire, not from water, not from a weapon, not from poison does he die."

十八者火刀毒藥傷害不死。(T407a08)
Shí bā zhě huǒ dāo dú yào shāng hài bù sǐ
Ten eight NOM fire knife poison medicine hurt harm NEG die
"Eighteen: fire, knife, poison and poisonous medicine, though they may hurt and harm (him), he will not die."

This is a further example of hesitancy. Again the obligatory preposition *c'wn* is missing in front of the first noun *''tr* "fire" in the Sogdian. The overall structure differs in the two versions. The Chinese uses a list of four harmful things but does not give them a specific grammatical function until the concessively used verbs "hurt harm" (marked by the following change of subject) which allow the nouns to be construed as subjects. There is only one negation in the Chinese: 不死 "(he) does not die." The Sogdian introduces an explicit subject early on *ZK* "he" and follows that with the first of four *L'* "not" that mark each noun. Of these nouns the first has no preposition, the second and third have *c'wn* and the fourth has *c'wn ... s'r*, the most extensive form. While the postpositional element *s'r* can be taken to apply not only to the immediately preceding *c'wn* but also to the two others, it still does not make up for the lack of a preposition in *L' ''tr*. The confusion seems to stem from the change made to the structure of

the text and is therefore comparable to the previous example. However, there is an alternative possibility: the words *L' ''tr* are separated by the end of the line. It cannot be excluded that the scribe intended to write *c'wn* in the next line and simply forgot to do so. Here too, the question arises why the mistake was not corrected and this seems to confirm that no one ever read the text.

ll. 164–165:

rty šy xw cšmy kδ'c L' ''y'βst
"... his eyes are never averted."

There is no correspondence in the Chinese and therefore no way of knowing whether the translator was dealing with a passive verb there.

l. 165:

rty L' ZKw δsty L' ZKw p'δ'k šypt
"And (his) hands or his feet do not tremble."

The spelling *ZKw* (twice), an apparent accusative instead of the nominative *ZK*, is remarkable and runs counter to the intransitive nature of the verb. The Chinese also has intransitive verbs:

三者臨命終時手不紛亂足不伸縮。 (T407a15)
Sān zhě lín mìng zhōng shí shǒu bù fēn
Three NOM approach life end time hand not confused
luàn zú bù shēn sù
chaotic foot not expand contract
"Three: When he approaches the end of life, his hands will not be confused and mixed up and his feet will not expand and contract (= tremble)."

"If they had lived ..."

A Sogdian-Parthian Fragment of Mani's *Book of Giants*

ENRICO MORANO, Turin

Mani's *Book of Giants*[1] is attested in quotations in several languages of the Manichaean mission, including Middle Persian, Sogdian and Uigur. In a letter addressed to Mār Ammō written in Parthian by an Archegos (ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 858, b 134–136 = M 5815/II/R/i/23–25/), the *Book of Giants* is referred to as *kawān*: *'wd k'w'n u 'rdhng nyrd bwrd °° u mn 'ny kw'n 'wd ''rdhng 'ndr mrg kyrd* "and he has taken with him (the *Book of*) *Giants* and the *Ardahang*. And I have made another (copy of the *Book of*) *Giants* and the *Ardahang* in Marw". Since this letter was written in Marw, and the addressee was Mār Ammō, the leader of the Parthian community, it is likely that the version referred to here was the Parthian.

Only one excerpt from the Parthian version, though, has been published so far (SUNDERMANN 1973, text 20), in spite of the fact that in *Kephalaia* 5, 25 the *Book of Giants* is missing from the list of Mani's works given there, and there appears instead a "writing on account of the Parthians".

The manuscript to be edited here, not included in Henning's article (HENNING 1943) and still unpublished[2], contains a Sogdian text[3] with quotations from the Parthian version of the *Book of Giants*: this will vindicate the existence, and the importance, of the Parthian version of Mani's *Book of Giants*, quoted even by the Sogdians, who already had a Sogdian translation.

1 For a general account on this work see SUNDERMANN 2001, with ample bibliography. My new Italian translation of all the published fragments, arranged in order, with commentary, is now published in: GH. GNOLI (ed.): *Il Manicheismo*. Vol. III: *Il mito e la dottrina*. Milano 2008, pp. 69–107 and 367–373.
2 The fragment was ascribed to the *Book of Giants* by BOYCE 1960, p. 55.
3 The nature of the Sogdian text cannot be established with certainty. It is, however, possible that it was, like the Turkish text on the other sheet, a sermon, enriched with citations from Mani's *Book of Giants*.

M 813/I

A tattered page of a double sheet from a book, see BOYCE 1960, p. 55. The other leaf[4], written by a different hand, is in Turkish and contains a fragmentary text on the wandering of the souls of the ignorant. It was published, as M 813, by ZIEME 1975, pp. 56–57 [Nr. 25], who tentatively ascribes the text to a sermon. Without giving any explanation, CLARK 1997, p. 121, connects this fragment to Mainz 317, a piece in Uigur script from the *Book of Giants*, but J. WILKENS, in his Catalogue[5], ascribes the Turkish text to a sermon for the *auditores*, and considers Clark's connection of the text to the *Book of Giants* to be unjustified ("aus unerfindlichen Gründen").

The Middle Iranian sheet is 11.9 cm high, 11.0 cm wide and has vertical red lines visible on /V/; the inner margin is 17 mm and the outer margin is 27 mm; the lines' width is 66 mm, and each line has an average of 23–24 characters. Several lines are missing in the upper part of the sheet and only one line is complete.

Text and translation

R

[lines missing]

R/1/ °° *[w']β(tk)['](m) pww (..)[12–13]*
R/2/ *ynkynd sx[wn 13]*
R/3/ *'st'ṯ 'w(ṯ)['qṯ 12]*
R/4/ *'ṯy 'yyδyy (pc)[13]*
R/5/ *[']('ṯ)y y'x[...]' δwn [10–12]*
R/6/ *[...](s)'ṯ qδδ'rnd °° p'[7–8]*
R/7/ *(.)[...](')nd xrṯnd šn d'm [5–6]°*
R/8/ *m'yδδ c'nw wyy' βγyy n(p/s)[...]ḥ*
R/9/ *frm'yṯ °°* kw 'g pd q'wyft u mrdyft
R/10/ [...](j)[yw](')d 'hyndyy 'b'w 'why'
R/11/ ['wš b](r)['']d nryym'n ny [mw]rd
R/12/ ['hyndyy p]d p'd'n fryy(hsṯr)
R/13/ [15](š) p(d) w(c/h)[..]

[end of page]

[lines missing]

R/1/ *He will speak without [...]*
R/2/ *brave sp[eech? ...]*
R/3/ *should be pl[aces? ...]*
R/4/ *and somebody [...]*

4 See WILKENS 2000, pp. 155–156 [Nr. 144], where the Turkish page is called M 813/I, whereas in BOYCE 1960, p. 55 M 813/I is the Middle Iranian one.
5 WILKENS 2000, p. 156 with fn. 436.

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Fig. 1: M 813/I/R

R/5/ *and brave[...] with [...]*
R/6/ *[...] all made. [...]*
R/7/ *they [...] went [...] their generation.*
R/8/ *Thus as in the god's [...]*
R/9/ *says:* "If they had lived with nobility
R/10/ and manliness [...], then Ohya
R/11/ [and his] brother Narīmān [would] not
R/12/ [have di]ed at the feet of the dearest
R/13/ [...] in [...]

[end of page]

V

{lines missing}

V/1/ *[8–10 (k/x)](°) [...](w)'nw*
V/2/ [8–10]pd nyrwg bwzyš(n) u
V/3/ [8](')'cyšn °° *kδ' p(r)*
V/4/ *[8](m)yy 'sṯ'wnyẖ*
V/5/ *[8]qnd n'm wm'ṯ*
V/6/ *[7 (k/x)] VI(I)[I](I) [...](δ) wm('ṯ)*
V/7/ *[6]y mrγ'rṯ β(r)yynd (s)[..]*
V/8/ *[5](γ)r'myy nyškr'n °° k[....](n/d/r)*
V/9/ *cn [mr](c)yy nyy zrγṯṯ* °° 'wd 'g pd
V/10/ hwcyhryft jyw'd 'hyndyy 'b'w
V/11/ šyy'wš š'ẖ ny m(wr)[d 'hyndyy]
V/12/ ky(š)[p]d hwcyhryf[t 11]
V/13/ [5]°° 'wd 'g pd (p/s)[12]
V/14/ [']](h)yndy(y) °° x[18–20]

{end of page}

{lines missing}

V/1/ *[...]. [...] thus*
V/2/ [...] in strength, salvation and
V/3/ [...]. *If in*
V/4/ *[...] column*
V/5/ *[...] town's (?) name was [...]*
V/6/ *[...] 9 [...] was*
V/7/ *[...] they could bring pearls*
V/8/ *[...] wealth out. [...]*
V/9/ *from [dea]th not been saved.* And if
V/10/ they had lived in beauty, then
V/11/ king Syāwaš [would] not have died,
V/12/ in whose beauty [...]
V/13/ [...]. And if they had [...] in [...]
V/14/ [...]. [...]

{end of page}

Commentary

The text contains three Parthian quotations from the *Book of Giants*, one on the *recto* (ll. 9–13) and two on the *verso* (ll. 2–3 and 9–14). All the quoted sentences begin with an anaphoric hypothetical clause, probably referred to the Giants: "If they had lived in ...". The apodosis, introduced by *'b'w*, ends with the mention of the unfortunate consequences of the Giants' evil lives. Regrettably, due to the fragmentary state of the text it is neither possible to state with any degree of certainty who was thought to have pronounced these sentences (Enoch?), nor to link the citations to the Sogdian text in which they are embedded.

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Fig. 2: M 813/I/V

/R/7/ *(.)[...](')nd xrṯnd šn d'm [.....]*° The asyndetic sentence ([VE]RB VERB GEN. ACC. [VERB] "they [...], went (and) [destroyed?] their generation") could justify the unusual position of the enclitic pronoun *šn*, commonly used after a conjunction.

/R/10–13/ In a fragment from the Parthian treatise entitled *'rdhng wyfr's* "Commentary on the *Ārdahang*", it is said (HENNING 1943, pp. 71–72, text N, 30–32) that Ohya killed Leviathan, but was in turn killed by Raphael. Our text here specifies that Ohya dies, with his brother, at the feet of his dearest (father?).

It is therefore reasonable to think that these quotations come from the final part of the *Book of Giants* (seq. 10 in my reconstruction, cf. above, fn. 1).

/V/1–9/ The fragmentary state of the text does not allow a coherent translation. The meaning of this section might be that wealth and pearls do not save man from death.

/V/10–12/ As P.O. SKJÆRVØ (1995) has demonstrated, Mani incorporated elements of the Iranian epic narrative of the mythological and legendary past into his story of the origin of the world. Kay Syāwaš, king of the Kayanid period, betrayed by his stepmother, with whom he refused to have sex, had to go into exile in Turan, where he was killed despite his innocence, see JUSTI 1895, p. 299. Like his Greek and Jewish counterparts, Hippolytos and Joseph respectively, he was handsome. The text is unfortunately incomplete and fragmentary, but *beauty (hwcyhryft)* seems to be the main topic.

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The Bactrian Royal Title βαγ[η]-ζνογο / βαγο-ιηζνογο and the Kušān Dynastic Cult

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It is well known that the Kušān royal ideology[1] followed some Hellenistic patterns, extending a kind of "divine" status of the king.[2] In fact, although in a standard sentence such as ι βαγο ϸαο κανεϸκι "the lord king Kaniška",[3] βαγο could simply mean "lord"[4] and not necessarily "god", as HENNING[5] and

1 I desire to thank Prof. GHERARDO GNOLI, Prof. NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS, Dr. ANDREA PIRAS, Dr. FEDERICOMARIA MUCCIOLI, Dr. VELIZAR SADOVSKI, Dr. GIAN PIETRO BASELLO, and Dr. ANDREA GARIBOLDI for some pertinent discussions about problems discussed here.

2 We must also recall that, in addition to the influence deriving from the Hellenistic background, which was undoubtedly very strong in the Bactrian area, the Indian tradition played its relevant part (MARICQ 1958, pp. 372–383). Also there, in fact, as I have already remarked (PANAINO 2003, pp. 273–274 [= 2007a, pp. 127–128] with bibliography), the king can be a *deva-* (GONDA 1969, p. 24; see also FUSSMAN 1998, p. 588). Elements of Roman origin have also been identified and they must be considered (see LÜDERS 1940, pp. 233–234). The Bactrian title βαγεποοϱο "son of god" doubtless corresponds to *devaputra-*, and perhaps reflects an additional Chinese connection, but these epithets can be also connected with Gr. titles of Seleucid and Hellenistic origin such as Θεοπάτωϱ (or Θεοπάις, the existence of which in the Parthian formulary context was suggested by MARICQ 1958, p. 380, but, at present, it is not still confirmed by the sources). The influence of Parthian *baypuhr* and Sogdian *baypūr* (HENNING 1939, p. 94, n. 2 [= 1977, I, p. 642]; cf. DAVARY 1982, p. 173) should be, of course, included in this discussion. The influence of Parthian titles on the Kušān formulary and the relation between them, the Greek and the Indian ones, has been rightly underlined by MARICQ (1958, pp. 378–383, in particular 380–382). But the direct comparison with the Parthian titles, as proposed by MARICQ, cannot be used in order to obliterate the fact that Arsacid royal ideology was strongly influenced by Hellenistic, in particular, Seleucid, models, and that it does not reflect only Iranian patterns, although their presence has been focused on recently in a correct manner (see CURTIS 2007, pp. 9–11, 14–15, 21).

3 See, for instance, BENVENISTE 1961, p. 133.

4 We must also note that a peculiar use of the plural form in order to address the king, as SIMS-WILLIAMS (1989) recalled, has been found in the Sasanian inscriptions, e.g., Inscr. Parth. *LKM 'LḤYN (išmāh bayān)* "Your Majesty", and perhaps in the Sogdian "Ancient letters"; see also HENNING 1936).

5 HENNING 1960, p. 52, n. 5 [= 1977, II, p. 550]: "The customary translation of *βαγο*, Sogd. *byy*, MPers. *bgy*, etc., as 'god' even when preceding a man's name is grossly misleading. Every gentleman was entitled to it as a prefix, though hardly regarded as a divinity". The answer given by MARICQ (1960, pp. 165–166) insists on the correspondence between the Parthian and Sasanian titles and their original Seleucid models, but does not take into consideration

SIMS-WILLIAMS suggested,[6] we find in this context some additional titles showing an apparently remarkable presence of "divine" marks, which deserve to be considered for their extraordinary importance.

In the inscription of Rabatak,[7] we may note the relevance of a sentence (line 14f) such as [...] ϸαονανο ϸαο ι βαγεποοραχ[α]νϵ [...] "the king of kings, the scion of the race of the gods".[8] The presence of the compound βαγεποοραχ[α]νε (explained by SIMS-WILLIAMS as "the obl. case of a derivative with the suffix *-καvο* < **-ka-kāna-*, which is common in Bactrian patronymics and names of families and estates") shows that the Kušān king was considered a divine scion, and that, in any case, his link with the gods was strongly underlined. Furthermore, in the same source (lines 1–2), Kaniška not only declared to be "of the great salvation" (βωγο στοργο), "right, just, autocrat" (ραϸτογο λαδειγο χοαζαοαργο), but he presented himself as "worthy of divine worship" (βαγ[η]-ζνογο).[9] While βωγο στοργο, clearly corresponding to the Greek title "great saviour" (σωτήρ μέγας),[10] would be another piece of evidence underlining the strong influence of the Hellenistic tradition (notwithstanding some doubts raised by FUSSMAN[11] about its real function and interpretation in the framework of this inscription for syntactic and epigraphic reasons),[12] βαγ[η]-ζνογο (see also the equivalent compound βαγο-ιηζνογο, attested in the Dašt-e Nāwur I inscription) probably represents a derivation from **baga-yazn-iya-ka-* (cf. Av. *yesniia-* "worthy of worship").[13] It is on this particular epithet that I would like to focus in the main part of the present note.

In various articles[14] I have underlined the risks involved in a superficial acceptance of the idea that a process of complete divinization of the kings took

the syntactical rules attested in Middle Persian (as well as in Parthian and Sogdian) in the very case of *bay*, etc., later detected by M. BOYCE (1981, pp. 64–65). Anyway, the translation of Bactrian βαγο as "Lord" does not exclude that a sanctuary was dedicated to a dynastic cult in honour of the king, as, with different arguments, MARICQ suggested.

6 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989, p. 404.

7 SIMS-WILLIAMS in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, pp. 77–78. Cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998, p. 81.

8 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998, pp. 82, 86. But cf. MUKHERJEE 1995, pp. 5, 14, 15 and 17.

9 See also MUKHERJEE 1995, pp. 5, 13, 15 and 16.

10 SIMS-WILLIAMS in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 82. We may recall that MUKHERJEE 1995, pp. 5, 16, suggests that βωγο might be better translated as "deliverer".

11 FUSSMAN 1998, p. 595; 2001, p. 264.

12 But these objections do not seem to be really compelling; the fact that βωγο στοργο was placed before the name of Kaniška, while all the other epithets follow it, "could be due", as SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly informed me (letter of October 25th, 2007), "to the fact that βωγο is not an adjective but a noun". The second argument, concerning the absence of the oblique ending in βωγο στοργο, "would be equally true of the other epithets". In the same letter SIMS-WILLIAMS adds: "Above all, Fussman does not propose an alternative translation of the passage, or of the parallel passage in DN1. In fact, any syntactic construction other than the one I suggested would be very forced".

13 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998, p. 84, where the basic reading, previously advanced (SIMS-WILLIAMS in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 82), has been improved.

14 See now PANAINO 2007a, where many of these studies have been collected.

place in the Iranian area, trying, contrariwise, to adduce as evidence the mimetic character assumed by the royal person as image of the Gods on earth. For these reasons I can but concur with the words of FUSSMAN,[15] when he writes about the contents of the Kušān sources:

> rien ne laisse supposer [...] que Kaniṣka ait prétendu être un dieu et qu'il se soit fait adorer comme tel. S'il était dieu, c'est peut-être à la façon des roitelets indiens à qui on s'adressait en les appelant *deva*, et dont la première épouse s'appelait *devī*, ou des brahmanes indiens qui se prétendent des dieux sur terre. Ce sont des prétention qui ne correspondent pas tout à fait à la conception occidentale de l'apothéose.

On the other hand, the introduction of such a special title as βαγ[η]-ζνογο/βαγο-ιηζνογο "worthy of divine worship" (if the elegant interpretation now suggested by SIMS-WILLIAMS is the correct one),[16] presents us with something new, which should be discussed in detail because of its intrinsic importance with regard to the evolution of Kušān political ideology and its comparative pertinence in the general discussion about the development of Iranian kingship in Late Antiquity. Its attestation could give ground to some considerations already advanced by MARICQ about the divinization of the Kušān kings,[17] (although they were partly based on his translation of the word βαγο as "god" in every place), which need

15 FUSSMAN 1998, p. 588.

16 SIMS-WILLIAMS (in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 82) originally read two different words, and interpreted the ι between βαγο and ηζνογο in DN1 as in its turn independent, just as FUSSMAN (1974) and DAVARY/HUMBACH (1976) did. The suggested comparison with *yesniia-* "requires", as SIMS-WILLIAMS notes *(ibidem)*, "the assumption that an initial **y-* could be lost by dissimilation before a palatal vowel (as in Sogdian)". Furthermore, SIMS-WILLIAMS remarked that "Humbach's comparison with Sogd. *'yjn* 'worthy' (older *'yrzn* < **arjāna-*, see Sundermann 1992: 78-79, n. 53) is at least equally problematic phonologically". I would like to remark that the *i-* of ιηζνογο in DN1 confirms the derivation from a stem like Av. *yesniia-*; its absence in the Rabatak inscription may be due to the fact that it should have been engraved between the end of the line 1 and the beginning of line 2 (but as SIMS-WILLIAMS writes, there is no room for it either at the end of line 1 or at the beginning of line 2), while in DN1 it is more or less in the centre of line 5, where it is clearly readable (see also SIMS-WILLIAMS' note in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 96, concerning this line of the text with reference also to the readings offered by FUSSMAN (1974, pp. 16, 19) [βαγο ι ηζ·ηιϙ°] and DAVARY/HUMBACH (1976) [βαγο ι ηζν(ο) ι[ο] ο]). It is possible that in Rabatak we have to do with an omission committed by the *lapicida*. In this case the correct form would be that engraved in DN1. On the other hand, the new interpretation of the Bactrian month-name αυρηζνο, attested in a marriage contract dated AD 342 (see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998, p. 84, and SIMS-WILLIAMS/DE BLOIS 1996, pp. 152, 161), as deriving from **ahura-yazn-iya-* "(month) of the worship of the Ahura(s)", a cognate of the Sogdian menonym *xwryznych/xwrjnc*, and of the Tumshuqese one *ahverjane* (which, perhaps, is a loanword) possibly shows that Bactrian could continue forms like **yesniia-* simply with ηζνο, i.e. with an η- instead of **ye-*. It is a pity that the Kharoṣṭhī version of the inscription [DN IV] (FUSSMAN 1974, pp. 19–22; 2001, pp. 271–272) presents too many gaps and cannot be of substantial help for this point of our investigation.

17 MARICQ 1958, pp. 371–384; 1960, pp. 165–166.

to be re-discussed in the light of the Rabatak inscription and with close attention to the role of the dynastic cults in the Bactrian framework.

Actually, this new title is *per se* a significant witness, because it seems to credit the king with an (at least apparent) full divinization. Here, we do find, in fact, a direct reference to a "divine sacrifice" to be offered to him, according to an idea probably developed in harmony with some Hellenistic patterns. The choice of a compound containing a derivation from **yazn-iya-ka-* is a fitting adaptation of the Iranian doctrine of a divine worship from the religious to the "secular" sphere. If we consider the Avestan speculations regarding the importance of the worship *(yasna-)* to be offered to a *yazata-* insisting that his very name was pronounced (e.g., in the case of Miθra and Tištrya),[18] the attestation of this ritual terminology is absolutely worthy of consideration. *Yasniia-* or *yesniia-* (cf. Ved. *yajñíya-* "to be worshipped") were, for instance,[19] Miθra, Ātar, Vərəθraγna, Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, the Yazatas in general, all the Ratus, the Fravašis, Tištrya, etc. It seems to prove that in the Kušān court, the dynastic cult, which was widespread among the Iranian ruling families from the Achaemenid period (see the case of Cyrus the Great),[20] assumed the form of a worship to be offered to the living King.[21] This situation looks like that attested in the case of Antiochus I of Commagene, where this form of veneration assumed an enormous relevance[22] with a mixture of Iranian and Greek rituals.[23] On the other hand, this evidence emphasizes an interesting parallel with respect to the Sasanian royal ideology. Here, in fact, a divine worship explicitly dedicated to the person of the living *Šāhān šāh* is not attested, but we know already from ŠKZ, 33[24] that the Sasanian royal family established the foundation of a fire (*ādur*, πυρεῖον)

18 PANAINO 1994, pp. 172–173; KELLENS 1998, p. 508.

19 See BARTHOLOMAE 1904, cols. 1273–1274.

20 Arrianus (*Anabasis of Alexander*, VI, 29) mentions the ritual sacrifices performed by a special group of Magians responsible of the care of Cyrus's tomb (and dynastic cult) in Pasargadae; see also BRIANT 1996, pp. 106–108.

21 Although FUSSMAN (1998, pp. 579–582; 2001, pp. 254–256) assumes that in the Rabatak inscription Kaniška was not speaking in the first person, and consequently suggests that it was engraved in honour of the king by one of his highest functionaries, in any case it must be placed in the course of his life, without entering into the controversial problem of the new era mentioned in this sources and the related problems raised by FUSSMAN himself (1988, pp. 582, 622–641 and *passim*) about it. Cf. also BIVAR 1976 and more recently BOPEARACHCHI 2007.

22 See HAUBEN 1989, p. 451.

23 Apart from the mention of Graeco-Iranian divinities, the inscriptions of the Commagene mention, e.g., priests responsible of the sacrifices and of the burning of offerings, who were dressed in Persian clothing. Furthermore, the images of the *dexiosis* in Antiochus' reliefs probably subsumes different cultural influences, not only Greek and Iranian, but also Mesopotamian. See the note of G. PETZL (2003), and the remarks made by CROWTHER/FACELLA (2003, pp. 52–53, 54, *passim*; WALDMANN 1991). Already MARICQ (1958, p. 372) underlined, although with caution, the importance of Nemrud Dagh in connection with Surkh Kotal. See also CURTIS 2007, p. 16.

24 See HUYSE 1999, I, p. 46; II, pp. 104–109.

erected "for our soul and future fame" (MP *pad amā ruwān ud pannām*; Parth. *pad amā arwān ud pāšnām*; differently Gr. εἰς ἡμέτεραν μνείαν καὶ ὀνόματος συντήρησιν "for our memory and the preservation of our name") of the living king Šābuhr, while other fire-temples were built for his relatives (see also ŠKZ 34, 36–38, where the nobles worthy of such a ritual are listed). It is not at all far-fetched to assume that animal immolations surely accompanied these rituals, as we deduce from the presence of 1000 *akbrīd* "Lambs" (in the Greek version: πρόβατον),[25] an animal mentioned many times in the following paragraphs of the inscription. One lamb (with offerings of bread and wine) was, in fact, sacrificed every day of the year for the soul of the living[26] king, and another one for those of the other persons mentioned in the long list of the protocol.[27] Among the highest ones of the kingdom to be honoured in this way we find both living and departed nobles (as, for instance, in §36, Sāsān and Pābag, etc.)[28] The verbs concerning the ritual operation to be performed[29] by means of these animals (par. 39) in favour of the souls are YDBHWNtn (MP *yaštan*), YOBDytn (Parth. *yazīdan*) and μαγεύειν (text: μαγεύσωσιν),[30] and their technical meaning cannot signify anything but "sacrifice",[31] as the contents of the whole passage show.[32] The existence of these foundations *pad ruwān* is well documented during the whole Sasanian period and later on,[33] and its origin derives ultimately from a long-aged tradition already documented in the Avestan sources[34] and recommended not only for royal persons but also for ordinary people.

25 HUYSE 1999, I, p. 48; II, pp. 111–112. We may recall that in the above-mentioned passage of Arrianus (*Anabasis of Alexander*, VI, 29, 7–8), it is stated that the Persian king used to give the Magians a sheep (πρόβατόν τε ἐς ἡμέραν) a day, a fixed amount of meal and wine, and a horse each month to sacrifice to Cyrus. Some correspondences are doubtless striking and cannot be casual.

26 It is worthwhile mentioning the evidence that rituals in favour of the soul of a living person are still known to the Parsis (e.g. the so-called *zindeh ravān* "living soul"), as noted by MODI (1937, pp. 417–419) and DE MENASCE (1964, p. 60, and n. 30).

27 See HUYSE 1999, II, p. 124.

28 HUYSE 1999, I, p. 49; II, p. 115.

29 Ritual immolations were surely offered in Sasanian times, whereas later juridical sources (in particular the *Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān*) insist on the celebration of services, mostly based on the recitation of the *Yasna* and of the *Widēwdād* on particular days and anniversaries (for instance, the birthday or the day of one's death), as noted by DE MENASCE (1964, pp. 46–47, 60).

30 HUYSE 1999, II, p. 124.

31 See BENVENISTE 1954, pp. 51–53; cf. PANAINO 2006, pp. 178–182.

32 HUYSE 1999, I, p. 52.

33 See, e.g., DE MENASCE 1964; MACUCH 1981, *passim*; 1993, pp. 5, 12, *passim*. Cf. HUYSE 1999, II, pp. 105–107 (with additional bibliography).

34 The Avestan passages concerning sacrificial worship on behalf of the *uruuan-* and of the *frauuaši-*, but also at the same time their symbolic immolation, have been discussed by PANAINO (2004b, pp. 66–75) in the framework of the Indo-Iranian doctrine of the sacrifice. The cautious distinction proposed by DE MENASCE (1964, p. 60), who tried to limit the meaning of the expression *ruwān yazišn* to that of "accomplir un office, sacrifice ou autre, destiné à assurer le bien posthume de l'âme" is weak. In fact, the offerings

Although, unfortunately, our knowledge of Kušān religion is not so detailed, we can gain some useful inferences from all the comparative data we have previously collected. In fact, though FUSSMAN's warnings[35] against the Zoroastrianism of Kaniška are very important, in particular when we consider that in the Rabatak inscription Ahura Mazdā does not seem *prima facie* to be the highest god or that, for instance, Kaniška's father, Wima Kadphises, declared himself to be a follower of Śiva, we should be more cautious before concluding our investigation with such a radical option. We must consider that the Kušān royal ideology was very much open to syncretism, and that Iranian, Indian and Greek divinities were associated with one another and invoked according to political and territorial reasons. If the *bagolaṅgo* was dedicated to Nana, her objective prominence in that temple was not a definitive witness to the theological superiority of such a goddess in the Kušān pantheon, as some other scholars presume.[36] The importance of Anāhitā already in the Achaemenid royal ideology[37] as well as that of Anāhīd in Parthian and Sasanian times, is well documented,[38] but this evidence does not compel us to deduce that Persian kings did not recognize A^{h}uramazdā as their greatest god *(maθišta bagānām)*, or that, for instance, the Sasanians, whose close relations with the temple of Anāhīd in Staxr[39] are doubtless, considered Ohrmazd inferior to her.

One serious problem derives from the fact that we do not know which kind of "worship" the newly attested title βαγ[η]-ζνογο/βαγο-ιηζνογο "worthy of divine worship" implied.[40] In his refreshing interpretation of line 16f of the Rabatak inscription[41] SIMS-WILLIAMS has convincingly discharged his earlier[42]

were given not only for dead persons, but also for living ones (as DE MENASCE himself remarked), and the idea of the sacrifice as a performance increasing and strengthening the person (or the soul) receiving its benefits, makes this differentiation unnecessary. The sacrifice offered in order to promote the condition of the soul (of a living person or in the afterlife) was contemporarily a sacrifice to the soul, although this does not imply a divinization of the person.

35 FUSSMAN 1998, pp. 590–591. See also FUSSMAN 2001, pp. 256–264.

36 See, for instance, DE JONG 1997, pp. 273–274; CARTER 2006, p. 353; GHOSE 2006.

37 See GNOLI 1974, pp. 32–35, *passim*. About the association between Anāhitā and the Elamite goddess Nanā see WIKANDER 1946, pp. 74, 68, 91, and, with particular reference to the comparison between Nana (Rabatak) and Anāhīd (Staxr), see GNOLI (in this volume).

38 See BOYCE 1983.

39 See CHAUMONT 1958.

40 See WACKERNAGEL 1905, pp. 191–194, in particular §82, β (pp. 192–193). On the other hand, a theoretical interpretation of an Iranian compound such as **baga-yazniya-ka-* as "who has to do with the worship of gods", in the sense of "who fulfils the worship of gods", still remains possible; the suffix *-ka-*, in fact, is used not only as a meaningless "Erweiterung", but has one of its primary domains in the formation of adjectives of appertinentive semantics as well as of (exocentric) compounds. Since the simplex in the second term is attested without suffix *-ka-*, the latter might be in this case a compositional suffix (WACKERNAGEL 1905, pp. 102–105, §45).

41 SIMS-WILLIAMS (1998, pp. 83, 86), in fact, now reads νοκοηζοκο ι αþτοο | α[λγο] "Nukunzug the *ashtwalg*".

reading ιαþτο "sacrifice" (cf. MP *yašt*); thus, we cannot speculate on the importance of such a word (now deleted) in the Bactrian lexicon. On the other hand, we must recall that later Kušāno-Sasanian coins with the image of Oēšo display legends such as βοϱζαοανδο[43] ιαζαδο variously translated as "exalted / supreme deity"[44] or as "the god who possesses heights" (like MP *burzāwand yazad*).[45] Doubtless ιαζαδο is a derivation from Av. *yazata-*.[46] In any case, we should take into consideration a fitting comparison with Khotanese *gyasta- (jasta-)* "worshipful",[47] which was properly addressed to the king (thus corresponding to *deva-*, as a honorific title of royal persons), to the Buddha, but also to queens (see, in fact, *gyaśtä-*).[48] Here, the Khotanese title also assumes a secular meaning (in the light of the current use of *deva* and *devī* for minor kinglets and their wives, as, in his turn, FUSSMAN already noted), with regard to the Kušān royal ideology,[49] but its divine implications were still present and it is difficult to assume that they were completely obliterated, although we must observe a relative desacralization in the attested use, which made this title valuable both for (prestigious) men and for gods.

Coming back to the Bactrian sources, if the reference to βαγ[η]-/βαγο-, as it appears, means that this ritual was *like* that of the gods (I think that it would be hard to translate βαγο- here as "lord", i.e. supposing the presence of a reference only to a human "king") or that it was, in any case, of "divine" relevance, such a statement invites us to assume that the king was necessarily honoured with a kind of *yasna-*, and consequently we should wonder which kind of theological and ritual implications such a *yasna-* involved. If we assume that, in the framework of the ceremonies performed in the *bagolaṅgo* of Rabatak (but, probably also in some other dynastic sanctuaries),[50] some rituals were dedicated to the

42 See SIMS-WILLIAMS in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, pp. 80, 86; there, SIMS-WILLIAMS considered ιαþτο as not originally belonging to the Bactrian *Sprachgut*, but like MP *yašt*, it should have been a religious technical term borrowed from Av. *yešti-*. Although this form has been presently deleted, it might theoretically appear in other future sources. In this case, I doubt that it could be derived from Av. *yešti-*, because we should probably expect *ιεþτο or (better) *ιηþτο. Furthermore, as I have already noted, Av. *yešti-* is very rare, and the suspicion that MP *yašt* derived from *yašta-* should be considered (see PANAINO 1994), also in the light of the fact that **ye-* of **yesniia-* was continued with *η-* in ηζνογο (/ιηζνογο) and in αυϱηζνο.

43 See DAVARY 1982, p. 179.

44 See ERRINGTON/CURTIS 2007, p. 120 with bibliography; CRIBB 1997, pp. 29–30, 35; 2007, p. 368.

45 GRENET 1994; the Bactrian stem derives from OIr. **bṛzā-vant(a)-* (cf. Av. *bərəzvant-*); see DAVARY 1982, p. 179 with additional bibliography.

46 See DAVARY 1982, p. 202.

47 See BAILEY 1979, p. 109; I would like to thank Dr. ANDREA PIRAS, who drew my attention to this fact.

48 BAILEY 1979, p. 109.

49 See again FUSSMAN 1998, p. 588, already quoted *in extenso* in this article.

50 See VERARDI 1983.

image or to the statue of the king (as well as to those of his departed ancestors and, of course, of the gods mentioned there), the religious meaning of these "performances" could have been more or less comparable with those attested in the Roman context,[51] where royal sacrifices were strongly distinguished from those attributed to the real gods.[52] If we consider that an Iranian dynastic cult, in its turn, should have included various forms of veneration of the souls (the *frauuašis*, but also other parts of the eternal spirit, like the *uruuan-*) of the departed kings, we would find a solution which presumably also fitted a doubtless Mazdean framework, just as, for instance, the Sasanian one did, where the immortal *ruwān* of the living king and of his relatives, past or still living, were honoured by means of a "sacrifice" (i.e., as we may presume from the ritual terminology attested in ŠKZ, a kind of *yasn* or *yašt*), although these sacrifices and ceremonies did not necessarily imply that the Sasanian *Šāhān šāh* had assumed the divine status of the *yazadān*. The Iranian doctrine of sacrifice also included the idea that worship was an act of strengthening, and not only of simple veneration, and it is for this reasons that Ahura Mazdā himself might conduct a *yasna* in support of Tištrya and Miθra.[53] The veneration of the souls (and not the divinization of a human person) entered into this conceptual scheme, and this explains why it was possible to make sacrifices not only on behalf of the souls of the dead,[54] but also of living persons, particularly in the case of the king, whose role was essential for the benefit of the kingdom and of the religion.

Presently the extant Bactrian sources do not offer definitive and supportive arguments in favour of any radical solution, and I do not wish to venture into further speculations, but the problem is certainly serious and should not be forgotten in future research. Anyway, I think that, after these considerations, it would be difficult to assume *a priori* that the veneration implied by the compound βαγ[η]-ζνογο/βαγο-ιηζνογο was the crude witness of a complete divinization, although such a solution remains theoretically possible. Such a title might implicitly endorse a remarkable recognition of royal dignity including a strong reference to a number of ceremonies and dynastic rituals performed in

51 Interesting is the case of the *sacellum* discovered at Misenum, where the statues of the Roman emperors and of the gods were located in a space dedicated to the royal cult (see BORRIELLO/D'AMBROSIO 1979, pp. 137–139; MINIERO 2000).

52 The sacrifices in honour of the *Princeps* were only on his behalf *(pro salute)* or were directed towards his image *(imago)*, and, thus, they were different from those to the Gods. Although the Christian propaganda tried to equate the worship of the gods and the veneration of the Emperor, it is clear (particularly on the Western side of the Empire) that the *Imperator* and the gods were on different levels, and that especially the function of the royal image *(imago)* played a role in this distinction, as PRICE showed (1980, p. 37).

53 See PANAINO 1986.

54 We must also recall Herodotus' reference (VII, 43) to the sacrifice of a thousand bulls offered to Athena Ilias and the libations dedicated by the Magi to the ἥρωες, clearly corresponding to the *frauuaši*-s of the *artāvan*-s, about which see GNOLI 2000, p. 70.

the Kušān sanctuaries and concerning the worship of the souls, in particular those of the king and his ancestors.

The increasing presence of Iranian religious elements in the Rabatak inscription (but also in the Dašt-e Nāwur one),[55] from the names of the gods, which, with one (controversial)[56] exception, are clearly Iranian,[57] to the (official) introduction of the Aryan language (line 3–3f) and the possible banishment of Greek[58] (or more simply, the emission of an edict in Bactrian after the issue of another one in Greek),[59] etc., cannot be separated from the choice of such an intriguing epithet taken from the earliest Indo-Iranian religious technical language. Its relevance will appear more significant, if the religious care of the Rabatak *bagolaṅgo* was given to a (local) Mazdean clergy.

We may additionally remark that in the Sasanian *milieu*, too, the king was a *bay*, (a title that, however, I consider honorific, simply meaning "Majesty, Lord"), while he was never addressed with the designation of *yazad*, nor *yazišn* nor *yazišnōmand*, although it was possible to offer immolations in favour of his *ruwān*. The personal name Yazdgird (< **yazata-kṛta-*),[60] used by some Sasanian kings, attests that the *šāh* in common with other persons named that way had a name simply meaning "created by the *Yazad(ān)*".[61]

Furthermore, in Sasanian inscriptions (and not only there), the syntactic location of *bay* (and of θεοῦ in the Greek versions) before the king's name was strictly preserved, while in postposition *bay* was attributed only to a god. I must remark that the standard order regarding the syntactic position of *bay*, as described

55 The Iranian background of Dašt-e Nāwur has been already underlined by FUSSMAN (1974, pp. 32–38); the presence of a trilingual inscription and of Iranian architectonic patterns in that sanctuary can be compared with the Achaemenian traditions. In addition, the choice of such a high location (4.320 m. [FUSSMAN 1974, p. 4]) probably reflects another Iranian element, because mountain peaks have been connected with the cult of the *x°aranah-* (GNOLI 1981), and Greek sources (like Herodotus I, 131) also insist on the preference given by the Magi to highest places (ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων) for their rituals.

56 It is the case of Omma, on which see FUSSMAN 1998, p. 587, and WRIGHT 1997, pp. 342–343 (cf. also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1997). The reason for the presence of two other Indian gods (Mahāsena and Višāka), whose names were inserted over the list of the other divinities in lines 9–10 (SIMS-WILLIAMS in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 79, n. 1; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998, p. 82, n. 2), is a matter of discussion; see FUSSMAN 1998, pp. 587–588; 2001, p. 258.

57 See FUSSMAN 1998, pp. 590–594.

58 FUSSMAN 1998, pp. 596–598; cf. also MUKHERJEE 1995, pp. 6, 17.

59 See SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998, pp. 81, 84; cf. also SIMS-WILLIAMS in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, pp. 82–83, where the alternative possibility that the text should be understood as "he discontinued (the use of) the Greek language" has been proposed. See also there for the comparison with the famous passage occurring in the inscription of Darius I, Bisutun, col. IV, lines 88–89. Cf. also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996, p. 635.

60 GIGNOUX 1986 s.v. Yazdgird (1047).

61 Cf. also *Yaz(a)dān-gird* (GIGNOUX 2003, 69).

by MARY BOYCE,[62] was not consistently respected in the Bactrian documents,[63] where βαγο can stand before a personal name of a human "lord" (e.g., document Y11) as well as before a divine name (e.g., L2, O3, etc.). Other exceptions, however, have been already indicated by M. BOYCE.[64] This means, perhaps, that such a syntactic rule became more effective in later times and mostly in Western Iran (although it is attested also in Sogdian), according to a particular ideological need, which, in my opinion, avoided any confusion between a human king (or a distinguished person) and a divinity.[65] Anyway, the Kušān examples and the later Bactrian economic documents consistently attest to a different solution. This, perhaps, is explicable, if we consider that the Sasanian religious orientation was more strictly Zoroastrian, while the Kušān dynasty developed (or was it compelled to develop?) a religious policy more open to syncretism; in fact, the relevant number of Mazdean elements documented in the Bactrian context does not indicate a consistent search for an (apparent) theological orthodoxy like the one we find in the Sasanian kingdom in a later period. If the royal cult was based on a series of rituals exalting the Gods who granted the Kušān kingship and legitimized Kaniška's power,[66] the presence of an evident Mazdean background, which in the Rabatak temple was probably the most important, could offer an explanation for the attribution of such a particular title to the king. It would be, in fact, connected with these rituals for the souls without necessarily including the occurrence of a complete process of divinization of the king, although some elements present there (the mention of βαγο° as the first member of the compound) seem to be a derivation from the Hellenistic royal ideology, which, no doubt, could have offered a very good pattern to be imitated,[67] and fit better in a situation of religious syncretism.

Another important religious datum stemming from the Rabatak inscription concerns the presence of the images of all the gods (above-)mentioned and

62 BOYCE 1981, pp. 62–65.
63 SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000, p. 184.
64 BOYCE 1981, p. 65.
65 About this problem see PANAINO 2003; 2004a (reprinted in PANAINO 2007a), and my forthcoming article entitled "About some Controversial Aspects of the Sasanian Royal Ideology", where I also respond to some objections raised by SKJÆRVØ (2007).
66 It is interesting to note that in DN1, if the reconstruction proposed by SIMS-WILLIAMS for lines 7–9 is sound, the Kušān king (whoever he may have been) declared that he was one who "according to his own will has gained the kingship" (ϡιδι πιδο ι χοβε ιανε βαοδαγε ⸗ϥαχτο). Although this sentence may possibly evoke a Greek title like αὐτοκράτωρ (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 96), it underlines the act of conquering the power, which is not conceptually involved in the Hellenistic epithet.
67 Unfortunately, it is difficult to distinguish in the Kušān framework whether the cult attested in Rabatak had a private (i.e. familiar) character or if it was public. Both solutions are possible, and in some other cases, a clear-cut distinction is impossible. On this problem, an interesting article, very useful for the complexity of the subject in the case of Hellenistic kingship, is that of ANEZIRI (2005). See also ROBERT 1966 with reference to the mixture of public and private sacrifices in honour of Hellenistic kings.

strictly emphasized in the same text (lines 9–11) as well as the following reference to those of the King and his ancestors (lines 12–14). The construction of a (royal) sanctuary *(bagolaṅgo)*[68] consecrated to the royal cult, where the πι(δο) γιϱβο ("images")[69] of Gods and kings were expressly located, finds another interesting parallel in Commagene, at Nimrud Dagh, where the sacred area, dedicated to the cult of Antiochus I, hosted various statues of divine beings and of the king himself.[70] The Greek inscriptions of Antiochus I, in addition, contain many references[71] to the decision of the king to put his enthroned image close to those of the Gods who helped and supported him in his ascent to power, with a strong emphasis on his royal τύχη and on his χαρακτήρ.[72] This is a kind of tradition emphasizing the complete possession of royalty and confirming the divine source of its legitimacy. As Kaniška himself declared, he "obtained the kingship from Nana and from all the gods" (Rabatak, line 2): in doing so, he was following an earlier pattern already known from the Achaemenid period,[73] although, as we have already noted, transformed by a relevant number of Hellenistic influences.[74]

The adaptations and the contradictions emerging from the Bactrian melting-pot, where Iranian, Greek, Indian, but also Roman and Chinese traditions mixed and/or entered in contrast with one another, were probably numerous, and, as I have already suspected in the case of the Sasanian inscriptions, the possibility that many expressions had a double or threefold meaning remains open to further investigations. The fitting example of βαγ[η]-ζνογο/βαγο-ιηζνογο evokes a complex ritual background, where the Iranian technical terminology offered a fitting adaptation of Greek (but also Indian)[75] ideas concerning

68 See FUSSMAN (1988, p. 620), who remarks that "l'installation des images des ancêtres dans le *bagolaṅgo* n'est pas une manière de remercier les dieux d'avoir fait régner chacun des ancêtres de Kaniṣka, c'est une façon d'affirmer que celui-ci est l'héritier légitime du trône".
69 See line 11; πιδογιϱβο should be derived from **pati-kṛp-*; cf. MP *phykyrb* "form, figure"; cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS in SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 93.
70 MOORMANN/VERSLUYS 2002.
71 See, for instance, BEc 19–21; N. 60–61. Cf. CROWTHER/FACELLA 2003, pp. 46, 47; DÖRRIE 1964, p. 57.
72 On the importance of these references with regard to the Iranian world, see PANAINO 2007b.
73 See FUSSMAN 1998, p. 585.
74 See now AUSTIN 2006, pp. 359–360 and *passim*.
75 I would like to underline the importance of the Kharoṣṭhī inscription of Seṇavarma, king of Oḍi (BAILEY 1980), where a number of royal ancestors and relatives (but also noble members of the court), dead or alive, are honoured. The Buddhist text shows a Mahāyāṇa orientation, as FUSSMAN has explained (1982, pp. 36–37), because it attests the doctrine of the transfer of merits *(pariṇāmanā-)* to the souls of dead persons (see also FUSSMAN 1974, p. 56); furthermore, the king erected the *stūpa* in order to obtain the quality of *Arhat* for himself, his parents and grand parents. This document shows a patent predominance of Buddhist religious elements but also contains a number of Brāhmanical political concepts, not without Iranian and Greek elements (see again

the representation of the royal person. But the Sasanian evidence shows that it would have been possible to offer sacrifices to the souls of the kings (dead and alive) and their relatives in particular shrines dedicated to a ritual, so to say, *pad ruwān*; no source authorizes us to suspect that such a tradition was criticized or combatted by the Mazdean clergy in Persia or in other places. On the contrary, it finds its fitting location in the framework of the dynastic homage to be offered to the royal Sasanian house without any stark contrast to the Mazdean theology. Thus, it is possible that the Kušān kings, too, established proper rituals on behalf of their own souls as a (private?) ceremony to be performed in some sanctuaries dedicated to their dynastic cult, as D. SCHLUMBERGER[76] already explicitly suggested in the case of the temple of Surkh Kotal,[77] notwithstanding MARICQ's doubts about potential correspondences with the Sasanian fire-temples.[78] These comparisons cannot eliminate the special character of Kušān kingship, where the worship of the king's person took on some divine connotations, but the Iranian background was not completely submerged by the Hellenistic culture also in Bactria, and particularly in the religious framework some conservative traditions, mixed and adapted, were able to a new elaboration.

We can only hope that future research and in particular new discoveries will put more light on this and other controversial facts. Along this extraordinary trip, the contribution of our friend and colleague NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS will be surely as fundamental as it has already been for so many crucial issues of Iranian philology.

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FUSSMAN 1982, p. 45). In which measure these religious concepts concerning the afterlife and the status of *Bodhisattva*, which some kinglets seem to have been longing for, exercised an influence on the Mazdean doctrines, is difficult to say. But the weight of the Indian tradition cannot be neglected.

76 SCHLUMBERGER 1952, pp. 447–452, in particular 451–452; 1954, pp. 178–181.

77 Cf. also FUSSMAN 1974, pp. 37–38.

78 MARICQ 1958, p. 371. The problem is not that of demonstrating that all the dynastic sanctuaries of the Kušān kings were "fire-temples", but that it was possible to perform a ritual on behalf of their souls and not only in honour of the gods. In a strongly Iranian framework, like that of Rabatak, the worship should have followed a Mazdean pattern. It is reasonable to suppose that in other regions, and in other sanctuaries (or *devakula*, like, for instance, that of Māt), the Kušān kings adopted other rituals for political reasons.

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Versification in Sogdian

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1. The purpose of this paper is to test the possibility of identifying a metrical pattern in the extant lines of some fragments of Sogdian poetry. Although other fragments of Sogdian hymns and poems are known, both published and unpublished,[1] in this study I shall concentrate on some examples of complete lines from the Sogdian version of the hymn-cycle *Huyadagmān*.

Nearly the whole corpus of Parthian fragments of the Hymn cycles *Huyadagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān* in Manichaean script was published in 1954 by M. BOYCE. Additions and corrections were published in a subsequent article,[2] and some of the hymns were re-edited in 1975 in the same author's *Reader*.[3] A fragment of the *Huyadagmān* in Parthian language and Sogdian script (TM 406a = K 8) was published in 1989 by SIMS-WILLIAMS (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a). W. SUNDERMANN, in his Photo Edition of the Hymn cycles (SUNDERMANN 1990), made a series of corrections to BOYCE's readings[4], besides publishing additional Parthian fragments in Manichaean script from the Turfan

1 Four verses (7–8 and 12–13) from the cycle *Angad Rōšnān*, canto Ia (M 815 /r/1–2/ and /5–6/, /v/1–2/ and /5–6/), were published by HENNING *apud* BOYCE 1954, p. 122 and n. 2, 7. A few more or less complete verses from the cycle *Gōwišn ī Grīw Zīndag*, besides a few quotations of single words, have appeared in print: the last words of the last half verse of the cycle (So 14570 [= T II K 178 / T II D 170] /r/1/ in SUNDERMANN 1985, p. 640); four fragmentary verses (L 67 [= SI Kr IV/811] /v/ in RAGOZA 1980, p. 46 (where the fragment in incorrectly indicated as Buddhist) [= L 67 + Ch/So 13401 [= T II D] + Ch/So 13399a [= T II D] /v/1–10; for the joining of the fragments cf. SUNDERMANN 1985, p. 641], the last of which (/v/9–11/) has been re-edited in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981b, p. 240; one verse (Ch/So 13401 /v/4–6/ [= L 67 + Ch/So 13401 /v/12–14/]) in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 156; one half-verse (Ch/So 13401 /v/11–12/) in HENNING 1937, p. 59 on 506; one verse (Ch/So 13401 /v/19–21/) in HENNING 1945, p. 486, n. 1; one verse (Ch/So 13399a /v/13–15/) in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1979, p. 342, n. 40; one half-verse (Ch/So 14790 [= T II T 10] /v/11–12/) in HENNING 1937, p. 73 on 579; one verse (Ch/So 14792 /v/3–5/) in HENNING 1945, p. 485; one half-verse (Ch/So 14791 [= T II T 10] /v/16/) in SUNDERMANN 1985, p. 640, n. 64. A few lines from a Sogdian poem written in Manichaean script were published by HENNING: M 137 /II/r/9–10/ in HENNING 1937, p. 80 on 662, /v/2–5/ *apud GMS*, §807, /v/10–15/ in HENNING 1946, p. 151.
2 BOYCE 1956.
3 BOYCE 1975, pp. 163–168 (texts cw, cx, cy, cz).
4 SUNDERMANN 1990, pp. 14–18.

collection[5] and a further fragment in Parthian in Sogdian script from the Ōtani collection.[6]

Of the Sogdian version of the *Huyadagmān* cycle, two rather complete fragments (which include 15 verses from canto V and the first verse of canto VI) were published in 1985 by D.N. MACKENZIE. Eighteen more fragments were published by SUNDERMANN in his edition of the Hymn cycles in the CII;[7] these include more or less complete verses, as well as fragmentary ones, from cantos I, II, III, V and VI of *Huyadagmān*,[8] besides a few other fragments possibly belonging to the hymn-cycles.[9]

2. The idea that the metrical structure of Middle Iranian poetry was based neither on the number of syllables to a line nor on the quantity (long or short) of each syllable (both of which were variable), but rather on the number of stressed syllables per line was put forward by HENNING in his article "Geburt und Entsendung des manichäischen Urmenschen",[10] where he analyzed according to this principle a Middle Persian abecedarian hymn to the Living Self (M 10 /r/13/–/v/ 22/).[11] A few years later, in his article on "The disintegration of Avestic studies"[12], he briefly analyzed, according to the principle of the number of stresses to a line, two Parthian poems, a hymn to the Living Self (M 7 /II/v/),[13] with a three-stresses rhythm, and another hymn (from M 83 + M 82 + M 235),[14] with two stresses to each half-line.

In another article[15] HENNING presented, in a transcription accompanied by a metrical scansion, two more fragments of Parthian Manichaean poetry, a hymn concerning the Father of Greatness[16] and a Monday hymn[17]; the last one is subdivided into strophes of two lines, each of them in turn divided into two half-lines. The stress is not indicated, but both fragments had apparently two

5 SUNDERMANN 1990, pp. 19–21.
6 SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 22.
7 Some corrections to SUNDERMANN's readings were published by YOSHIDA 1992.
8 Fragments 36.1–6, 36.8, 36.10 (SUNDERMANN 1990, pp. 23–28a). Two fragments containing a Sogdian version of *Huyadagmān* I verses 17–30 (So 18102 [= TM 346] and So 18152 [= TM 362]) have now been published by CHR. RECK (2005).
9 Fragments 36.11–19 and 37.1–2 (SUNDERMANN 1990, pp. 28b–32).
10 HENNING 1933.
11 First published in WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1926, p. 126, and subsequently re-edited in BOYCE 1975, pp. 104–105 (text at).
12 HENNING 1942.
13 First published in *MirMan* III, pp. 29–30, and subsequently republished in BOYCE 1975, pp. 106–107 (text aw).
14 Re-edited in BOYCE 1975, pp. 176–177 (text dgb).
15 HENNING 1950, pp. 645–646.
16 M 6232 /r/, first published in SCHAEDER 1926, pp. 291–292, and subsequently re-edited in BOYCE 1975, p. 95 (text aka).
17 M 763 /r/ii/9–31/, /v/9–32/, re-edited in BOYCE 1975, p. 176 (text dga); now edited in its entirety in RECK 2004, pp. 120–122.

stresses per half-verse. In the same paper he showed that the number of syllables is not indifferent, having its limits fixed for each particular poem, thus allowing for subtle variations in the structure of verses.

M. BOYCE included in the introduction to her edition of the Hymn-cycles a section on versification,[18] where half-verses are classified according to the number of syllables and the position of stress. This was done[19] mainly in order to compare the structure of the verses of the two cycles. Further remarks on the metrical structure of the hymns were made by W. LENTZ[20].

Some detailed analyses of the versification of Parthian hymns were published in a series of articles by LAZARD.[21] In one of them[22] he has shown, comparing the lines of the hymn-cycles to those of the hymn M 10 analyzed by HENNING in 1933, that the weight of any given syllable is not indifferent: while the line in the cycles can have a maximum of three heavy syllables to each stress-group, the lines of M 10 can have only two.

Lastly, in her edition of the Sunday-, Monday- and Bema-hymns, CHR. RECK published a long chapter devoted to the metrical analysis of the hymns.[23] Her results confirm the previous analyses as regards the number of syllables per line. She reached the conclusion that the most important factor in the metrical structure of the line is the caesura, together with the immediately preceding ictus,[24] albeit stressing the importance of the melody according to which the hymns were sung.[25] The latter element escapes analysis, insofar as, notwithstanding the presence of cantilated hymn fragments[26] and of captions which indicate the model melody for a given hymn,[27] nothing certain can be said about the actual tune and its rhythmic structure.

18 BOYCE 1954, pp. 45–59.
19 As she states *ibid.*, p. 47.
20 LENTZ 1956.
21 LAZARD 1985; 2003. On the techniques of versification in Pahlavi see also SHAKED 1970, LAZARD 2001 and 2002.
22 LAZARD 1985, p. 389.
23 RECK 2004, pp. 61–87.
24 RECK 2004, pp. 84–85. On the importance of the caesura cf. also SHAKED 1970, p. 404. On prosody cf. also PUECH 1968, pp. 371–373.
25 RECK 2004, pp. 86–87. Cf. also SHAKED 1970, p. 404 ("the melodic element [...] must have been [...] the main determining influence in the shaping of a poem").
26 On the interpretation of cantillation in Middle Iranian Manichaean fragments cf. MACHABEY 1955, PUECH 1968 (esp. pp. 365–367), BRUNNER 1980 (esp. p. 356ff.).
27 Either in the form of the incipit of another hymn sung on the same melody (e.g. M 31 /II/r/6/: *pd whmn 'wzxt nw'g* "on the melody of 'Wahman has given grace'" [*MirMan* II, p. 329], and M 801a /29/7/: *'yn pd by hy 'bz'r nw'k* "this on the melody of 'You are the powerful god'" [HENNING 1937, p. 31.446], or as the name of a particular melody (e.g. M 801a /28/5/: *pd pncyxz'n nw'k* "on the melody with five high notes" [HENNING 1937, p. 31.428], and M 801a /30/5/: *'yn pd swylyy zgr* "this on the Sogdian melody" [HENNING 1937, p. 32.462]). On the melodies of Manichaean hymns cf. PUECH 1968, p. 365, and BRUNNER 1980, p. 350ff.

3. It would be interesting to investigate the possibility whether similar patterns of versification could also be found in Sogdian poetry.

As M. BOYCE stated,[28] "One of the difficulties in studying Middle Iranian verse is uncertainty over the pronunciation of some words." This is all the more true for Sogdian. We can reconstruct with a considerable degree of confidence the position and quality of long vowels. On the other hand, some doubts remain concerning the timbre and – in a few cases – the presence vs. absence of short vowels.

To a certain extent, we can make reasonable assumptions about the position of stress. Any hypothesis about stress must be based on the "rhythmic law", as first stated by TEDESCO[29] and reformulated by GERSHEVITCH[30], and subsequently much refined by SIMS-WILLIAMS[31]. The latter author made the important discovery that not only syllables containing a short vowel followed by /ṛ/ + consonant (as distinguished from the rhotacized vowels /ə^{r} i^{r} u^{r}/), but also those containing a short vowel followed by the vocalic nasal /ṇ/ + obstruent consonant (i.e. a plosive, affricate or fricative) are heavy, i.e. they have the same weight as syllables containing a long vowel; in other words, groups such as /aṛ/ and /aṇ/ function as diphthongs. SIMS-WILLIAMS concluded that a heavy syllable is simply a syllable which contains a long vowel or diphthong.[32]

Sogdian, then, had syllabification rules which were quite different from those of Western Middle Iranian. In Sogdian, inside a word, a group of consonants between two syllabic peaks (i.e. vowels or diphthongs) is not divided between the two syllables, but belongs to the second one, constituting its onset.[33] In other words, a syllable boundary (\$) must be inserted immediately after a (short or long) vocalic nucleus[34] whenever it is followed by any number of consonants, followed in their turn by another vocalic nucleus: 0 > \$ / V_C(C(C))V (e.g. /ðaste/ "hand (gen.)", /wižpya/ "terror (abl.)").

From the operation of the Rhythmic Law, it follows that in words of more than one syllable, the stress was on the stem, if it contained a long vocalic nucleus, otherwise it shifted onto the ending. We can thus establish the following rules governing the position of stress in the word:

1) Monosyllabic heavy stems (like *βām* "splendour", *taṇs* "sorrow", *nōšč* "eternal" (f. adj.), *māx* "we") or stems + non-syllabic ending (like *ðēwt* "demons",

28 BOYCE 1954, p. 45.
29 TEDESCO 1923, pp. 286, 314, and especially TEDESCO 1926, pp. 102–103.
30 *GMS*, §§484–530 (pp. 72–81).
31 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1984; cf. also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, pp. 181–182.
32 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1984, p. 213.
33 Cf. the observations, from a historical-comparative point of view, by GERCENBERG 1980, pp. 48–49.
34 Including in the definition of "long vocalic nucleus", besides the long vowels /āēīōū/, also the complex nuclei ("diphthongs") /Vṛ/ and /Vṇ/ (where /V/ = any vowel).

βōt "it becomes") were always stressed and do not call for particular comments (but see below for possible instances of loss of stress).

1a) If to such stems an ending consisting of a short (or shortened) vowel was added (such as the oblique suffix *-i* or vocalic verbal endings), the heavy-syllable stem retained the stress, as in *wâti* "wind", *γrĭ́wti* "bodies" (pl. obl.), *sxwâye* "thou removest", *γnâβu* "I lamented".

2a) Likewise, disyllabic uninflected stems (or stems + non-syllabic ending) of the type *heavy-light* were stressed on the first syllable (e.g. *zâwar* "power", *âykun* "eternity" *fčânpaδ* [(ə)fčámbaδ] "world", *âyamst* "it ends").

2b) If to such stems a vocalic ending was added, the heavy-syllable stem retained the stress (as in *fčánpaδi* [(ə)fčámbaδi] "world" (obl.), *kârpaθi* "path" (obl.)).

3) Disyllabic words consisting of a monosyllabic nominal or verbal stem + inflectional ending (like *βaγí* "god" (nom.), *tə^{r}γú* "sharp" (acc.), *δasté* "hand" (gen.), *tamyá* "hell" (loc. f.), *kuná* "do" (Imperativ)) were stressed on the second syllable.

4a) Disyllabic stems of the type *light-heavy* without ending were stressed on the second syllable (e.g. *yikân* "destruction", *čašáṇt* [čašánd] "drink", *naβγyâk* "nobility"); light verb stems with a heavy ending can be assigned to the same stress pattern, e.g. *kunáṇt* [kunánd] "they do".

4b) I surmise that disyllabic stems of the type *heavy-heavy* too were stressed on the second syllable (as *δēδâm* "diadem"[35], *āyôž* "turmoil" or *ptīδêš* "he showed"), and probably also words of the same structure consisting of a monosyllabic heavy verbal stem + a heavy ending (like *βēráṇt* [βēránd] "they obtain", *γōβáṇt* [γōβánd] "they praise" or *ōptân* "I may fall down (Subj.)"). This is part

35 The spelling *δyδ'mh* (So 14445 /v/11/ [MACKENZIE 1985, p. 425] and So 14610 /v/16/ [SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 27]) points to a pronunciation /δēδām/, as against the more common /δēδēm/, spelled *δyδym* both in Sogd. script (So 10100g(1) [= T I α] /I/r/6/, HENNING 1945, p. 478; Ch/U 6084 [= T III 2000] /r/4/, THILO 1985, p. 42) and in Man. script (M 178 /I/r/15/, HENNING 1948, p. 307; cf. also [in Man. script] *δyδymβr* MIK 4981e /4/, SUNDERMANN 1992, p. 131 and *δyδymβrṭ* M 133 /v/ii/15/, *ibid.*, p. 130). As YOSHIDA (1992, p. 140) notes the spelling with <'> *(tyδ'm)* occurs also in a Manichaean Uighur text. The spelling B.Sogd. *δyδmh*, which occurs three times in the *Vessantara Jātaka* (/c40, 984, 1166/, BENVENISTE 1946, pp. 29, 61, 70), could indicate, as SUNDERMANN (1990, p. 28, n. 51) remarks, a pronunciation /δēδam/ with short /ă/ in the second syllable. The two occurrences of the word in Christian Sogdian [*dydm*: C1 /194/ (= T II B 30.3 = N9 /I/r/14/, HANSEN 1941, p. 12) and T II B 15 (= N 195 = C22.4 /v/5/, MÜLLER 1934, p. 533)], being unpointed, do not furnish any indication about the vowel of the second syllable (probably /ā/ or /ă/). The spelling of the word in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian is always *dydym* with <y> (for the occurrences cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 149); cf. also inscriptional MPers. *dydymy* (Paik.) and ZorM-Pers. *dēhēm* (SKJÆRVØ 1983, p. 93).

of a general rule: when two or more heavy syllables followed one another, stress fell on the last one of them[36] (cf. the examples in 6b, 6d below).

4c, 4d) If to stems of the two preceding types a short-vowel ending was added, the second heavy syllable retained the stress, as [4c] in *wiδā́si* "marvel (obl.)", *wimáṇti* [wimándi] "boundary (obl.)" or [4d] *ptīγṓšu* "I heard".

5) In three-syllable words consisting of a disyllabic light stem + vocalic ending, the stress was on the final syllable (as in *patγustčá* "hidden (f.)" or *staβtará* [staβdará] "more cruel (f.)").

6a, 6b, 6c, 6d) Three-syllable words of which the third syllable is heavy had stress on the final syllable, independently of the weight of the two preceding syllables (as in [6a] *wispanā́č* "from every", [6b] *βaγānī́k* "divine", [6c] *βaṇtkatī́č* [βandkatī́č] "prison", [6d] *taṇpārmḗṇč* [tambārmḗnǰ] "corporal", *wēnāṇčī́k* [wēnānǰī́k] "visible", *āfrīnáṇt* [āfrīnánd] "they bless").

6e) With the addition of a vocalic ending to words of type 6a–d, the stress was retained on the third syllable (as in *širaṇkā́ra* [širaŋgā́ra] "beneficent (voc.)").

7) Three-syllable words with a second heavy syllable and a light third syllable had stress on the second syllable, independently of the weight of the first one (cf. case 2 above) (e.g. *raxwšā́ṇtar* [raxʷšándar] "brighter", *āfrī́wan* "blessing").

8) As far as *–ā́kă-* stems are concerned, the final vowel, which derives from a contraction, was probably shortened, at least in final position[37].

If the stem which preceded the *-e* suffix contained a heavy syllable, the stress was retained on the base (as in [8a] *nṓše* "immortal", *žwáṇte* [žwánde] "living", [8b] *pu-tā́re* "without darkness", *širā́kte* "beneficent", [8c] *āšā́me* "swallowing", *farnxwánte* [farnxʷánde] "fortunate", [8d] *ā́βraxse* "greed", *ṓsuγte* [ṓsuγde] "purified"), otherwise the stress shifted, as usually in light stems, on the suffix (as in [8e] *patγusté* "hidden").

It is possible that in the plural (ending *-ēt*) of *–ā́kă*-stems derived from heavy bases, the ending was unstressed (i.e. the stress remained on the preceding heavy syllable) if it was not followed by an unstressed suffix. Possible examples are *skwḗnēt* (*Huyadagmān*, ex. 11a, 1st half-verse), where this stress-pattern avoids two consecutive stressed syllables) and *āfrī́tēt* (*Huyadagmān*, ex. 13b, 2nd half-verse). On the other hand, the stress probably moved onto the ending *-ēt* when it was followed by the unstressed oblique suffix *-i*, as in *aṇδamḗti* (*Huyadagmān*, ex. 18b, 2nd half-verse).

36 This is a synchronic statement. From the historical point of view, when the first two syllables of a word contained long vowels in a previous stage of the language, the first one often received the stress while the second one was shortened (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, p. 182).

37 Cf. the remarks in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1990, pp. 286–287, fn. 39.

The following list includes a few examples of words occurring in the text of *Huyadagmān*, listed according to their rhythmic structure:

1) type ⏑́: *βām* "splendour", *rāz* "secret", *taṇs* "sorrow", *xwaγt* "food", *nōšč* "eternal (f.)", *xēpθ* "own", *δēwt* "demons (pl.)", *māx* "we, us", *βōt* "is, becomes", *βāt* "let it be (Subj.)"
1a) type ⏑ ⏑́: *wāti* "wind (obl.)", *βaṇti* [βándi] "bond (obl.)", *γrīwti* "body (pl. obl.)", *sxwāye* "thou removest", *γnāβu* "I was lamenting"
2a) type ⏑ ⏑́: *zāwar* "power", *āykun* "eternity", *ātar* "fire", *fčaṇpaδ* [(ə)fčámbaδ] "world", *waṇxar* "voice", *āyamst* "it ends"
2b) type ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́: *fčaṇpaδi* [(ə)fčámbaδi] "world (f., obl.)", *kārpaθi* "path (obl.)"
3) type ⏑ ⏑́: *βaγi* "god (nom.)", *taʳγu* "sharp, fierce (acc.)", *saru* "head (acc.)", *γada* "wound (f., nom.)", *δaste* "hand (gen.)", *tamya* "hell (loc.)", *wižpya* [wižbyá] "terror (abl.)", *kuna* "do (Imperat.)"
4a) type ⏑ ⏑́: *yikān* "destruction", *fəʳmān* "command", *yipāk* "anger", *čašaṇt* [čašánd] "drink", *mayōn* "entire", *raxwšnyāk* [raxʷšnyā́k] "light", *kunaṇt* [kunánd] "they do"
4b) type – ⏑́: *δēδām* "diadem", *āyōž* "turmoil", *aṇtōxč* [andṓxč] "grief", *āxās* "battle", *ptīδēs* "he showed", *βēraṇt* [βēránd] "they obtain", *γōβaṇt* [γōβánd] "they praise", *γnāβaṇt* [γnāβánd] "they lament", *ōptān* "I may fall down (Subj.)"
4c) type ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑: *wiδāsi* "marvel (obl.)", *wimaṇti* [wimándi] "boundary (obl.)", *raxwšnyāki* [raxʷšnyā́ki] "light (obl.)"
4d) type – ⏑́ ⏑: *ptīγōšu* "I heard"
5) type ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́: *patγustčá* "hidden (f. nom.)", *staβtará* [staβdará] "more cruel (f.)"
6a) type ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́: *wispanāč* "from every", *čakanāč* "from which, whence", *fəʳpatān* "I may tumble (Subj.)"
6b) type ⏑ – ⏑́: *βaγānīk* "divine"
6c) type – ⏑ ⏑́: *βaṇtkatīč* [βandkatī́č] "prison"
6d) type – – ⏑́: *taṇpārmēṇč* [tambārmḗnǰ] "corporal", *xšēwnēmēṇč* [xšēwnēmḗnǰ] "royal", *wēnāṇčīk* [wēnānǰī́k] "visible", *āfrīnaṇt* [āfrīnánd] "they bless"
6e) type ⏑ – ⏑́ ⏑: *širaṇkāra* [širaŋgā́ra] "beneficent (voc.)"
7a) type ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑: *raxwšaṇtar* [raxʷšándar] "brighter"
7b) type – ⏑́ ⏑: *āfrīwan* "blessing"
8a) type ⏑́ ⏑: *nōše* "immortal", *žwaṇte* [žwánde] "living"
8b) type ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑: *pu-tāre* "without darkness", *širākte* "beneficent"
8c) type – ⏑́ ⏑: *farnxwante* [farnxʷánde] "fortunate", *āšāme* "swallowing"
8d) type ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑: *āβraxse* "greed", *ōsuγte* [ṓsuγde] "purified"
8d) type ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́: *patγuste* "hidden"

All the preceding rules can be summarized by the following simple statement: if the word has no heavy syllables, stress falls on the final syllable, otherwise it falls on the last *heavy* syllable.

Another important difference in the rhythmic structure of the word between Western Middle Iranian (Parthian and Middle Persian) on the one hand and Sogdian on the other hand should be mentioned. While in Western Middle Iranian words were always stressed on the final syllable, in Sogdian a word could have one or more unstressed syllables in post-stress position (e.g. types 1a, 2a, 2b, 4c, 4d, 6e, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d above).

4. Some examples of lines (and – when possible – of complete two-line stanzas) are transcribed on the following pages according to the principles outlined above.[38]

The transcription is – as far as possible – a phonological one (e.g., the voiced allophones of stops are not indicated), with one exception: in two or three cases an anaptyctic vowel is indicated as a superscript schwa [ᵊ]. For typographical reasons the vocalic nasal, i.e. the second element of nasal diphthongs, is transcribed as *n* with a dot below, instead of *m* with a dot above it.[39] In the metrical scansion, *x* with an acute accent mark indicates a stressed syllable, the macron an unstressed heavy syllable, and the breve an unstressed light syllable.

Examples of verses:

1) [H.I 1b]
širaṇkāra *saṛθaṇk taγu — kuna zāṛčanūkya *par *māx[40]
˘ – x́ ˘ – x́ ˘ x́ — ˘ x́ – ˘ x́ ˘ ˘ x́

2a) [H.I 3a]
wispa rāz patγusča taγu zγuṇte — paγuṇte awu ōwa zāwar
˘ ˘ x́ ˘ ˘ x́ ˘ ˘ x́ ˘ — ˘ x́ ˘ ˘ x́ ˘ ˘ x́ ˘

2b) [H.I 3b]
kē-ti sti patγuste — parēmēδ ᵊfčaṇpaδi[41]
x́ ˘ x́ ˘ ˘ x́ — ˘ x́ x́ ˘ x́ ˘ ˘

38 I would like to point out that my transcriptions are based on the readings and restorations (marked with an asterisk in the following examples) of MACKENZIE 1985, SUNDERMANN 1990 and SIMS-WILLIAMS (*apud* SUNDERMANN 1990).

39 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981c (cf. esp. p. 358) suggests the latter, but, since the nasal was in all probability pronounced as homorganic with the following consonant, the use of the more neutral *n* with a diacritic seems preferable (see also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1984, pp. 211–212 and SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, p. 181).

40 So 14470 [= T II K] /I/v/3–4/ (SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 23): *š(yr'nk'r' s)[rô'nk] / (tγ)[w](kw)n' z'rcn'wky(b)[pr m'xw]* "Beneficent Sovereign, / show mercy [to us]." (Parth. *šahrdār kirbakkar / kar abar amā axšaδāgīft* [BOYCE 1954, p. 66]). In ex. 1, a different division into half-lines is possible: *šīraṇ/gāra / *saṛθāṇg // taγu kuná / zāṛčanūkya / *par *māx*. This division fits better the normal pattern of unstressed subject pronoun + unstressed verb (cf. above), but it rests on a double assumption: 1) that the word *šīraṇ/gāra* bears two ictuses, and hence 2) that the first element of the compound, in order to be able to bear a stress, is the long-vowel variant of the adjective *šīr-* (cf. *GMS*, §1209 ["*šyr* without ending, not to be confused with the adverb *šyr* 'very'"].

41 So 14470 [= T II K] /I/v/9–12/ (SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 23): *wysph r'z (p)[t]γwsch tγw / '(z)-γ(wn)ty p(γ)[wn]ty (Z)Kw 'ôw' z'wr / ('ky) ZY 'sty ptγwst'k / [pr](y)m(')[yδ] 'βc'npδ'y oo oo* "Every hidden secret thou revealest; / thou unveilest *those* two powers / which are hidden / in this world." In the second half of *Huy.* ex. 2b the word /parēmēδ/

3) [H.I 4a]
ēw xo raxwšnaγaṛōman pu-kōs — pu-*kirān *par raxwšnyāk pu-tāre[42]
x́ ˘ ˘ ˘ x́ ˘ ˘ x́ — ˘ ˘ x́ ˘ ˘ x́ ˘ x́ ˘

4) [H.II 36/6 2a]
rati-mas nōše āykun — *wu wēšan xumārwāβe nēst[43]
˘ x́ ˘ x́ ˘ x́ ˘ — ˘ x́ ˘ ˘ – x́ ˘ x́

5a) [H.V 36/7 2a]
kē-ti-m kunē ōūr čēwēšan — čān-ti par wēš(a)n nḛ niγrufsān
x́ ˘ ˘ – x́ – x́ ˘ — x́ ˘ ˘ x́ ˘ ˘ ˘ x́

5b) [H.V 36/7 2b]
at nḛ fəʳpatān ōp(a)tān at pšeyān — wi sāt təʳxkya tamya[44]
˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ x́ – x́ ˘ ˘ x́ — ˘ x́ ˘ x́ ˘ x́

6a) [H.V 36/7 3a]
pār-ti kḛ ōptaṇt waδēδ čaṇtar — rat(i) āykun nižayi nḛ βēraṇt
x́ ˘ ˘ – x́ ˘ – x́ ˘ — ˘ (˘) x́ ˘ ˘ ˘ x́ ˘ – x́

6b) [H.V 36/7 3b]
nē-ti-mas par zγām wi wēšan — āδe δastān-āse βōt[45]
x́ ˘ ˘ ˘ x́ ˘ x́ ˘ — x́ ˘ – x́ ˘ x́

7) [H.V 36/7 4a]
čēmaṇt sāt yikān at paṛtraṇk — kē-ti-m zrēṇčē čan wēšan[46]
– – x́ ˘ x́ ˘ – x́ — x́ ˘ – x́ ˘ x́ ˘

probably has two stresses (*parḛ]mḛ̂δ | fčánpaδi* "in this world"). We must consider the possibility that a word of more than two syllables could bear (at least in poetry) two stresses, a main and a secondary one, both counting as ictuses.

42 So 14470 [= T II K] /I/v/13–14/ (SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 23): *'yw (Z)[K]w rxwšn'γrô[mnh] pw kws / p(w)[kyr'n pr rxw]šny'(k)[h] pw t(')[r']y o* "One is the Light Paradise, without borders / and [limits, in] light without darkness."

43 So 14610(2) [= T II K 178] /r/5–6/ (SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 25): *(r)tms nwš'k ''ykwnh oo ZK(w) / wyšn xwm'r-w'(β)[y n](y)st oo* "And in immortal eternity / they will have no consoler."

44 So 14445 [= MIK III 49] /r/5–8/ (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 424): *['ky] 'tm kwn'y ôwr cywyšnw o 'YKZY / (p)rwyšn L' nγrwβs'n ZY L' / βrpt'n oo 'wptn ZY pš(y)''nn o / ZKwy s't trx'ky tmy' oo* "Who will take me far from them, / so that I may not be pressed down (?) on them / and may not tumble, fall down or be cast / into every bitter hell?" (Parth. *kē-m karā dūr až hō / kū pad harwīn nē nig[ōb]ān* [or *niγrispān* (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 427)] *// ud nē ambadān ud kafān / ō harw taxl dōžax* "Who will take me far from [it, that] I may not plunge (?) [into] them; and that I may not tumble and fall (?) into every bitter hell?" [*Huy.* V.19, BOYCE 1954, pp. 88–89]). In the first half of ex. 5b, *pšeyān* is from the stem *pšy-*, passive of Man., Chr. *pš'y-* "to throw, drop" (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 428). In ex. 5b the stressed syllable is preceded by four unstressed ones, but this difficulty can be obviated by assigning the unstressed syllable *at* "and" as enclitic to the last word of the preceding line (thus *niγrufsān-at*).

45 So 14445 [= MIK III 49] /r/9–12/ (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 425): *p'rZY 'ky 'wpt'nt wô'yô cntr o / rty ''ykwn nyz-'y L' βyr'nt / L' ZY ms prz-y'm ZKwy wyšn / ''ô'k ôst'ny's'k βwt oo* "For who(ever) may fall therein, / they will never find a way out, / nor will anyone at all / be a helper to them". The form *nyz-'y* /nižayi/ in the second half of ex. 6a is the Present Infinitive of /nižay-/ "to go out" (cf. *GMS*, §§568, 905ff.).

46 So 14445 [= MIK III 49] /r/13–14/ (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 425): *cym'nt s't yk'n ZY prtr'nk / 'ky-ZY 'tm z-r'ync'k MN wyšnw* "From all this destruction and oppression (?) – / who will deliver me from them (...)".

8a) [H.V 36/7 7a]
pār-ti-war wispu kə̄ waδēδ skwaṇt — wγašaṇt par nōšč šātaxwya
x́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ – ⏑ x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑

8b) [H.V 36/7 7b]
rati xšēwnēmēṇč δēδām — paro xēpθ saru δāraṇt[47]
⏑ x́ – – x́ – x́ ⏑⏑ x́ ⏑ x́ – x́

9a) [H.V 36/7 8a]
rati mayōn par ēw mān — awu ptari γōβaṇt
⏑ x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ – x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ x́ – x́

9b) [H.V 36/7 8b]
wi patγuste raxwšnyāki saṛθaṇk — wi γuβtč(y)a fčaṇpaδi xšēwne[48]
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ – x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑

10a) [H.V 36/8 2a]
rati čan wispanāč kirān — niγuste paro tə[r]γu yipāk[49]
⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ x́

11a) [H.V 36/8 3a]
rati skwēnēt kē-ti-war skwaṇt — pu-zāṛčanūkt δēwt xaṇt
⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ – ⏑ x́ x́ x́

11b) [H.V 36/8 3b]
rati-šan mayōn kāṛpaθi — wγaši nēst čeṇtar-pār[50]
⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ x́ ⏑⏑ ⏑ x́ x́ – ⏑ x́

47 So 14445 [= MIK III 49] /v/9–12/ (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 425): *p'rZY-wr wyspw ky wδ'yδ 'skw'nt o / wyš'nt pr nwšcw š't'wxy'kh / rty 'xšywn'ymynch δyδ'mh / prw xypδ srw δ'r'nt oo oo* "For all who are therein / rejoice in eternal bliss / and have a royal diadem / on their heads." The *-yā* abstract suffix, an allomorph of the *-yāk* / *-yă* denominal suffix used after heavy stems, was unstressed (as in *xwắtya* "weakness", cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981a, p. 13). It occurs in our texts in the words *zāṛčanū́kya* "mercy" (ex. 1, 2nd half) and *šắtaxwya* "joy". In the two occurrences of the last word in our text, a rhythm which conforms better to the normal stress pattern of alternating unstressed and stressed syllables could be achieved by stressing it on the last syllable. The two instances are *Huy.* ex. 8a (2nd half) (*wγašānt | par nōšč | šātaxwyá* "they rejoice in eternal bliss") and ex. 15 (1st half) (*°čānti-mi | βắt | šătaxwyá* "so that I may have joy"). This can be justified on the assumption that words of this pattern, i.e. words constituted by three syllables of which the first one was heavy and stressed and the last one ended in an originally long vowel, could receive a secondary stress on the final syllable. This stress could then constitute the main stress of the foot.

48 So 14445 [= MIK III 49] /v/13–16/ (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 425): *rty my'wn pr 'yw m'n oo ZKw / 'ptry γwβ'nt ZKwy ptγwst'y / rxwšny'ky srδ'nkw ZKwy γwβtch / 'βc'npδ'y 'xšywn'k oo oo* "And all with one mind / praise the Father, / the leader of the hidden light, / the ruler of the praised world."

49 So 14577 + So 14594 + So 14594a + So 14604 [= T II K 178] /r/3–4/ (SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 26): *[rt](y) cnn wyspn'cw kyr'n / [n]γwst'kw prw trγw yp'kw oo* "And from all sides / it is clothed in fierce anger."

50 So 14577 + So 14594 + So 14594a + So 14604 [= T II K 178] /r/7–10/ (SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 26): *rty 'skw'yn'yty ky ZY wr skw'n(t) / pw z-'rcn'w(ktw δy)wt xnt oo r[ty] / šn my'wn k'rpδ'y oo wyš'y / (ny)st cntr-p'r oo* "And those who are dwelling there / are merciless demons. / And on their whole path / there is no gladness."

12a) [H.V 36/8 7a]
rati wi tāβnāki waṇxar — at γaδya *wi sāt r(u)wānti
⏑ x́ ⏑ – x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑

12b) [H.V 36/8 7b]
at wi xšēwni waṇxar at γnāβan — kē-ti čēwēδ γnāβaṇt[51]
⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ – x́ – x́

13a) [H.V 36/9 4a]
rati say[ə]tmān par ēw mān — ēw wu δiβtyu γōβaṇt
⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ – x́ x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ – x́

13b) [H.V 36/9 4b]
at par žwaṇte āfrīw(a)n āfrīnaṇt — āykun āfrītēt waβaṇt[52]
⏑ ⏑ x́ ⏑ – x́ – – x́ x́ ⏑ – x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́

14) [H.V 36/9 5b]
čān-ti-mi kē *βōčē — čan sāt wižpya at *pačkwēr[53]
x́ ⏑ ⏑ x́ – x́ ⏑ x́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ x́

51 So 14577 + So 14594 + So 14594a + So 14604 [= T II K 178] /v/7–10/ (SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 26): *rty ZKwy t'βn'ky wnxr ZY yδy' / [ZKw]y s't rw(')[n](t)y ZY ZKwy / (')xšywn'y w(n)xr ZY γn''βn / 'ky ZY cyw'yδ γn'β'nt oo oo* "And with °burning voice / and in wounds [in (?)] all souls, / and with complaining voice and lamentation / (are those) who are lamenting about that."

52 So 14615 [= T II K 178] /r/13–16/ (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 422): *rty sγ(')tm'n pr 'yw m'n oo 'yw / ZKw δβtyw γwβ'nt ZY pr 'z-w'nt'kw / ''βryw'nh ''βryn'nt ''ykwn / ''βr'yt'yt wβ'nt oo* "And all with one mind / praise one another / and bless with living blessings; / they become eternally blessed."

53 So 14615 [= T II K 178] /v/3–4/ (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 422): *'Y(KZ)[Y](my ky)[βwc'y] / cnn s't wyz-py' Z(Y)[pckwyr oo]* "Who will (then) [save] me / from every terror and [fear]?" MACKENZIE's restoration of [*pckwyr oo*] follows HENNING's reconstruction of the Parthian text (based on the Sogdian) in *Huy.* Vc /3b/ as *°'c hrwyn trs 'wd ['sp'w]* (HENNING *apud* BOYCE 1954, p. 92; cf. MACKENZIE 1985 p. 424, n. 20). MACKENZIE compares Chr. Sogd. *mzyx 'wžb' 't pcqwyr* (T II B 52 /f.3/v/6–7/, MÜLLER 1934, p. 527, ll. 66–67); the same phrase occurs in C2.23 /r/15/: *[pr m](z)yx wžp' yty pcwqyr* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 44). This reconstruction is supported by another occurrence of the phrase in H. I /34a/ *[tr](s) ẅ 'sp'w* "fear and terror" (BOYCE 1954, p. 70) [HENNING's restoration], and cf. also H. IVa /4b/ *tr(s) ['w](t) lrz* "fear and trembling" (BOYCE 1954, p. 82). It is not excluded that the lacking word could be reconstructed as *['']ywz-h]* /ăyōž/ "trouble, torment" (for the final /ž/ cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 85 on 40 /r/12/), thus reconstructing the second half-verse as /čan sāt wižpya at *ăyōž/. The phrase /wižpá at *ăyŏž/ *((w)z-(p) ZY ''y'w(z)[h])* probably occurs, according to the reconstruction of SUNDERMANN and SIMS-WILLIAMS, also in So 14577 /r/13/ (*Huyadagmān*, V canto [SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 26 (frg. 38/8)]). Cf., in the Parthian *Angad Rōšnān* cycle, the phrases *'sp'w ẅ 'bn's* "terror and wreck" (*A.R.* I /30a/, BOYCE 1954, p. 118), *trs 'wd kwbg* "terror and vexation" (*A.R.* VI /66b/, BOYCE 1954, p. 150), *'bn's [ẅ] 'sp'w* "terror [and] destruction" (*A.R.* VIII /13b/, BOYCE 1954, p. 170). In any case, the position of the stress is the same and the metrical structure of the two words is similar (light-heavy vs. heavy-heavy): *pačkwēr* (⏑ ⏑́, type 4a) / *ăyōž* (– ⏑́, type 4b).

15) [H.V 36/9 6b]
°čān-ti-mi βāt šātaxwya — ðan maγōn saγ[ə]tmān skwēnēti[54]
ˊ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ ˊ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ – ˊ ⏑

16) [H.VI (36/9) 1b]
rati nūkar ptīγōšu zu waŋxar — awin širākte xšēwne[55]
⏑⏑ ˊ ⏑ –ˊ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ ⏑ — ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ˊ ⏑

17) [H.VI 36/10 2a]
rati zu ēm βōčne βaγi- — -t win tawa rwāni wēx at paδi[56]
⏑⏑ ˊ ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ

18a) [H.VI 36/10 3a]
rati taγu ēš patmōk — awi mana γrīwi žina
⏑ˊ ⏑ˊ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ — ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ

18b) [H.VI 36/10 3b]
rati zu tawa ðžyāwar ēm — at win taw(a) aŋðamēti zāwar[57]
⏑⏑ ˊ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ˊ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ˊ ⏑ ˊ⏑ ˊ ⏑

An alternative analysis to the one presented above is possible. One could observe that in a majority of cases two main stressed words (i.e. nouns and verbs) are placed towards the end of a half-verse, while the first part of a half-verse (i.e. the first foot in this analysis) contains particles, adverbs and demonstratives. Two ictuses could be assigned to each half-verse, if one admits 1) that the introductory particle *rati* was always unstressed; 2) that groups of attributive adjective + noun (sometimes in the reverse order) often (but not always) formed a single stress-group, with stress on the second element.[58] These assumptions,

54 So 14615 [= T II K 178] /v/6–8/ (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 422): *['YKZYmy] / β't š'[t'wxy] ('kh ô)nn / my'wnw sy[tm'n '}skw'yn'yty oo* "[so that I] may have joy / together with all those dwelling (there)".

55 So 14615 [= T II K 178] /v/13–14/ (MACKENZIE 1985, p. 423): *rty nwkr pt'yγwšw / 'z-w wnxr oo ZKn šyr'kty 'xšywn'y o* "Now I heard the voice / of *that* beneficent king." I take *ZKn* /awin/ as stressed because it probably represent a form of the demonstrative rather than the article.

56 So 14610 [= T II K 178] /r/5–6/ (SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 27): *[rt]y 'z-w 'ym βwcn'kw βγy o ZY ZKn / [tw' rw](')yh wyxh ZY pδy o* "And I am the redeeming god, / and the root and ground of thy soul (...)".

57 So 14610 [= T II K 178] /r/9–12/ (SUNDERMANN 1990, p. 27): *[rty t](y)w 'yš ptm'wkh ZKwy mn' / [γryw]yh 'z-nh oo rty 'z-w tw' / [ôr](z)y'wr 'ym oo ZY ZKn tw' / ['](n) ôm'yty z-'wrh oo oo* "And [thou] art the garment / of my own body, / and I am thy heart, / and the strength of thy limbs." For the reading /žina/ "body" (M. *jn'*, B. *zn'kh*, *žyn'kh*) as distinct from /žna/ "knowledge" (M. *jn'*, B. *zn'kh*, *'zn'kh*) cf. GERSHEVITCH 1962, p. 80. The spelling *'znh* in our text could be influenced by its quasi-homophone.

58 The attribute (adjective or noun in the genitive) apparently forms a single stress-group in the poem M 137 /II/ (cf. n. 1 above), thus yielding a two-stress rhythm per half-verse, e.g. M 137/II/v/10–14/ (one complete strophe plus a half-verse) *spytyy pryng nγwδn'* [11] *βγyy npyk 'ṯ ôsty'* [12] *'ôryy z'r wftyy kwrδ'k* [13] *pncz'r zwynk'ḥ oo* [1] *zyrnync šwq 'ṯ ôsty'* "Garment of white damask, / God's book in the hands. / three thousand woven jackets, / five thousand zwinka-garments, / golden pen in the hand." [HENNING 1946, p. 151]). The preceding text can be analyzed as follows: spēte paríṇk | niγôôn-ā || βaγe napík | at

however, do not account for a number of exceptional cases which cannot be explained away in this manner. Moreover, from these premises, the consequence follows that one should posit feet of 6 or 7 syllables, all of them occurring in the first part of the half-verse. For these reasons, the three-stress pattern outlined above seems preferable.

5. We can add a few remarks.

5.1 Non-phonemic anaptyctic vowels which where inserted on the phonetic level were probably counted as syllabic centres in the metrical structure of the line. Thus, e.g., /saγtmān/ is phonologically disyllabic, with a metrical structure of the type *light-heavy*. Phonetically, a central vowel (represented in writing by an aleph) could be inserted between the first and the second syllable, yielding the phonetic realization [saγədmān],[59] with a metrical structure of the type *light-light-heavy*.

5.2 I assume a final stress for the 3rd sg. Subjunctive ending *-ē* (read *-ai* by GERSHEVITCH, *GMS*, §713), even when it is added to a heavy base. E.g. in *Huyadagmān*, ex. 14 (1st half-verse), if the stress is placed on the final syllable of *βōčé* "would save" two consecutive stresses are avoided. By analogy, also *zrēṇčé* [zrēṇjé] "would deliver" (*Huyadagmān*, ex. 7, 2nd half-verse) should be stressed on the ending.

5.3 Proclitics and enclitics. Prepositions, like *păr* "on" (including the form *părō*, compounded with the article), *čăn* "from", *ôăn* "with", were unstressed. Articles are generally treated as unstressed proclitics, apart from a few cases where they appear to be stressed; in such cases they probably have the function of demonstratives rather than articles:
- Ex. 2a (2nd half) *awú ôwa zā́war* "*those* two powers (which are hidden)".
- Ex. 9a (2nd half) *awú ptarí yōβánṭ* "they praise *that* Father (, (who is) the leader of the hidden light)"; here the first half verse (*ratí | mayôn | par ēw mā́n*

ôastyá ||| šē zā́r | wafte kurôā́k || paṇč zā́r | zwiṇka ||| zernēṇč šū́k | at ôastyá || (where | marks the caesura, || the end of the half-verse, and ||| the end of the verse). The binary rhythm is confirmed by other lines from the same fragment: M 137/II/r/2–11/ *xwtyy* [3] *pr mz(y)x smwṭryy n'w* [4] *'yš 'ṭ pwtyk'ḥ oo* [5] *p'rs'r prwyṛtnyḥ* [6] *šyr y'xyy nw'zyy tw'* [7] *rwβ nwšft'k wβ'* [8] *γrf n'f 'nj'wynyy* [9] *ṭw' wy'(β)[r]tyy βy'ḥ* [10] *cn škr' n'mrtr cn* [11] *'ngwpynyy šy'tr' oo* (9–10 ed. HENNING 1937, p. 80 on 662, the rest unpublished apart from a few words quoted in *GMS* [/2/ *py'mnyy* §892, /3/ *smwṭryy* §1174, /4/ *pwtyk'ḥ* §974, /5/ *prwyṛtnyḥ* §892, /6/ *y'xy* §396, *n'wzyy* §125, /8/ *'nj'wynyy* §894]) "*You*, on the great ocean, / are the ship and the boat, / the very brave helmsman / who ferries to the other side. / Your mouth has been flowing with ambrosia; / o God, your speech / which saves many people / is softer than sugar, / it is sweeter than honey.", which can be analyzed as follows: x"atí | par mazēx smutrí || nā́w ēš | at pōtík-ā ||| pā́r sār | paṛwérṭene || šīr yā́xe | nawā́ze ||| tawa rôβ | nōš[ə]ftā́k w(a)βa || γarf nā́f | aŋžā́wene ||| tawa wyāβárte | βaγá || čan šakkará | nāmárṭar || čan aŋkōpéni | šyā́tar-ā |||.

59 As remarked by MACKENZIE 1985 p. 424.

"and all with one mind") is analogous to the first half verse of ex. 13a (*ratí | saytmā́n | par ēw mā́n*), hence the following demonstrative must constitute a stress group by itself.

- Ex. 16 (2nd half) *awín širākte xšḗwane* "(I heard the voice) of *that* beneficent king".
- Ex. 18a (2nd half) *awí mana yrḗwi žiná* "(thou art the garment) of *this* very body of mine (lit. of this my own body)".

The conjunction *āt* is always unstressed. The introductory particle *ratí* "and then", as the first word of a sentence, seems to be regularly stressed when it is followed by an enclitic pronoun or particle[60] (ex. 4 and 11b) or by an unstressed syllable (ex. 8b, 9a, 10a, 12a, 13a, 18a, 18b); it is unstressed when immediately followed by a stressed syllable (ex. 6a (2nd half), 11a, 16, 17, 18b).

5.4 Personal pronouns. The Nominative of the personal pronouns (*zu* "I", *tayú* "thou") is unstressed when it immediately precedes or follows a verb as subject (examples 2a [1st half] *tayu zγúṇte* "thou revealest" and 16 [1st half] *ptīγṓšu zu* "I heard"), but it is stressed if followed by enclitic forms of the Present of "to be" (examples 17 [1st half] *zú ḗm* "I am" and 18a [1st half] *tayú ḗš* "thou art"). It is probably stressed for emphasis also in ex. 18b *rati zú tawa ôžγā́war ḗm* "and *I* am thy heart". The Genitive *(mana, tawa)* is unstressed, as in examples 17 (2nd half) *tawa rwā́ni* "of thy soul", 18a (2nd half) *mana yrḗwi* "of my self", 18b (2nd half) *tawa ôžγā́war* "thy heart".

5.5 The numeral *ēw* "one" is usually unstressed when it precedes a stressed noun, as in *Huy.* ex. 9a and 13a (first half) *(par ēw mā́n)*, but otherwise it can constitute a stress-group by itself, as in *Huy.* ex. 13a (second half) (*ḗw | wu ôiβtyú | γōβā́ṇt* "they praise one another").

5.6 The interrogative-relative pronoun *kē* is stressed when it functions as an interrogative, whether it is accompanied by the enclitic particle *-ti*, as in *Huy.* ex. 5a (1st half) (*kḗ-ti-m | kune ôū́r | čēwḗšan* "who will take me far from them"), ex. 7 (2nd half) (*kḗ-ti-m | zrēṇčḗ | čan wḗšan* "who will deliver me from them"), or without particle, as in ex. 14 (1st half) (**čā́n-ti-mi | kḗ | βōčḗ* "while *who* will save me"). When it functions as a relative (with the particle *-ti*) it constitutes a stress group by itself, as in *Huy.* ex. 12b (2nd half) (*kḗ-ti | čēwḗô | γnāβā́ṇt* "those who are lamenting about that") and 11a (1st half) (*kḗ-ti-war | skwā́ṇt* "those who are there"); when used without particle it is enclitic to a preceding stressed word, as in ex. 6a (1st half) (*pā́r-ti ke | ōptā́ṇt* "for whoever may fall") and 8a (1st half) (*wispú ke | waôḗô skwaṇt* "all who are therein").

60 And cf. also, for stressed *ratí* with enclitics, the expression *rati-βay* "and, Sir" (with *-βay* "god, Sir" as enclitic), which occurs very frequently in the Mugh Letters (written *rtβy* [passim, 87 examples], *rtyβy* in A14 [9 examples], *rty βy* [12 examples]), and also elsewhere (*rtβy* L44 /9/, *rtyβy* L38 /22/, *rty βy* VJ.226, 949, 1501, and *(')HRZY βy* in the AncientLetter IV /2/).

5.7 Forms of the verb "to be" from the root *βaw-/β-/waβ-* are stressed, as in ex. 6b (2nd half) *(ā́ôe | ôastānā́se | βṓt)*, 13b (2nd half) *(ā́ykun | āfrītḗt | waβā́ṇt)* and 15 (1st half) *(*čā́n-ti-mi | βā́t | šā́taxwya)*. Likewise, 3rd person forms from the root **ah-* are probably stressed, as the 3rd sg. *stí* (ex. 2b, 1st half) and the 3rd plural *xā́ṇt* (ex. 11a). On the other hand, the 1st and 2nd singular (*ḗm* and *ḗš*) seem to be enclitic, as in ex. 17 (1st half) (*rati zú ḗm | βṓčne | βayí* "and I am the redeeming god") and 18a (1st half) (*ratí | tayú ḗš | patmṓk* "and you are the garment"), with the possible exception of ex 18b (1st half). The negative form *nēst* is stressed, as in ex. 4 (2nd half) (**xō wḗšan | xumārwāβe | nḗst* "they have no consoler") and 11b (2nd half) (*wyaší | nḗst | čeṇtarpā́r*).[61]

5.8 The negative particle *nḗ* is probably unstressed (as in examples 5a [2nd half] *nḗ niγrufsā́n*, 5b [1st half] *nḗ fəʳpatā́n* and 6a [2nd half] *nḗ βērā́ṇt*), except when joined to the enclitic *-ti* with the meaning "nor" (ex. 6b [1st half] *nḗ-ti-mas*).

5.9 Loss of stress in a normally stressed word. In ex. 5a (1st half-verse), the verb form *kunḗ* "do" (3rd sg. Opt.) apparently loses its stress in *kunē ôū́r* "he will take far, remove". The phrase *ôwr kwn-* "to take far" (Germ. *entfernen*, Fr. *éloigner*) apparently functions as NPers. compound verbs with *kardan* (cf. NPers. *dūr kardan*), where the verb "to do" has a slight semantic weight. A very similar expression occurs in So 10102(2) /v/3/ *(rtmy ky ôwr kwn't*, in the Subjunctive);[62] the compound verb *dwr- wn-* occurs also in Chr. Sogdian.[63] Another example of a compound verb with *kun-/wan-* is *pwrn- wn-* "to fill" (cf. NPers. *por kardan*), attested in Christian and Buddhist texts.[64] Other probable instances of loss of stress are: *čēmaṇt sā́t* (*Huy.* ex. 7, 1st half) "from all this" and *puʳni patšpā́rte* (*Huy.* ex. 10b, 1st half) "fully installed".

6. Let us now have a look at the way verses were written in the manuscripts. In the extant Sogdian fragments of the *Huyadagmān*, stanzas are written four to a page, each one separated from the following one by a blank line. Each verse is written as four lines of writing, which do not always correspond to the logical division into half-lines. A better clue as to the position in which this division (or caesura) falls is provided by punctuation dots, which, however, are employed rather sparingly. Two dots (and sometimes two groups of two dots each, separated by a space) are rather regularly written at the end of verses. Moreover, a group of two dots is often written in the middle of a line of writing. This usually

61 In the last instance the negative *nēst* could be unstressed (*wyaší | nēst čeṇtar- | -pā́r* "there is no gladness on it"), if one allows for a double stress on *čeṇtar-pā́r*.

62 Quoted by SUNDERMANN 1985, p. 642.

63 C2.51 /v/22/: *'t dwr wn' xypθ yryw cn pt(n-)xwžqy'* "and make yourself far from seeking excuses" (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 92); C2.57 /r/17/: *ftyrt (')t dwr w(n)ty s'n'wty'* "(it) sets aside and removes enmity" (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 113).

64 C2.40 /r/13/: *pwn wnty* "he fills" (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 80); P2 /22/: *pwrny wn'y* "(if) she fills (opt.)" (BENVENISTE 1940, p. 5).

corresponds to a syntactical division between phrases. We can be reasonably sure that punctuation dots, even when they fall within a written line, indicate a caesura between lines or half-lines, and hence that the following word(s) belong to the beginning of the following half-line. The division between each of the four parts of each verse are thus usually marked in the same way, although the divisions within a verse are not consistently marked.

One could assume that a stanza was formed by four short lines. However, a division made according to syntactical units shows that stanzas where probably constituted by two lines, each one of them in turn subdivided into two half-lines. The overall strophic pattern is thus similar to the one which is employed in the Parthian version of *Huyadagmān*.

Length of lines and half-lines

	min.	dis.	average	dist.	max.
1st half-line	6	[2.07]	8.07	[1.93]	10
2nd half-line	6	[1.48]	7.48	[1.52]	9
half-line	6	[1.78]	7.78	[2.22]	10
line	13	[2.56]	15.56	[2.44]	18

The length of the first half-line varies between a minimum of 6 and a maximum of 10 syllables, with an average of 8.07. The variation (i.e. the distance between the minimum and the average and the maximum and the average) is about equal; this confirms the observation that among 1st half-lines there are 12 instances of 8 syllables, 5 of 9 syllables, 5 of 7 syllables and 3 of 10 syllables and 2 of 6 syllables.

The length of the second half-line varies between a minimum of 6 and a maximum of 9 syllables, with an average of 7.48. There are 8 instances of 7 syllables, 7 of 8 syllables, and 6 each of 6 and 9 syllables.

The length of a half-line varies between a minimum of 6 and a maximum of 10 syllables, with an average of 7.78. There are 19 instances of 8 syllables, 13 of 7 syllables, 11 of 9 syllables, 8 of 6 syllables, and 3 of 10 syllables.

The length of whole lines varies between a minimum of 13 and a maximum of 18 syllables, with an average of 15.56. There are 7 instances of 16 syllables, 6 of 17 syllables, 5 of 15 syllables, 4 of 14 syllables, 3 of 13 syllables and 2 of 18 syllables. The variation confirms the average.

There is thus a significant difference between the length of the first half-lines and the second half-lines. The second half-lines appear to be on the average shorter than the first ones. These figures can be compared to those which were calculated by M. BOYCE for the Parthian version of *Huyadagmān*,[65] where the average length of a half-line is 6.41 syllables and that of a whole line is 12.82.

65 BOYCE 1954, p. 47.

Thus, the average length of both lines and half-lines in the Sogdian translation is significantly higher than in the Parthian version.[66]

However, while the Parthian lines of the *Huyadagmān* have two stress-groups per half-line (as was shown by M. BOYCE and G. LAZARD),[67] in the Sogdian version the half-line usually has three stressed words. This can be verified in the case when the half-line contains only three words capable of bearing the main stress (not counting prepositions and enclitics). The clearest cases are those where a division between half-verses is marked by punctuation dots: ex. 4 (1st half): *rati-mas* | *nōše* | *ǎykun*; ex. 4: (2nd half): **wu wéšan* | *xumārwǎβe* | *nést*; ex. 5b: (2nd half): *wi sǎt* | *tə'xkyá* | *tamyá*; ex. 8a (2nd half) *wyašánt* | *par nōšč* | *šǎtaxwya*. In the absence of punctuation dots, the division can be inferred by a split into lines of writing: ex. 6b (2nd half): *ǎδe* | *δastānáse* | *βōt*; ex. 10a (2nd half): *niγusté* | *paro tə'γú* | *yipǎk*; ex. 14 (2nd half): *čan sǎt* | *wižpyá* | *at *pačkwér*[68]. In still other cases, the division is unmarked, but clear from the context: ex. 1 (2nd half): *kuná* | *zārčanūkya* | **par *mǎx*; ex 12a (2nd half): *at yaδyá* | **wi sǎt* | *ruwánti*; ex. 13b (2nd half) *ǎykun* | *āfrītēt* | *waβánt*.

The small size of the sample does not lead to definitive results, but a few considerations on the structure of stress-groups are possible. For the purpose of counting unstressed syllables in a foot, the post-stress syllables of a word have been assigned to the following foot, except when these post-stress syllables are in the third foot of a half-verse.

66 Since the Sogdian versions of the hymn-cycles were in all probability translated from Parthian, the length of the Sogdian lines should naturally reflect that of the Parthian ones. This observation is confirmed by the only known fragment of the Sogdian version of the *Angad Rōšnān*, preserving unfortunately only four stanzas. (M 815, published by HENNING *apud* BOYCE 1954, cf. n. 1 above). In this fragment, which, by the way, can be analyzed as having a two-stress rhythm per half-line, as against the three-stress rhythm of the *Huyadagmān* fragments, the number of syllables per line and half-line is significantly shorter than in the *Huyadagmān*. By way of comparison with the figures given above for the *Huyadagmān*, the length of verse-units in the Sogdian *Angad Rōšnān* fragment is as follows: 1st half line: min. 4, max. 8, average 6.13; 2nd half-line: min. 4, max. 7, average 5.63; half-line: min. 4, max. 8, average 5.88; line: min. 10, max. 13, average 11.75. This facts are in agreement with the observations of M. BOYCE (1954, p. 47) about the differences in length between the lines and half-lines of the two hymn-cycles in Parthian. She noted that the verse-units of *Huyadagmān* are on the average longer than those of *Angad Rōšnān*, albeit only by a relatively small amount. In the Sogdian versions, the differences in the number of syllables are even more significant.

67 This is also the case of many other published Parthian hymns. In some cases, however, half-lines with a three-stress rhythm either predominate (cf., e.g., M 284b [RECK 2004, pp. 68–70] and M 785 [*ibid.*, pp. 75–76]) or alternate with half-lines with only two stresses (cf., e.g., M 5860 [*ibid.*, pp. 72–73]).

68 For the reconstruction **pačkwēr* (or **āyōž*) cf. n. 53 above.

Number of syllables preceding the stressed syllable in a foot:

syllables	cases	%
0	22	13.58
1	65	40.12
2	57	35.19
3	18	11.11
total	162	100.00

In 122 cases out of 162 (i.e. in more than 75 percent of the cases) there are 1 or 2 syllables in pre-stress position. Thus, the most frequent form of the foot is formed by 2 or 3 syllables.

Number of syllables in pre-stress position divided according to the position in the half-line

	0 syll.		1 syll.		2 syll.		3 syll.	
pos. 1	14	63.64 %	21	32.31 %	14	24.56 %	5	27.77 %
pos. 2	4	18.18 %	19	29.23 %	20	35.09 %	11	61.12 %
pos. 3	4	18.18 %	25	38.46 %	23	40.35 %	2	11.11 %
total	22	100 %	65	100 %	57	100 %	18	100 %

Thus, the majority of 1-syllable feet are found in position 1, two-syllable feet are more evenly distributed, three-syllable feet are more frequent in the second part of the half-line (2nd and 3rd position), and 4-syllable feet occur more frequently in position 2, followed by position 1.

Patterns of unstressed syllables before the stress

1 syllable before the stress	light	56 out of a total of 65	86.15 %
	heavy	9 out of a total of 65	13.85 %
2 syllables before the stress	light-light	38 out of a total of 57	66.67 %
	light-heavy	14 out of a total of 57	24.56 %
	heavy-light	2 out of a total of 57	3.51 %
	heavy-heavy	3 out of a total of 57	5.26 %
3 syllables before the stress	light-light-light	12 out of a total of 18	66.7 %
	light-light-heavy	5 out of a total of 18	27.8 %
	light-heavy-light	1 out of a total of 18	5.5 %

The analysis could be further refined by observing that there are some constraints as far as the number and weight of the syllables preceding the stress

are concerned: 1) when one syllable precedes the stress, it is generally light (in more than 6/7 of the cases); 2) when two syllables precede the stress, the most frequent pattern is light-light, followed by light-heavy; 3) when three syllables precede the stress, the first and second ones are light (except in one case), and the third is also preferably light.

It appears then that a stress-group (or foot) was normally formed by one stressed syllable (sometimes followed by an unstressed coda at the end of a half-line), rarely alone, more often preceded by 1 to 3 unstressed syllables (but more often one or two). If one or two unstressed syllables preceded the stress, they were indifferent as to weight (but light in the majority of cases). If the number of pre-stress syllables, the first two were light.

To sum up, we can say that, notwithstanding some uncertainty due to the small size of the sample, specific trends can be observed. No definitive conclusions can as yet be reached, but I hope to have shown that it is possible to outline a few basic characteristics of the system of Sogdian versification, which seems to follow definite rules, although if many of the details still escape us.

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The Ascension of the Light Elements and the Imprisonment of Ahriman

The Cosmogonical and Eschatological Part of a Sogdian 'Sammelhandschrift'

CHRISTIANE RECK, Berlin

It is a special honour for me to dedicate to NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS on the occasion of his 60th birthday an article which completes the systematic work on these fragments which started in the volume on the occasion of the 60th birthday of WERNER SUNDERMANN.[1] At that time, many years ago, I showed NICHOLAS my preliminary readings and translations and he gave me some very precious and helpful advice. For this and all other help concerning my work and publications I would like to express my deepest gratitude here.[2]

Introduction

In the volume quoted above I introduced a group of 27 fragments characterized by a special type of handwriting.[3] The two best preserved pages in this handwriting had already been published. The first fragment (So 18300) contains a part of the story of the pearl borer, published by HENNING[4]. The fragments, So 10100d, So 18055 and So 14030(1) presumably belong to the epimythion of the story of the pearl borer, or at least to the same special kind of manuscript.[5] The second fragment (So 20229) published

Fig. 1

1 RECK 1995.
2 I thank DESMOND DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, ELIO PROVASI, JENS WILKENS, YUTAKA YOSHIDA and WERNER SUNDERMANN for their help regarding the reading and interpretation of the Sogdian text in many details and especially DESMOND DURKIN-MEISTERERNST for improving my English. The mistakes are my own responsibility.
3 RECK 1995 and 2006, p. 339, nr. 12.
4 HENNING 1945, pp. 465–469.
5 Three groups can be distinguished amongst the fragments belonging to this manuscript. The most distinctive feature is the punctuation mark. There are three different punctuation systems. The fragments belonging to the story of the pearl borer are typified by a black double dot with a red dot above and below (fig. 1). This kind of punctuation is well known from Christian texts and, without the use of red ink, from Buddhist texts as well.

by W. SUNDERMANN bears the title ctβ'r 'βc'npδ "the four worlds", relatively well preserved in the headline. The text describes exotic creatures.[6]

The latter gives an idea of what a complete page of this manuscript looked like. Its measurements are 22,5 cm (h) × 12,7 cm (w) with 21 lines of text + red headline.[7] The punctuation of this text is also remarkable.[8]

15 of the remaining 22 fragments show identical patterns of damage by worms. It was therefore possible to reconstruct six leaves, presumably following each other (see below). This observation was confirmed by imprints of the red punctuation marks on the facing pages.[9] The first part of this booklet[10] has already been published and contains a hagiographical story about a female hearer and the Light apostle, i.e. Mani himself.[11] The small fragment So 19552 obviously belongs to the same story but it was not possible to ascertain its place in the manuscript.

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

All the fragments in this handwriting show similarities not only in the script which W. SUNDERMANN describes as "a rather coarse style of Sogdian script which makes its decipherment an often difficult task. Similar letters like ', n, r and z, or s and š tend to merge"[12] but also in the form of the often used decorative element (fig. 4) and the awkward way of making a correction (fig. 5). So the close connection of all these fragments is obvious. It may be possible that all belong to one manuscript as suggested by W. SUNDERMANN.[13] But the variations are noteworthy.[14] The different kinds of ruling cannot be ignored.[15]

Besides the punctuation we also find in these fragments very thin black lines on the recto sides only 2.2 or 2.3 cm apart, including two lines of script. See also RECK 1995, p. 196, n. 3. All the other fragments have grey lines in accordance with the lines of script on both sides.

6 SUNDERMANN 2001b.

7 RECK 1995, p. 198, SUNDERMANN 2001b, p. 182, RECK 2006, p. 244, #331.

8 It is a black dot covered by a red circle and followed by three small dots (see fig. 2). This punctuation is unique among the Turfan fragments. Normally these piles of dots are used for the decorative beginnings and ends of headlines.

9 This reconstruction is described in detail in RECK 1995. The punctuation looks like in fig. 3.

10 With ‚booklet' in a narrower sense I mean the reconstructed sequence of pages.

11 RECK 2007.

12 SUNDERMANN 2001b, pp. 181–182.

13 SUNDERMANN 2001b, pp. 182, 183 and 186.

14 The fragment So 10077 shows that two kinds of punctuation could be used on one fragment. Unfortunately the fragment is broken just where the second red dot should be expected /1.p./1/. Because of this reason one cannot exclude that the red point over the double point was only a print of the other sheet of paper.

The booklet

The booklet part of the so-called "Sammelhandschrift" consists of 15 fragments which it was possible to join in parts to form 6 consecutive leaves of a codex book. Additionally there are six fragments which it was not possible to integrate into these 6 leaves but which seem to belong to the same manuscript. They are also published here. The finding place, state of preservation, joining and order of the fragments have already been described in detail elsewhere.[16]

I summarize the order of the folios:

Folio	Fragments
1	So 14198 (T II D 93o) + So 14197 (T II D 93n) + So 14199 (T II D 93p)
2	So 14196 (T II D 93m) + So 14195 (T II D 93l)
3	So 14187 (T II D 93c) + So 14190 (T II D 93f)
4	So14186 (T II D 93b) + So 14185(1) (T II D 93e)[17]
5	So 14185(2) (T II D 93a) + So 14188 (T II D 93d)
6	So 14192 (T II D93h) + So 14194 (T II D 93k) + So 14193 (T II D 93i) + So 14191 (T II D 93g).

Folios 1, 2 and 3 recto (ll. 1–65)[18] have already been published as mentioned above (hagiographical story). In addition, the fragment So 19552 is published there in connection with this text.

Lines 66–67 belong to the end of the preceding text of the hagiographical story. They are seriously damaged.

Then two final decorative flowers follow. After two blank lines a new part of the text starts. The first three lines of that text are covered by red dots. Usually such dots mark deleted passages. In fact the beginning of the text is repeated in the following passage and differs in some minor points and in that way two lines are inserted. The same kind of emendation marks are to be found on the 5th page verso. Unfortunately one cannot compare the texts there, c'nkw and xwn'k[w] are the only nearly completely preserved words.[19]

The maximum number of lines on a joined page is 17 with the exception of So 20229 which has 21 lines. If all fragments belong to one manuscript we

15 The fragments have thin grey lines on both sides of the leave for each line of script and at the margins against the usage of the fragments belonging to the story of the pearl borer.

16 RECK 1995.

17 It was not possible to identify the finding signature T II D 93e in 1995, see RECK 1995, p. 194. But in the meantime it was recognizable that it should be So 14185(1), see RECK 2006, p. 102, nr. (125), n. 1.

18 RECK 2007. The numbering of lines of the reconstructed text of these fragments is given in RECK 1995, pp. 203–204. I follow this numbering. So the edition here starts with line 66.

19 In my article of 1995 I was convinced that these marks show emphasised passages at the beginning of a passage. But now I prefer to characterize these passages as emendations.

could assume that only a few lines, presumably four lines and a headline, are missing. If the manuscript had no headline there would have been space for a few more lines. So 13700a possibly preserves the upper outer corner of a page. If this is true, no headline was on that page. The attempts to align this fragment in accordance with the damage and the worm holes of the other fragments, and in accordance with the grey line of the margin are not very convincing. One position could be possible. In this position (fig. 14 below) one could assume that two lines are missing before the texts start on the single pages. Then presumably four lines are missing at the end of the fragments. But there is nothing definite about all this. Three further fragments preserve corners of pages: So 10030(2) an upper one, So 15800 and So 14700(11) a lower one. Unfortunately it is not possible to join them in any way. So 10030(2) preserves traces of a red headline like So 20229.[20] The small fragment So 10081 looks a little bit similar than So 19552, which it has not been possible to join to the other fragments of the hagiographical story. But it is smaller and its contents do not allow any allocation.

The ascension of the Light elements and the imprisonment of Ahriman

The second part of the text of the booklet is marked by three different types of introductions to structure the text. These are

1. indirect questions: rty cw w'n'kw ps'y "And that which you ask so" (/68/, /71/, /87/, /108/), [rty w]('n')k(w)[(')p](r)[s'(y)] (/114/), and [rty cw w'n]'kw 'ps' (/126/);[21]
2. answers in reported speech, presumably quotations of utterances of Mani himself: rty w'n'kw pr'm'y ([/77/], /97–98/, [/110/] /117–118/) "And he spoke so" or](r)ty w'n'kw prm''y (/91/, /134/);[22]
3. exhortations: rt(y) tγw w'n'kw γrβ' (/149–150/, /169–170/) "And you shall know so".

These introductions lead us to characterize this text as kephalaia-like. They have a systematic order. At first the indirect question is mentioned then the reported speech follows. The exhortations appear only in the final part of this booklet. Maybe this belongs to another part of the text. The content is cosmogonical and eschatological. It deals with the invasion of *Ahriman*, the King of the Realm of Darkness, in the Realm of Light, the imprisonment of the powers of Darkness by the powers of Light, the First Man and the Light Elements[23], and their redemption.

20 On one side the headline and the circles of the punctuation marks are brown. It is not clear whether this is due to fading or if brown ink was used.
21 Is the change of the form a mistake or a conscious device?
22 This is presumably a mistake for pr'm'y.
23 These are: the living air, wind, light, water, fire, SUNDERMANN 1992, p. 137, GARDNER 1995, p. 296.

The first introduction (3rd folio verso) is the indirect question concerning the fight of the First Man, here called *Āδβay*, and the Light Elements which will be purified and will rise up. The formula "day by day, month by month and year by year" (sometimes "day by day" only) is often used for the ascension of the Light elements.[24] The following text on the next page (4th folio recto) is difficult to understand. The first lines are mostly damaged and also in following lines some words are not complete, for example in ll. /81/ and /86/. So it is difficult to reconstruct the sentences and to understand the meaning. Who shows his own self or body? Who accomplishes whose work? What about this big figure "1000×1000×10000×10000"? Are the activities of the Light elements in the world meant? The next question asks whether palace and throne will be prepared in the Light Paradise for all redeemed elements.

On the 4th folio verso we are told how the devil enters the Paradise of Light. The simile of the "powerful fish, who was diving down into the deep sea" is unique in Manichaean literature.[25] Of course, a fish has already been mentioned occasionally. In those cases the dark powers have been caught like fishes.[26] The fish, i.e. the devil, has split the mountain border *(γr'kws'k)*. This word is attested here for the first time, see below the note to line /103/. It seems to be a kind of borderline of the Paradise of Light.[27] This part of the story referring to the approach of the devil to the borderline of the Realm of Darkness and of the Realm of Light is reported in several texts.[28] The *Acta Archelai* and an-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* report that the Powers of Darkness do not only plan to attack the Realm of Light but in fact enter it, agreeing with our text.[29] But this penetration is only a frontier crossing not a complete entering. The partly published fragment So 14638 contains a passage about the fight of the *Āδβay* against *Ahriman* very similar to our text.[30]

The next question seems to be about the reaction of the family of Light to this event. On the 5th folio recto and verso the bondage of the devil is dealt with. The First Man has bound the Powers of Darkness by entering the Realm of Darkness

24 SUNDERMANN 1997, pp. 94–95, § 161, HUTTER 1992, p. 59 (M 7980 II V i 11–13). SUNDERMANN 1973, pp. 34–35 (M 1020 + M 1022/V/II/2–5/ = (565)–(568)).
25 This metaphor reminds me of the following passage, describing the descent of the Living Spirit in order to help the First Man: "Schn[ell] <und> [in] Eile stieg er hinab, [wie] ein großer Felsblock in das M[eer] (?) <fällt>." SUNDERMANN 1973, p. 44 (804–806). But the fish of our metaphor is the devil and he jumps not only once but again and again (šw'skwn). I thank D. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST for this comment.
26 Keph. XVIII, POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, p. 58 and GARDNER 1995, p. 62.
27 The border of the Realm of Light and the Realm of Darkness is called in MP wymnd, see DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 353, and HUTTER 1992, p. 19, Z. 7.
28 Keph. XXIII "Über den Kampf zwischen Licht und Finsternis", POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, p. 58, ll. 29–32, and GARDNER 1995, pp. 70–71, *An-Nadīm, Fihrist*, BÖHLIG 1980, p. 145.
29 BÖHLIG 1980, pp. 123, 145.
30 SUNDERMANN 1979, p. 129, fn. 217.

so that his elements were devoured by them.[31] So the Light was imprisoned and mixed. But the Darkness was weakened and bound as well. Therefore the fight to redeem the Light and to destroy the Darkness can start. At the beginning of the text of this fragment somebody is afraid that the devil could free himself and return to fight again. He will be reassured by the metaphoric answer that the Devil will be bound like a burned animal that is no longer able to break out. The text of the second metaphor is unfortunately damaged. I am very grateful to Y. YOSHIDA for his readings and the interpretation of this passage: "If one sows seed, which is burnt, it will never grow."[32] A question concerning the Powers of Light which will bind the devil follows. This topic is repeated on the verso side, where the beginning of the remaining part is marked as a deletion as mentioned above. Unfortunately we cannot recognize which part of the text was corrected, because only a few very common words are preserved. The following text deals again with the bondage of the devil and the Powers of Darkness by the Powers of Light and the great gods. The bondage is compared with a glass made by the wise man with a special material (kyδβh), a good technique and skilful hand, into which the devil will have been put like a snake and will not be able to break out any more. The *Sermon of the Light Nous* mentions the simile of the fly and honey for the imprisonment of the Powers of Darkness by the gods of the First Evocation.[33]

On the 6th folio another simile is presented: "The Column of Glory ('the Righteous Srōš', sr'wšrt βγy) is similar to the Glorious Tree, which has grown in the middle of the appearance/image". The image of the tree has a central importance in Manichaean symbolism and is often used, for example in the Keph. II,[34] and in the *Sermon of the Soul* and the *Sermon of the Light-Nous* as well. There are five trees, usually the five Trees of Life, erected by the Light-Nous in the New Man.[35] The *Sermon of the Soul* likens the five elements to five trees. One of Mani's Psalms mentions: "... the tree of life, great spring of praise, Srōšāw rōšan's eternal eye that does not cloud over (?) and hearing that does not become disturbed." (M 328)[36]

The following text seems to report on the preparation of the First Man. He gets the elements, his sons, as his garment, e.g. his armament. He dresses himself with this garment and looks very shiny.[37] Two of the Light elements are mentioned on this page in line /156/ "]tr ZY 'rt(x)wš(t) "fi]re and light". It is strange that here the preparation of the First Man is described. Or this very defective part of the text should be interpreted in another way.

31 HENNING 1933, pp. 314–315.
32 YOSHIDA, mail from 28 December 2007.
33 SUNDERMANN 1992, p. 63, §2 with n. 6 on p. 79.
34 POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, pp. 16–22, GARDNER 1995, pp. 22–26.
35 SUNDERMANN 1992, §§34–37, and SUNDERMANN 1997, p. 143, n. 119, 5. Jesus the Splendour does the same work in the Keph. XVI, POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, p. 53. He plants a Tree of Life, l. 27.
36 DURKIN-MEISTERERNST/MORANO forthcoming, §203b.
37 See also Keph. XXIII "Über den Kampf zwischen Licht und Finsternis", POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, p. 69, ll. 27–33.

The 6th folio verso continues with the redemption of the light, the ascension to the two chariots of Light. It counts: fourth, the Column of Glory (here: "wkršn'k against sr('w)šr(t) βγy in l. /150/). We do not know what the first three points are. But we know that the Column of Glory is part of the mechanism transporting the light up to the Paradise of Light. The mention of the Zodiac ('nxrwzn) with 12 shining stars at this place is puzzling. The Zodiac is part of the bondage of the Rulers of Darkness (Archons), built by the Living Spirit, and is not part of the redeeming mechanism. But the Uigur fragment U 169 II, on the almsgiving of the hearers, also reports on the ascension of the soul to the Zodiac.[38] So it may have been a common image. On the other hand it is possible to interpret this passage in another way. According to YOSHIDA's opinion it is here asked what the binding of the Zodiac and the stars look like.

Then a reference follows to the power in the Paradise of Light, the five elements coming into the fight the one's own five limbs (of the soul likely) follow before the last traces of this text disappear.

It is a pity that this text is so fragmentary and so difficult to reconstruct. The structure does not seem to be very systematic and it is not clear whether this is a detailed explanation of the first topic of the ascension of the Light Elements or a collection of repeated questions going further than this topic. The order of the pages is assumed on the basis of the imprints of the red points. Of course these imprints could have occurred in the damaged state of the book and do not necessarily show the original order of the pages in the book. But taking the state of the damage of the fragments into account this order seems reasonable.

The usage of a very metaphorical kind of presentation of mythological details agrees with the style of the *Sermon of the Light Nous* and the *Sermon of the Soul*.

The fate of the Light is one of the central myths of the Manichaean religion. Several texts present it in various ways. *Kephalaion* CLXIII "[Über das Licht]: auf welche Weise es vermischt wurde und auf welche Weise es wieder getrennt (?) werden wird" deals with one aspect of our text. Unfortunately this chapter is also very badly damaged and only a small part of the beginning is preserved. It says that the mixing process started with the coming of the First Man and reports how the Fathers of Light do their work. At the end, the Light elements will reside together with the First Man in the New Aeon.[39] This *Kephalaion* corresponds in particular with the ll. /71/–/90/ of our text. Keph. VI reports about the Darkness, and that the King of the World of Smoke had come out of his realm to see the beauty of the Realm of Light and started his fight against it.[40] The imprisonment of the powers of Darkness is the topic of various cosmogonic and eschatological texts. It is systematically explained in Keph. XVI "Über die

38 I thank J. WILKENS for this information. The fragment was published in LE COQ, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III*, Berlin 1922, p. 12, ll. 13–14, and described in WILKENS 2000, pp. 105–106 (# 89).
39 Keph. CLXIII, in FUNK 2000, pp. 406–407.
40 POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, p. 30, GARDNER 1995, p. 34.

gegen die Finsternis kämpfenden fünf Größen"[41], in Keph. XVII "Das Kapitel von den drei Zeiten"[42], Keph. XVIII "Über die fünf Kriege, welche die Söhne des Lichts führten wider die Söhne der Finsternis".[43] Although a lot of similes are used, not a single one of them can be identified with our metaphors. But we learn that the Living Spirit imprisons them "mit großer Kunst" as described in this small booklet as well.[44] However, that refers to the final imprisonment of the Devil after *Frašēgird*, the Final victory of the Powers of Light.[45]

Transliteration and translation of the second part of the booklet[46]

3rd folio verso (/66–73/ = So 14187/v/, /70–78/ = So 14190/v/) (fig. 6):

/66/ [ ](.)
/67/ [2](’/n)k ’’[4](y/δ) (β’)[ ](.)[2](. ○)
♣ ••• • ♣

two blank lines

/68/ . [r]ty (cw w)’n’k(w) ps’y xw m’rδsp’(n)[t][47] .
/69/ . ’t βγ(’)[y]-št ky myδ myδ ZY m’x m’xy .
/70/ . [srδ](sr)δ (c)n(**n**) [’βcn](p)δy ps’w<x>s’nt[n] .
one blank line
/71/ (r)ty cw w’n’kw ps’y (x)[w m’r]δsp’ntt
/72/ (β)γ’yšt ZY ZKwy ’δδβγ (’’)[x]’s (pn)c
/73/ (m)’t’nt rtxh p(’)[2](.)[3](.)[1](.)[2–3][48]
/74/ (’)t ky myδ myδ ZY m(’x)[m’xy ZY srδ]
/75/ [sr]δ cnn ’βc’npδy (p)[s’w(x?)s’nt[n]]
/76/ [ZY](s)n’nt rty c(w)[8]

41 POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, pp. 49–55, GARDNER 1995, pp. 54–59.
42 POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, pp. 55–57, GARDNER 1995, pp. 59–61.
43 POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, pp. 58–60, GARDNER 1995, pp. 62–64.
44 POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, p. 58, l. 30, GARDNER 1995, p. 63.
45 BÖHLIG 1980, pp. 111, 112, 113 e.a.
46 Comments printed at the end of the edition of this booklet are marked by a small n. ♣ indicates decorative flowers. The brackets are used in the normal sense. Note that { } are used to indicate parts of the text deleted by the scribe in the original. Letters in bold show, where the new fragment of a joined text starts.
47 A mistake for mrδ’spnt. Referring the ’t the following line Y. YOSHIDA wrote me that he would rather think the word is not complete at the end of line 68 and the final part is transferred to line 69, i.e. m’rδsp’-nt. It could be possible and I thank for this suggestion. But I think that at the end of the line a condensed n is visible, the t is broken and on the following line the ’ clearly distinguished from an n.
48 Possibly one could restore: (pnc) [mrδ’spnt]. I thank D. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST for this suggestion.

/77/ [3](t) ○○ rty w[’n’kw pr(’)m’y 4]
/78/ [3](δ)[15]

verso
(66) [ ] (67) [ ] ... [ ] ... ... [ ](.)[49]

/68/ {And if you ask so: "The elements and /69/ gods, which are purified (from the world) day by day, month by month and /70/ [year] by year."}

/71/ And if you ask so: "The elements [and]/72/ gods, <which> were five in the (struggle) of the Ăδβaγ[50] /73/ and the (five elements?) /74/ which are purified[n] from the world day by day, month [by month and year /75/ by ye]ar and ascend." /76/ [ ]... And (what)[ ] /77/ [ ]. And th[us he spoke: "] /78/ [ ]

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Fig. 6: 3rd folio verso (/66–73/ = So 14187/v/, /70–78/ = So 14190/v/)

49 Possibly a closing formula with ’’ykwn "eternity" was written here.
50 This is the First Man, see SUNDERMANN 1979, p. 102 (4/3) and pp. 120–130, fn. 217. This identification is proved by §118 of the *Sermon of the Soul*, where Ăδβaγ is mentioned together with the five gods, see SUNDERMANN 1997, pp. 86–87 and fn. 118.1 on p. 141.

4th folio recto (/79–90/ = So 14186/r/, /86–95/ = So 14185(1)/r/) (fig. 7):
/79/ ('kδry)[14](....)[3]
/80/ wyδβ(')[γ 4]γt(.)[5] cw zγ(m)[']
/81/ γw'ncyk wβ'y (r)t(y)[2]z-'(y)t[51] ZY ZK(w)
/82/ xypδ γr'ywh '(n)[št']'y'nt[52] ZY [Z](Kw)
/83/ 'rkh 'βškr'n(t) (r)tcn ZKn p'z-n
/84/ (')yδcw knpy L' β(wt) ○○ m'yδ (ZY) ms Z(Y)
/85/ 'yw 'yw mrδsp'nty ZKwy p'zn 1LPw
/86/ 1LPw RYPW RYPW[n] (m)[yn'n?](**t**) ○○ ○○
/87/ tym w'n'kw (p)[s'](**y**) myš'nt βγ'y(št)
/88/ ky myδ m(y)[δ cnn] 'βc'npδ (s)[n]'nt rtš[n]
/89/ ZKwy rxw[š](**n**'γr)δm'ny wyspny ''δ'k
/90/ [3](δ)[.](x/γ)[2–3](š'yk'n)[53] ZY γ'δwky 'sty
/91/ [○○](r)tšy w'n'kw prm''y[54]
/92/ [11 m]yδ'ny ZY pt'yn'w'k
/93/ [12](.) δβtyk š'/nk(yn)
/94/ [13](.)t c'n'kw (.)[1]
/95/ [13](.)[9–10]

recto
/79/ (now)[ ] /80/ (explanation/sermon)[ ] what the (wicked /81/ lie)[55] would be. And the ... (show) /82/ their own self/body and they accomplish /83/ the work. And the mind /84/ becomes not less. So further /85/ each one element in the mind [remains?] 1000 × /86/ 1000 × 10000 × 10000.[n]" /87/ Further, if you ask so: "These gods, /88/ who day by day (go away) [from] the world. And for them, /89/ all of them /90/ [ ], (the palace) and the throne[n] is in the Paradise of Light. /91/ [ ]" And thus he speaks: /92/ ["] amongst [ ] and separation /93/ [ ] second/other (small?/palace?)[56] /94/ [ ] as [ ] /95/ [ ]

51 Possibly one could restore '']z-'(y)t "births" meaning "beings", for which one would expect ''z'wnt.
52 I thank YUTAKA YOSHIDA for this restoration.
53 It would be very nice, if one could read mrδ'spnt at the beginning of the line. But unfortunately the letter after δ and a small lacuna cannot be read as s because the free place under the line is visible where the underline stroke of s should be visible. So one can only assume x or γ. Only very small traces of š'yk'n are preserved. Remarkable is that a small point of the second ' is visible. All other occurrences of this word show š'ykn. The spelling with ' is not usual but not impossible at all. (See SUNDERMANN 1984 and Pa./MP š'hyg'n */šāhīgān/* DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 314.)
54 It is a mistake for pr'm''y.
55 Because of the missing context it is impossible to decide whether γw'ncyk should be translated as "wicked" or "necessary". The partly conjectured reading of zγ(m)['] is not certain. There are doubts because the z is not written separately.
56 "Small" is šn'k in Sogdian. Possibly the ' is omitted here. Or we are dealing with another word. Y. YOSHIDA suggested to assume š'yk'n (see l. 90) with some errors in spelling.

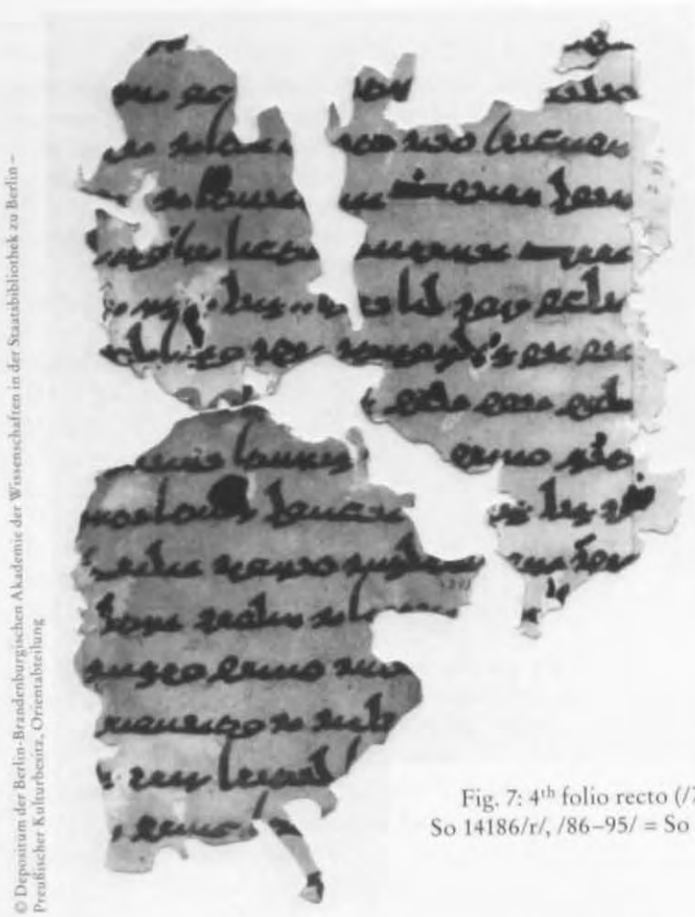
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Fig. 7: 4th folio recto (/79–90/ = So 14186/r/, /86–95/ = So 14185(1)/r/)

4th folio verso (/96–107/ = So 14186/v/, /103–112/ = So 14185(1)/v/) (fig. 8):
/96/[3](γw.)[15](kt'.)
/97/[2] prw (β)[5 (.) '(γ.)[5] ○ rty
/98/[w]('n)'kw pr'm'(y) [Z](K) δywδ't 'δrmnw
/99/[Z](Y) (w)'n'kw pt'(y)[ry]δ c'n'kw ZY xwn'k
/100/[z-']wrkyn kp'y (k)[y Z]Y ZKwy n'ywk z-ryw
/101/[z-']rkr(š)n ''ph prw pw s'k ZY pw
/102/[p](t)m'k c'δrs('r) ptkwn šw'skwn[n]
/103/[3](...)[1]t](.)[2]ph][57] ZY (γ)r'kws'k[n]
/104/['](nš)k'βt rtšy (y)[wny](δ)[58] (ZKw)y p'z-'y

57 The eliminated word was presumably ''ph "water".
58 Restoration Y. YOSHIDA.

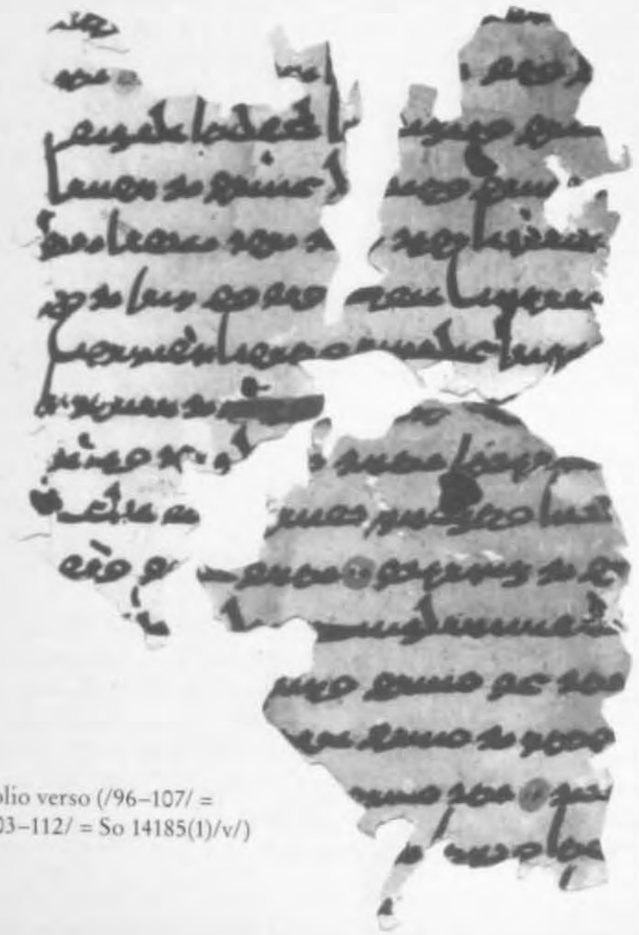

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Fig. 8: 4th folio verso (/96–107/ = So 14186/v/, /103–112/ = So 14185(1)/v/)

/105/ (δ)β'n[59] ptmwxs ywn'k [3–4](.)w 'yδc
/106/ kw ZY mnšk'βw[n] ○○ rtxw ('δr)[m]**n**w prw
/107/ (rx)wšn'γrδmγnh [1–2](δ)[3]('β.)[2]
/108/ rty cw w'n'kw ps'(y)[10]
/109/ (k)wttr ZY w'n'kw 'kr(t)[10]
/110/ [w]β'y ○○ rty w'n'kw [pr(')m'y 6]
/111/ [1–2]wt pyšt Z(K)[14]
/112/ [3](.) [5](')n)[14]

59 W. SUNDERMANN suggested to read p'z-ny (δ)βn' and to translate it as "doubtful mind". Because of the difficulties to distinguish ' and n and the missing of a comparative text it is not possible to decide it.

verso
/96/ [ ] /97/ [ ] to/for/in [ ] (..)[ ]." And /98/ thus he spoke: As the demoniac devil /99/ has mixed like/just as this /100/ powerful fish, who was diving down (lit. going) into the deep sea, /101/ the thousandmorphic water, into the innumerable and immeasurable, /102/ upside-down. /103/ [ ] and <he> has split the mountain border[n]. /104/ And at once he has dressed himself with parts of /105/ flames, this/immediately … something: /106/ "I have split". And the devil … into /107/ the Paradise of Light. /108/ And if you ask so: "[ ], /109/ the family [ ] which (action) would be (subj.)" /110/ And thus [he spoke: "] /111/ … Later/but the[ ] /112/ [ ]

5th folio recto (/113–124/ = So 14185(2)/r/, /120–129/ = So 14188/r/) (fig. 9):
/113/ [Z](K)w (.)[5](.)[7](…)[2]
/114/ kwn'n(t) (○○) [rty w]('n')k(w)['p](r)[s'(y)][60](k)txw 'δ(r)[mnw]
/115/ prw xypδ z-'yh β[s](t)'y β't rty
/116/ δβ't xwy'r ZKw βn(t)[w ']nxw'y't ZY
/117/ δβtyk pr ''x''s (pγ)'yz-'t ○○ rty
/118/ w'n'kw pr'm'y w'n'[k](w) m'nwk βst'y
/119/ βwtk'm c'n'kw 't (x)wn'k 'stwr(pδ)['k]
/120/ ky ZY δγt'y (βw)t c(**w**) [xy](p**δ** ryz) p(t)[2–3]
/121/ (k)y 'sk'tr ZKw [xy]**p**δ ryz L' 'šk['rt]
/122/ kwn(ty) ○○ δ(β)[tyk[61] w]'n'kw m'nwk c'n'kw
/123/ xwn'k t[x](**m**)'y[62] ky ZY prw ''tr z-βryt'k[n]
/124/ [2–3](.) (ZKw)[2–3](kw)[3]w z-'yh kš'[63] ZY
/125/ [pr'kn' ?]y rtxw kδ'c L' rwδt
/126/ [○○ rty cw w'n]'kw 'ps' cw 'txw
/127/ ['δrmnw prw rxwšn]w z-'wr βst'y
/128/ [β't 10](r)[.](k) z-'wr
/129/ [13](.) [2](w)[6]

recto
/113/ (the) [ ] /114/ they make. [And if you ask] (so): "If the (demon) /115/ will be bound in his own world and /116/ perhaps he would break the bond easily and /117/ again would attempt to fight." And /118/ he has spoken so: "He will be bound like /119/ that animal, /120/ which is burned(?), which <tries> to receive its own wish, /121/ <but> cannot pursue its own wish /122/ furthermore.[n] (Otherwise) as like /123/ this seed, which [was] roasted in the fire /124/ [ ], (the) [ ] sowed into earth /125/ [ ], it never

60 At this place one could add either pr'm'y "he spoke" or 'prs'(y) "you ask" as well. I thank W. SUNDERMANN for this suggestion.
61 One could also restore δ(β)['t] "perhaps".
62 Reading Y. YOSHIDA.
63 Reading and restoration Y. YOSHIDA.

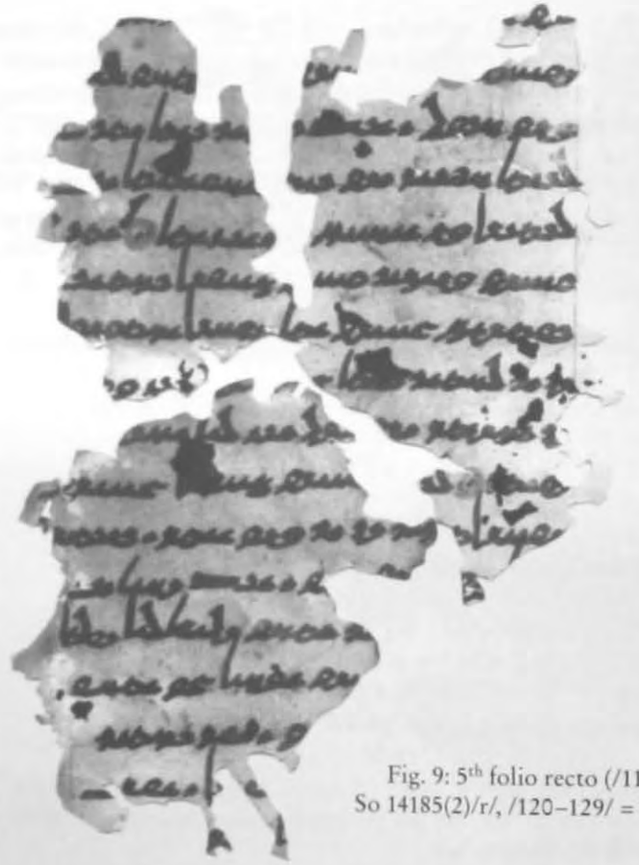

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Fig. 9: 5th folio recto (/113–124/ = So 14185(2)/r/, /120–129/ = So 14188/r/)

grows." /126/ [And if you] ask so: "Whether the /127/ [devil is] bound by the Powers of /128/ [Light](...) Power /129/ [ ]

5th folio verso (/130–141/ = So 14185(2)/v/, /137–146/ = So 14188/v/) (fig. 10):
/130/ [w'n'](k)w m(.)[8](.)[5] c'n'kw

/131/ [']t) xwn'k[ ]

/132/ pγ'yz-'t rt[šy]prw rxwšnw z-'wr
/133/ β(s)t'yt βnt [rt]y ZKn βγ'yšty mz-'yx
/134/ (..)rn(')k[64n] •• rty w['n](')kw prm"y[65] 'ðrmnw

64 The holes and the damage to the surface of the paper do not allow the letters to be identified, but they exclude that the word began with a separated z such as for z-'wrn'k for example.
65 It is a mistake for pr'm"y.

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Fig. 10: 5th folio verso (/130–141/ = So 14185(2)/v/, /137–146/ = So 14188/v/)

/135/ [']t(p)r[66] t'r'k[n] z-(')[w]r w'n'kw βst'y
/136/ [β](w)tk'm c'n'(kw) 'txw γrβ'k mrty
/137/ ['nγ]tc [1](.**p/kt**)[1](....)y (ðnn) kyðβh[67]
/138/ [pr]('yw p)tr'yðt (')[t p](**r**) xwp(w ..n)w
/139/ krnw'k (ðs)tw "pk(y)[nc](**h**) kwnt'y
/140/ rty ZKw z-'r βr'k kyrm'y[t]**ð**y ZKwy
/141/ (')'pkynch prk(y)[š'](t) (.)[3](..) [2]
/142/ xw kyrm'y ZKw "pky[nch 9]
/143/ "wxst kwnty L' (š)[w't ZY L']
/144/ (ny)z-t' βwt m'y(ð)[11]
/145/ z-('w)r Z(K)n [']('ðr)[mnw ? 10]
/146/ [1](.)[4](..)[3 [(.)[12]

66 The reading is not certain. The p is written in a slightly square manner.
67 Presumably the material from which the glass was produced (YOSHIDA).

verso
/130/ {so [ ] as /131/ [ ] that [ ]} /132/ he could attempt [to] And he /133/ shall be bound by the Powers of Light and the great gods /134/ of ....[n] And he has spoken so: "The devil /135/ will be bound by the Powers of Light[n], /136/ like the wise man /137/ (entirely) [ ] he mixes with kyδβh /138/ in good (...) /139/ with skilful hand he will make a glass. /140/ And he [will] impri[son] (there) the poisonous snake in /141/ the glass. [ ] /142/ the snake will not be able /143/ to break the glass [ ] /144/ will go out, so [ ] /145/ power the (devil)[ ] /146/ [ ]

6th folio recto (/147–155/ = So 14192/r/, /147–151/ = So 14194/r/, /150–154/ = So 14193/r/, /154–162/ = So 14191/r/) (fig. 11):
/147/ (.)[7](.)[5](.'t)[2]
/148/ βyy p(..)[5](t)[5](**y/r/w**) ZKwy (.)[1][68]
/149/ 'βc'npδ wynnc(y)k (.)[4](**t**) •• rt(y)
/150/ tγw w'n'kw γrβ' '[tx]**w** sr('**w**)šr(t)[n]
/151/ βyy w'n'kw m'nwk (**x**)cy c'(n')kw '(t)
/152/ [x]w prnβrch w[n](')h ky ZY ZKwy
/153/ (myδ'n) ptk'r'[']y rw(**s**)ty 'sty rt(y)
/154/ [2](..)t c[4](..)**h** ZKw (**c**)tβ'r[2][n]
/155/ [3](.)[5]r ky ZY (.)[2]y (z-)[2]
/156/ [10 "](t)r ZY 'rt(x)wš(t)
/157/ [8] kw xypδ CWRH s'r
/158/ [10](k)th x'št
/159/ [8](.)xw prw mγ'wn
/160/ [9](.) 't ptmwxst
/161/ [10](.) (wy)t'(p)[4]
/162/ [11](..) [4]

recto
/147/ [ ] /148/ god/lord ...[ ] into /149/ the visible world [ ]. And /150/ you shall know so: "The Column of Glory is similar /151/ to /152/ the Glorious Tree, which has grown in /153/ the middle of the appearance/image. And /154/ [ ] the four[n] /155/ [ ], who [ ] /156/ [fi]re and light /157/ [ ] to the own body/ self /158/ [ ]... garments /159/ [ ]... in/with complete /160/ [ ] and dresses himself /161/ [ ] illuminat[e/ion/ to shine] /162/ [ ]

68 Possibly only a line-filler.

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Fig. 11: 6th folio recto (/147–155/ = So 14192/r/, /147–151/ = So 14194/r/, /150–154/ = So 14193/r/, /154–162/ = So 14191/r/)

6th folio verso (/163–170/ = So 14192/v/, /163–166/ = So 14194/v/, /166–170/ = So 14193/v/, /170–178/ = So 14191/v/) (fig. 12):
/163/ [3](t) •• (rt)[5](..)[7](.)
/164/ [3](t) mrt(.)[4](.w/p)[4](...) ky ZY
/165/ [3](.)y rxwš(n)['k 2](.)y [1](.) prw 'ŏw wrtnt
/166/ [sn](t)y (•)[•] (**r**)txw (c)[t](**β'**)rmyk ''wkršn'k
/167/ [ky] (ZY) (ZK)[w](y) 'sm'(n .)[1–2] **ZY** 'nxrwz-n 'M
/168/ (.)β(w.)[69] ZY XII 'st['](**r**)'yt p(r'y)w ptβt[y][70]
/169/ [x]cy rtšn xw 'n(**β'**)nt (c')n'(kw) (x)cy •• (rty)
/170/ [tγ](w) w'n'(kw) (**γ**)rβ' (...)[4](.z-'.)[1](.)[1](.)
/171/ [3](h) [xc](y) (•)• rty γ/''(.)[8]

69 YOSHIDA suggests to read 'nxrwzn here.
70 According to Y. YOSHIDA ptβ/yt is an error for ptβst[y]. He also interprets 'nβ'nt as "connection" (GHARIB 1995, p. 36, # 929).

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Fig. 12: 6th folio verso (/163–170/ = So 14192/v/, /163–166/ = So 14194/v/, /166–170/ = So 14193/v/, /170–178/ = So 14191/v/)

/172/ ky ZY ZKw[y r](x)wšn'γ(rδ)[mnwh/cyk 4]
/173/ xwn'k xyδ (z')wr xcy c(.)[6]
/174/ (pn)cmrδsp'nt Z(Kw)[10–12 kw]
/175/ ''x''s s'(r) ['](ys)'nt ••[8]
/176/ ZKw xypδ (pnc) 'nδm('yt) [10]
/177/ [7]t[1](.)[1](..)[13]
/178/ [8]'[15]

verso
/163/ [ ]. An[d] /164/ [ ] ...[ ], who /165/ (rises) [ ] ligh[t] in the two chariots. /166/ And fourth: the Column of Glory /167/ [which] in the sky [ ] and the Zodiac with /168/ the ... 12 stars are (connected). /169/ And what is their connection? And /170/ you shall know, [is] /171/ [ ]. And ...[ ], /172/ who is in

the Paradise of Light /173/ that power, w[hich] /174/ the five elements come (in) the [ ] /175/ into the fight. [ ] /176/ the own five limbs [ ] /177/ [ ] /178/ [ ]

Notes

/70/ and /75/ ps'ws'nt is a unique form, attested only in this text, l. 70. The verb ps'w- means "to touch".[71] It forms with -s- an inchoative, i.e. "to be touched", may be "to be soiled" (I thank D. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST for this reference.) Perhaps it is a mistake for ps'wxs'nt. Possibly the correct form was written in the lacuna. This verb is used in the same sense in the *Hymn to the Sun God*, related to the *Sermon of the Soul*, s. SUNDERMANN 1997, pp. 94–95, § 161: pyšt pr tw' z'rcnwk šm'r' ʘ ZY pr mz-yx wrz ʘ xwyckt 'krty-t βnt MN wyspn'c βnty ʘ rty pswxs'nt myδ myδy ʘ "Aber durch deinen barmherzigen Sinn und durch das große Wunder werden sie erlöst von allen Banden und geläutert von Tag zu Tag, ..." The ascent of the Light elements has already been mentioned at the beginning of this text, § 150. The same text also refers to the four worlds, ctβ'r βc'npδ, in the preceding sentences: §§ 157 and 158. Maybe these are the same worlds as those mentioned in the headline of So 20229.

/86/ Such a very high number is mentioned in Keph. XXIV "Über die Zeit, die die einzelnen Väter seit ihrer Berufung verbringen". There thousands of years and many ten thousands are mentioned in connections with the Mother of Life. Some lines later: "And again, he too, the First Man, spent a long period and [time] until he gave power to his sons; until he assumed them."[72] But it is not clear what is meant in our text.

/90/ The image of palace and throne symbolizes the reception of the Light particles in the Paradise of Light together with the garment, diadem and garland or crown. The palace and throne are prepared for the redeemed souls and Light particles. This is mentioned in several hymns, mostly to the sun god[73] but also in the cosmogonic fragment M 178[74] and in a slightly different sense in the Traité Pelliot, P. 536–537.[75]

71 GHARIB 1995, p. 299.
72 GARDNER 1995, p. 74, and POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, p. 72.
73 ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 41 (n = M 77/r/11/), DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2006, pp. 48–49 (516–517), RECK 2004, p. 177 (1214–1216), p. 128 (595–596).
74 HENNING 1948, pp. 307–308 (ll. 37–38).
75 SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, pp. 80–81. This passage is missing in the *Sermon of the Light Nous* between §§ 14 and 15, SUNDERMANN 1992, pp. 64–65, but "Thron und Haus" are mentioned in a text of related content, see SUNDERMANN 1992, p. 129 (ak = M 133/r/ ii/45/).

/100–102/ This passage is quoted partly in HENNING 1948, p. 309 (22): *rty ZKwy n'ywk zryw .... 'ph .... c'ôrs'r ptkwn šw'skwn* "he dived down into the deep ocean's water" in connection with a discussion of the word *n'ywk'wyy* "depth".

/103/ (γ)r'kws'k is a hapax. Presumably it is a compound of γr- and kws'k. The first part γr- "mountain" is a light stem. In the compound the old Genitive ending -' is preserved.[76] kws is the well known word as "corner, side, limit".[77] With the suffix *–aka* it forms compounds.[78] So we can conclude that (γ)r'kws'k means "mountain border". When I presented my suggestion to W. SUNDERMANN, he drew my attention to the Old Iranian idea of the "great chain of mountains held to encircle the earth's round rim."[79] This mountain was called *haraiti barš* (Av.) 'die Hohe Haraitī' and together with the mountain *Zərəδaza* it surrounds the countries of the world.[80] In the Traité Pelliot the "vier von dem Eisen(gebirge) umringten Höfe"[81] are mentioned as an image of the world, in connection with other elements. I thank J. WILKENS for his reference to the Chinese sources.

/106/ mnšk'βw is 1.sg.imperfect of 'nšk'β- "to split".[82] Might this passage shed new light on the interpretation of So 14638/I/V/15/ ZK 'nšk'β, which is translated by SUNDERMANN as "*Zerwürfnis(?)"[83] (quarrel) in the sense that, there too, the penetration of the Devil into the Realm of Light is meant?

/120–122/ The simile seems to show an animal which was caught, singed by burning and not able to move as it would like to do. I am not sure however whether this is the correct interpretation. The Chinese Traité Pelliot mentions three times: "fesselte sie, und erlaubte ihnen keine Selbständigkeit mehr".[84] The first passage refers to the imprisonment of the demons by the "Pure Wind" i.e. the Living Spirit. The second passage concerns the revenge by the demon Greed, the Āz. The third passage refers to the Apostle of Light, who imprisons the "Schlangen und grausame Bestien", the demons.[85] Maybe this is the meaning of our metaphor. The verb pt[in line /120/ could be restored in many different ways. The most likely restoration could be ptcxš- "to receive" for example. But in this case an expression of the attempt is missing. Perhaps an infinitive was used?

76 GERSHEVITCH 1946, p. 140 (e).
77 GHARIB 1995, p. 201, ## 5048, 5051.
78 GERSHEVITCH 1946, pp. 144–145.
79 BOYCE, M. 1985: "Alborz, ii. Alborz in myth and legend." In: EIr I, pp. 811–813, esp. p. 811.
80 HINTZE 1994, pp. 43–44, and Yt. 19.1, pp. 66–67.
81 SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, p. 78, b21 (P. 526).
82 GHARIB 1995, pp. 44 (# 1113 'nšk'fyy) and 319 (#7922), and GMS, §609 with fn.1.
83 SUNDERMANN 1979, p. 129, fn. 217.
84 SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, pp. 79 (P. 528) and 80 (P. 536).
85 See the discussion in SUNDERMANN 1992, pp. 24–26.

/123/ Y. YOSHIDA translates z-βryt'k in his mail from 28th December 2007 as "burnt, roasted", comparing it with Yaghnobi *viray-/virayta*, M.S. ANDREEV/E.M. PEŠČEREVA, *Jagnobskie teksty*, Moskva/Leningrad 1957, p. 345.

/134/ The last word of this sentence, (..)rn(')k, is unfortunately also damaged and I have not been able to restore it as yet. It should be an attribute of the gods, such as "mighty", "living", "shining" for example. The great gods are according to the *Kephalaia* those gods which were evoked by the Father of Greatness in the First and the Second Emanation.[86]

/135/ If the reading -pr is correct the interpretation of this sentence is difficult. D. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST proposed that t'r'k may be a mistake for rxwšn(w) (as in l. 132), because the devil was bound by the powers of light and not by the powers of darkness. I agree with this suggestion and thank him very much for this advice.

/150/ Y. YOSHIDA's reading encouraged me to restore with him sr('w)šr(t) βγy.[87]

/154/ In the *Sermon of the Soul* four "gerechte(?) Geschlechter" i.e. righteous families are mentioned.[88] The reading of this passage is very uncertain. In his note 147,1 on p. 149 SUNDERMANN analyzes the different possibilities of interpretation and concludes that the most convincing theory could be that these four families mean the four elements wind, light, water and fire, which differ from air because of the fact that they were hurt by the Darkness, but the air remained clean.[89] Are these four elements referred to in our passage? On line /156/ the element light, 'rt(x)wš(t), is mentioned. Additionally ']](t)r can be restored, which means the element fire. In this way two elements are mentioned in the close context of this passage.

Additional fragments of this manuscript

The following fragments may also belong to this manuscript. But we cannot be sure whether their contents fit into that of the text presented above. I give here the transliteration and translation for the sake of completeness. The fragment So 13700a has the greatest number of similarities with the pieces of the "Sammelhandschrift". In the fragment So 14700(11) the redeeming gods are mentioned which we were missing in the explanations above: the Great Builder (uncertain: (β'm)[βγyy]), the Sun God (myδry βγy), the Living Spirit ('βt'ky(š) [py xwt'w]) and the fourth son of the Living Spirit ('sp'nt(y) z-'yh).

86 POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, p. 25, ll. 15–19, GARDNER 1995, p. 29 "the] twelve great rich Gods of great[ness", and Keph. XXIV, l. 29, POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, p. 72, GARDNER 1995, p. 74 "the mighty and active gods".
87 SUNDERMANN 1979, p. 128, fn. 181 and 183.
88 SUNDERMANN 1997, pp. 92–93, §147 "Und jener fünf Elementengötter sämtliche vier [ ] gerechten(?) Geschlechter [".
89 SUNDERMANN refers to Keph. LII, POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, p. 127, ll. 18–23.

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Fig. 13: So 13700a 1st page and 2nd page

Transliteration and translation of So 13700a (T II D 33)

1st page

/1/	[ ](.)t [	]...
/2/	[ ]y ZK [	]... the
/3/	[ ](y) tγw ○○ [	] you.
/4/	[ ]●● rty myn'w [	]. And resembling
/5/	[wy]sp ky ZY m'n [	a]ll who [ ] the mind
/6/	[ ](w) xwty ●[90] mr(t)[1] [	]self. Man(?)
/7/	[ ](t)δ'rδt[91] rty [2] [	] may have [ ]done. And [ ]
/8/	[ ](w)'n'kw w'β[92] (..) [3] [	] he spoke thus, [ ]
/9/	[ ](')'ph ZY '(.)[6] [	]water and [ ]
/10/	[ ](..'..) (ZK)[5] [	]... (the)[ ]

90 It is not certain, whether it is an isolated z or a punctuation mark.

91 This should be the 3rd sg.pres., see GMS, §877, fn. 2 on δ'r-, forming the second part of transitive preterite of a verb not preserved here.

92 This final stroke of β is not very common. But the long high final stroke is typical for this manuscript. We find the same form in So 20229/r/15/ γrβ and /18/ c'β, SUNDERMANN 2001b, pp. 184–187.

2nd page

/1/	ZK (')[ ]	the ... [ ]
/2/	'βt ZY (.)[ ]	seven and [ ]
/3/	c'n'kw (.)[ ]	as [ ]
/4/	pr 'yw ''(.)[ ]	in one ... [ ],
/5/	yw'r ZY r'(m'n)[t]	but al[ways].
/6/	[○](○) rty 'yn'k w'[ ]	And this ... [ ]
/7/	[2](s) cw ZY pr [ ]	[ ], what [ ] in [ ]
/8/	[3–4](.)[1](.'.t) 'zw (p)[ ]	[ ] I ... [ ]
/9/	[5–6](.)[.](')ym rt(y)[ ]	[ ] we [ ]. And [ ]
/10/	[5–6](....βr't) [ ]	[ ](... he shall give/brother) [ ]
/11/	[9](.y)[ ]	[ ]

Fig. 14: Possible position of So 13700a on page

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Fig. 15: So 14700(11) 1st page and 2nd page

Transliteration and translation of So 14700(11) (T II T 558)

1st page

/1/	γyrt(r) (….)[	]	later [ ]
/2/	cyk wm''t 'yš ○○ (..)[	]	… you have been. …[ ]
/3/	z-wky'kmynch pw[	]	healthy (without/…)[ ]
/4/	pty'm cnn (β'm)[1](.)[	]	message of (radiance/Great Builder)[93]
/5/	m(y)δry βγ(y)[	]	*Mihr Yazad*/ Sun God [ ]
/6/	pry(w)'rt ZY [	]	he turned and [ ]
/7/	rty ZKw 'βt'ky(š)[py xwt'w	]	And the Living[Spirit[94]]
/8/	(')st'βt'k z-'wr(k)[yn	]	the violent, strong[ ]
/9/	(p)rm'nt ZY ryz-(kr')[k	]	orders and dem[ands[95]]

93 The reading β('m) is not sure, because only the uppermost parts of the letters are preserved. The following letter could also be a β. Possibly one could restore β'mβγyy "Great Builder" or β'mβwšt "queen" or something completely different. The Great Builder had the task to build the prison for the powers of Darkness and the archons. On this basis the fragment could fit into the text above. But the Great Builder does not send a message. This is the task of the Living Spirit, who is also called myhryzd in Middle Persian, see SUNDERMANN 1979, p. 101 (3/8.). In l. /5/ of our text we find m(y)δry βγ(y)[*Mihr Yazad* "Sun God" or possibly the "Living Spirit".

94 Lit. "the Lord of the Seven Climes". That is another name of the Living Spirit, see SUNDERMANN 1979, p. 102 (4/8.) and HENNING 1948, p. 314.

95 Lit. "independent", "at will".

2nd page

/1/	[ ](….) (.)[1](y) h	[ ]	
/2/	[ ]kr 'sp'nt(y) z-'yh	[ ]… the pure earth/Gloriosus rex[96]	
/3/	[ ](k)w ZY šn nyz-'ym ZKw	[ ]… I go out of them, the	
/4/	[ ](.) (…) ○○ rtms ZKw	[ ]. And further the	
/5/	[ ](.) pr 'stβt'k	[ ] in the violent	
/6/	[ ]t ○○ rtms wnyt	[ ]. And further the trees	
/7/	[ ](n) 'δry rxwšn'	[ ] the three Light	
/8/	[ ]rty ''γ'štδ'r'nt	[ ] and they have started	
/9/	['β](c)npδy sty ○○ w'n'k[w]	[ ] the world is [ ]. Thus	

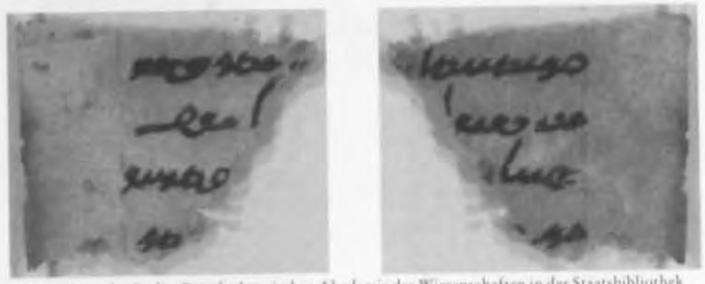

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Fig. 16: So 10077 (T I) 1st page and 2nd page

Transliteration and translation of So 10077 (T I)

1st page

/1/	[ ]○○ rty kt'r	[ ]. And whether	
/2/	[ ](.) ZKw	[ ] the	
/3/	[ ]pts'r	[ ] then	
/4/	[ ]ty	[ ]…	

2nd page

/1/	wm't'nt ○○[ ]	were [ ]. [ ]	
/2/	ryz-kr'k [ ]	demands[97] [ ]	
/3/	(rw)'n[ ]	soul [ ]	
/4/	'M [ ]	with [ ]	

96 'sp'nt(y) z-'yh is a partial translation of Avestan *Spənta-ārmaiti-*, used in Manichaean Parthian for the Gloriosus Rex, the fourth son of the Living Spirit. Another attestation in Sogdian in Manichaean script is z'y spnd('rm)ṭ, see SUNDERMANN 1979, pp. 101 (3/9.4.) and 127, n. 169. In the *Sermon of the Light Nous* five pure earths are mentioned in opposition to the dark earths in the description of the redeeming work of the Light Nous, see SUNDERMANN 1992, pp. 66–67, §26 with n. 3 on p. 95. See also DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 86 s.v. 'spnd'rmyd.

97 See above So 14700(11)/1.p./9/.

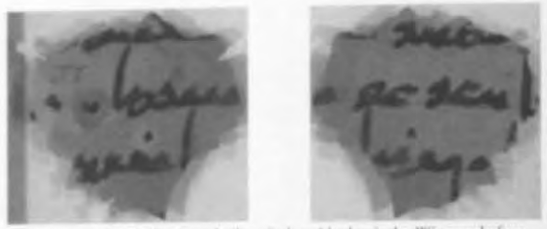

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Fig. 17: So 10081 1st page and 2nd page

Transliteration and translation of So 10081[98]

1st page

/1/	[	](δ'rt) (.)[	]	[	](they have) [	]
/2/	[	](.)n'yt ○○ (r)[ty	]	[	]he ...s. And [	]
/3/	[	](.) '(r)k(.)[	]	[	] work[	]
/4/	[	](.)[	]	[		]

2nd page

/1/	[	]○ (r)tšy (..)[	]	[	]. And his/him [	]
/2/	[	](.) xcy cw Z[Y	]	[	] is what [	]
/3/	[	](.) z-nk'n [	]	[	] kinds [	]
/4/	[	](.) [	]	[		]

Transliteration and translation of So 15800 (T III T 531)

r/1/	[	](.)	[		]
/2/	[	](.)	[		]
/3/	[	](y) cywyδ	[		] of it
/4/	[	]wt	[		]...
/5/	[	](.) z-'wr	[		] power
/6/	[	](..) (β)wγ/xt'	[		]... (...)[99]
/7/	[	](r)n'k ZK	[		]... the
/8/	[	Z]Y xw 'δry	[		a]nd the three
v/1/	(.)[		]	[	]
/2/	ty(k.)[		]	...[	]
/3/	wm'(t)[		]	was/were [	]
/4/	ZKwy[		]	in [	]
/5/	c'n'kw (.)[		]	so [	]

98 RECK 2006, p. 24, nr. 12. Unfortunately there is printed a wrong line as 1.S./2/. This line belongs to nr. 11.

99 It is not clear whether this word is an inflected form of βwxt- "to save, to be saved" or something else.

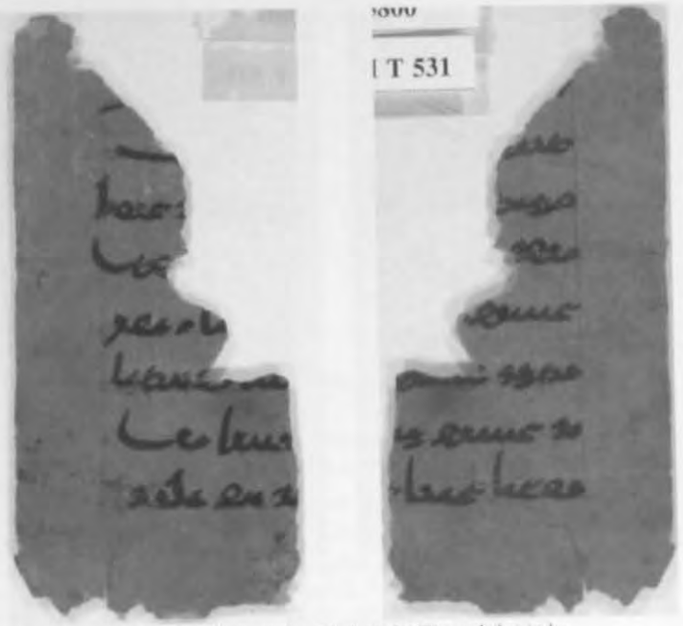

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Fig. 18: So 15800 recto and verso

/6/	rtmy (w'n'kw)[	]	and me as [	]
/7/	ZY c'n'kw m(.)[	]	and so [	]
/8/	rwc'/n[100] c'β (.)[	]	... how much/how many [	

Transliteration and translation of So 10030(2) (T I)

1st page

/h/	[♣	](.) ♣	[	]
/1/	[	]γ ○○ rty tym	[	]. And again
/2/	[	](n/k/t/) δynh ZY xwty	[	] the religion (and) (it)self
/3/	[	](.'n)y pz-'t cnn	[	] ... homeland of
/4/	[	] cnn ky-'	[	] from whose
/5/	[	] 'βc'npδ cw	[	] world what
/6/	[	]t ○○ rtšy	[	]. And his/him
/7/	[	](..cy..)[1–2]	[	]

100 rwc' or rwcn (n and ' could not be distinguished). rwcn is given in GHARIB's Dictionary (1995) as "window" (# 8557) in Buddhist context. Y. YOSHIDA suggests to read 'wc' "from there", which would make sense. But the initial ' is clearly distinguished from initial r in this manuscript.

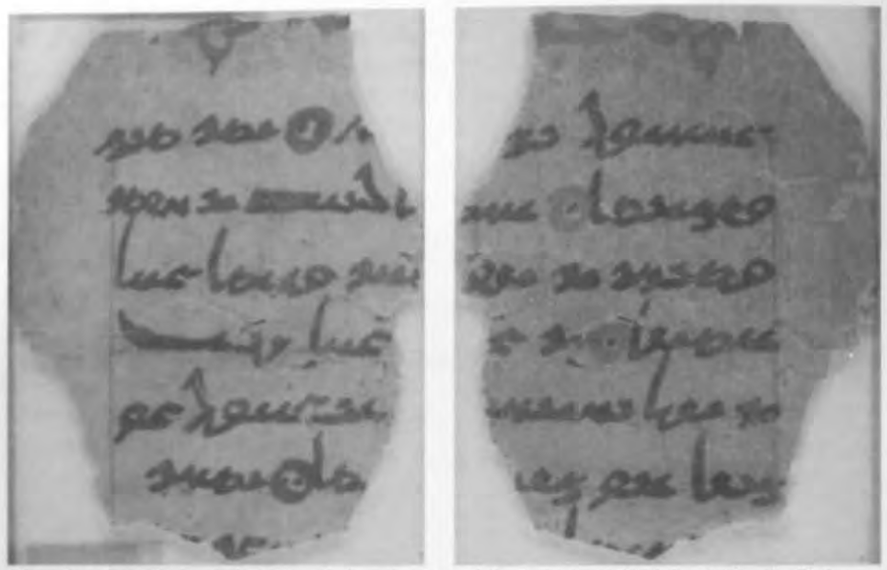

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Fig. 19: So 10030(2) 1st page and 2nd page

2nd page

/h/	♣ (..)[	♣]	[	]
/1/	cxš'pδ ym[kyy	]	the commandment pra[yer/Yimki?]	
/2/	prm'yt ○○ 'š(t)[	]	orders. Ei[ght/third	]
/3/	ptβsy ZY ZKw[	]	(may/to) read[101] and the[	]
/4/	'zt'k ○○ ZY c[	]	skilled. And [	]
/5/	ZY ZKn (β)γ'yšt[	]	and the gods[	]
/6/	myk 'yw mr(.)[	]	-th one/a …[	]
/7/	[3](...) [	]	[	]

The measurements of the fragments[102]

Joined fragments:

So 14185(1)+So 14186:	16,0 × 10,9 cm
So 14185(2)+So 14188:	16,0 × 12,0 cm
So 14187+So 14190:	15,4 × 11,4 cm
So 14191+So 14192+So 14193+So 14194:	15,5 × 11,7 cm

101 The form ptβsy could be either 2.sg.opt. or impf. or 3.sg.opt. or infinitive of the verb ptβs-.
102 RECK 2006, nos. 5, 9, 12, 99, 125, 126, 127, 128, 204, 231.

Single fragments:

So 10030(2):	7,2 × 5,6 cm	So 14188:	9,0 × 8,0 cm
So 10077:	3,8 × 4,1 cm	So 14190:	9,0 × 7,2 cm
So 10081:	3,2 × 3,4 cm	So 14191:	9,0 × 8,0 cm
So 13700a:	10,6 × 8,0 cm	So 14192:	8,3 × 6,0 cm
So 14185(1):	9,0 × 7,3 cm	So 14193:	4,7 × 4,8 cm
So 14185(2):	11,1 × 11,1 cm	So 14194:	4,1 × 2,5 cm
So 14186:	11,0 × 11,0 cm	So 14700(11):	9,1 × 7,1 cm
So 14187:	11,0 × 11,4 cm	So 15800:	9,5 × 4,5 cm

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Further Remarks on Sogdians in the Western Regions

RONG XINJIANG, Beijing

From officials serving at the imperial court or local governments of the Northern States, Sui and Tang, to common people living in cities and country sides; from merchants travelling along the Silk Road to immigrants living in communities transformed by caravans, the traces of Sogdians in Medieval China have been the concern of the present author for over twenty years. About the Sogdians in the Western Regions (in its narrower sense denoting present day Xinjiang), I have written an article named "Sogdians around the Ancient Tarim Basin" which was delivered at the conference of "Exploration and Research of the Western Regions" held in 1992 in Urumqi and then included in the collection of essays of this conference with some revision and the new title "Sogdians in the Western Regions".[1] This article made use of mainly traditional Chinese materials and excavated documents in various languages discovered in Xinjiang since the end of the 19th century. However, recently many more related archaeological discoveries have been made and more Sogdian materials have been gradually deciphered; our knowledge concerning Sogdians in the Western Regions has thus been greatly enriched. Therefore, further research on the same subject is well justified. Based on my previous study, this article is to search further for the traces of Sogdians in the area east of Sogdiana, thus including places such as Talas, Sūyāb, Gongyue 弓月, Bolü 勃律 (Gilgit), and Hepantuo 渴槃陀 (Tash-Kurghan) which were not discussed in my previous article, and Gaochao which I have touched upon in another article on Sogdians in China proper.[2]

1 MA DAZHENG *et.al.* (eds.): *Xiyu Kaocha yu Yanjiu* 西域考察與研究 *(Investigation and Research on the Western Regions)*, Urumqi 1994, pp. 157–172. This article was incorporated in my collections of essays concerning Sino-Foreign cultural exchanges named *Medieval China and Foreign Civilizations* (RONG XINJIANG 2001), pp. 19–36. It was translated into English, see RONG XINJIANG 2006.

2 RONG XINJIANG 2000.

Talas and Sūyāb

In his "The Sogdians of Liuhuzhou and other Places in the Tang Dynasty" (in Chinese), Professor ZHANG GUANGDA pointed out that

> various related materials tell us that the Sogdians expanded eastward along the Talas river and the Chu river. The Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang, who went to India in search of the sutras from the end of the 720s to the 730s, attributed on the way back to China the name Shuli (Sogdiana) not only to the area between Amu (Oxus) Darya and Sir (Yaxartes) Darya, but also the area from Kāshāna to Sūyāb. Apparently, he has witnessed the Sogdian communities in the Talas river and the Chu river to the west of Sūyāb, and thus called these areas Shuli.

Also he quoted the record in "Biography of Sengjia" in Chapter 18 of *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks Recorded in Song Dynasty) which says:

> The Buddhist monk Sengjia was from the State of He to the north of Congling (Pamir) and said himself that his surname was He. ... Specifically, this State of He was located to the northeast of the state of Sūyāb and was its vassal.

Professor ZHANG then concluded that this State of He from which Sengjia came was different from the He State (Kushāniyya) to the west of Kang State (Samarkand) in the heart of Sogdiana, and was a community established by He immigrants in the northeast of Sūyāb.[3] This is indeed an insightful observation.

Xuanzang described in *Datang Xiyu ji* that the city of Talas (Chapter 1) was "about 8 or 9 *lis* in circuit; here the [*hu*] merchants from surrounding countries congregate and dwell", and the city of Sūyāb was "about 6 or 7 *lis* in circuit; here the [*hu*] merchants from surrounding countries congregate and dwell".[4] The city of Talas is the present Dzhambul of Kazakhstan and Sūyāb was situated at the city of Ak-Beshim in Kyrgyzstan. Among the *hu* merchants mentioned here, there must have been a large number of Sogdians.

In 2002, É. DE LA VAISSIÈRE published a new book named *Histoire des marchands sogdiens* which also discussed Sogdians in the same area. The author did not mention professor ZHANG's view on the excerpt from *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, but studied the eastward expansion of the Sogdians into the Semireč'e area by making use of M. Narshakhī's *History of Bukhara* which records that the reason for the construction of the city of Jamukath near Taraz (Talas) was that some Bukhara nobles and merchants fled from the tyranny of Abrui and took refuge there.[5]

3 *Journal of Peking University* 北京大學學報 2 (1986), p. 264.
4 JI XIANLIN 季羨林 (ed.): *Datang Xiyuji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注 [in Chinese], Beijing 1985, pp. 71, 77; S. BEAL: *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London 1994, pp. 26, 28.
5 DE LA VAISSIÈRE 2002, pp. 120–123.

To these we may add one more piece of evidence. On one of the 61 stone statues of foreign chieftains which were erected in 705 before a Qian Tomb, the Tomb of Gaozong Emperor and Empress Wu, one finds the inscription of "An Chebishi 安车鼻施, the Cishi (Prefect) of Sūyāb Prefecture".[6] Sūyāb belonged formerly to the Western Turkic Khanate before the Khanate was eliminated by the Tang army in 658. Then a subordinated prefecture system was established in all the former Western Turkic lands and Sūyāb became one of the prefectures. According to the Tang political system, the office of the prefect of a subordinated prefecture was usually assumed by local chieftains and in Sūyāb, the prefect has the surname An which indicated that he may be a Sogdian from the An State (Bukhara). And his name Chebishi may be a transliteration of Sogdian *čapiš* (general) or, as this name also appeared frequently among Western Turkic officials, of Turkic *čaviš* (general).[7] Therefore, An Chebishi was either a pure or a Turkicized Sogdian. In either case, we can be sure that the local administrative leader of Sūyāb in the mid-7th century was a Sogdian. This fact proves that Sogdians must have been a considerable proportion of the local population in this city. In fact, in the subordinated prefectures the office of prefect was generally hereditary in the Tang period, though we have no way to be certain whether it was also the case in Sūyāb with the prefect from the An family. A record in *The History of Bukhara* mentions the immigration of nobles and merchants of the An State into Sūyāb. In 679, Sūyāb replaced Yanqi (Karashar) as one of the Four Garrisons of Anxi until it was destroyed by Wang Zhengjian, the Military Commander of Beiting, in 748.

Both Talas and Sūyāb were on the main routes east of Sogdiana, and naturally they became the halting places of many Sogdians. Proceeding further east from Sūyāb, some of them went along the route on the plain to the north of the Tianshan Mountains and reached Beiting by way of Gongyue, while others crossed the Tianshan and arrived at the oasis states of Bohuan (present Aksu), Quici (Kucha) and others.

Gongyue (Almaliq)

According to the record in Chapter 40 (Geography) of *Xintangshu*, the most important city on the road from Beiting to Sūyāb was the city of Gongyue east of the Yili river. WANG GUOWEI identified Gongyue in the Tang dynasty with Almaliq in Yuan, the ruins of which lie now to the north of Huo'erguosi in the

6 CHEN GUOCAN 陳國燦: "On the Stone Statues at the Qianling of the Tang and on Their Rank Names" [in Chinese] 唐乾陵石像及其銜名的研究, in: *Wenwu jika* 文物集刊 2 (1980), pp. 198–209.
7 YOSHIDA 2004a and 2004b.

Yining area. His suggestion was approved by many scholars, but questioned by some others.[8] But until further substantiation from archaeological or literary records is discovered, we have to refrain from ascribing any specific location to Gongyue. What we can be sure of is that this city must have been somewhere in the area of present Huocheng.

But my purpose here is not to discuss the location of Gongyue, but rather, to show that Gongyue in the early Tang period was also a commercial distributing center of Sogdian merchants. The best attestation to this fact is a document named "Petition of Gaochang county of Xi prefecture of Tang to the Area Command of Anxi concerning the record of arguments on both sides in the case of Cao Lushan 曹禄山's litigation against Li Shaojin 李紹謹" discovered in the Astatna Graveyard in Turfan. Eight fragments of this petition survive. They are the records of the arguments put forward in an official investigation by the parties to a dispute.[9] After careful editing, the content of this document is comprehensible. But the sequence of events and some toponyms in this document remained the subjects of dispute.[10] In what follows I propose to present my own

8 WANG GUOWEI 王國維: "Notes on Changchunzhenren Xiyouji, I" (in Chinese) 長春眞人西遊記注, in: *Wang Guowei xiansh quanji chuji* 王國維先生全集初集 (Collected Papers of Mr. Wang Guowei, Part I), vol. 7, Taibei 1977, p. 2667; CEN ZHONGMIAN 岑仲勉: "The Location of Gongyue and its Etymology" [in Chinese] 弓月之今地及其語原, in: *Supplementations and Investigations on "Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux"* 西突厥史料補闕及考證, Beijing 1958, pp. 186–193; MATSUDA HISAO 松田壽男: *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū* 古代天山歷史地理研究 *(Geo-historical Studies on the Ancient Tianshan Region)*, Chinese translation by CHEN JUNMOU 陳俊謀, Press of the Central College for Nationalities 1987, pp. 387–427. On the different view see MENG FANREN 孟凡人: "The Locations of Gongyue and Almaliq" (in Chinese) 弓月城和阿力麻里城方位考, in: *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 *(Journal of Chinese Historical Studies)*, No. 4 (1979), pp. 129–135 [= *id.*: *Essays on the Archaeology, History and Geography of Xinjiang* 新疆考古与史地論集, Beijing 2000, pp. 291–297].

9 *Turfan Documents*, pp. 242–247.

10 Important research works include WANG MINGZHE 王明哲: "Turfan Documents concerning Gongyue" [in Chinese] 吐魯番出土有關弓月城文書初析, in: *Research on the History of Western Regions* 西域史論叢, vol. I, Urumqi 1985, pp. 171–181; HUANG HUIXIAN 黃惠賢: "Analysis of the Petition of Gaochang county of the Xi prefecture of Tang to the Area Command of Anxi concerning the Record of Arguments on both Sides in the Case of Cao Lushan's Litigation against Li Shaojin" [in Chinese] 《唐西州高昌縣上安西都護府輕錄爲緣上訊問曹祿山訴李紹謹兩造辯辭事》釋, in: TANG ZHANGRU 唐長孺 (ed.): *Preliminary Investigations on Dunhuang and Turfan Documents* 敦煌吐魯番文書初探, Wuhan 1983, pp. 344–363; WANG XIAOFU 王小甫: *Political Relations between Tang, Tibet and Arabs* [in Chinese] 唐吐蕃大食政治關係史, Peking 1992, pp. 72–73; ARAKAWA MASAHARU 荒川正晴: "Tō teikoku to Sogudojin no kōeki katsudō" [in Japanese] 唐帝国とソグド人の交易活動 ("The Tang Empire and the Trading Activities of Sogdians"), in: *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* 東洋史研究 56.3 (1997), pp. 185–188; *id.*: "The Transit Permit System of the Tang Empire and the Passage of Merchants", in: *The Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 59 (2002), pp. 7–18; *id.*: "Sogdian Merchants and Chinese Han Merchants during the Tang Dynasty", in: DE LA VAISSIÈRE/TROMBERT 2005, pp. 231–242.

reconstruction of the sequence of events. The numbers of the fragments and lines are given in brackets.

In a certain month of the second year of the Xianheng era (671), Cao Lushan, a Sogdian merchant litigated in Gaochang County (Turfan) against the Han Chinese merchant Li Shaojin from the capital (Chang'an, modern Xi'an), alleging that his brother Cao Yanyan 曹炎延, accompanied by Li Shaojin and others, went from the capital by way of Anxi (Kucha) to Gongyue for trade, and "Li [Shao]jin at that time went to Gongyue with my brother, as well as Gao Guoyi 曹果毅, Cao Er 曹二 (also known as Cao Bisuo 曹畢娑) and my nephew Juzhe 居者 ..." (II/2–4). Li Shaojin also admitted that "when he set off to go to Gongyue, he left Anxi with Sogdian merchants (Xisheng hu) for Gongyue" (III/12–14). In the beginning of the third year of the Zongzhang era (670), in the city of Gongyue, Li Shaojin (also known as Li San 李三) borrowed from Cao Yanyan "275 rolls (pi) of silk" (I/6–7), and "on the day of this transaction, Cao Bisuo and Cao Guoyi served as warrantors" (VII/2–3). In the second month or earlier, Li Shaojin and Cao Yanyan "went together from Gongyue to Quici (Kucha)" (I/8–12) and "when they were more than 100 *lis* away from Gongyue, they met four emissaries from Anxi"(IV/2–3). At that time, Cao Yanyan was not there. Afterwards, "I (Cao Lushan) went with my nephew (to Kucha) to search for Li San" (II/8–10) and "Cao Guoyi and Cao Er stayed at Gongyue" (II/2–4). Then "... (they) went westwards and now we do not know of his whereabouts" (VII/3–4). In the third month of the third year of the Zongzhang era, the era name was changed into Xianheng. In the fourth month, Anxi fell into the hands of the Tibetans and "Lushan ... and others went from Anxi (to Gaochang) with Li San" (III/1–2). In the next year, because Cao Lushan was unable to find his brother, he litigated against Li Shaojin in the county of Gaochang.

Fragmentary as they are, these documents provide rich information concerning the commercial activities of Sogdian merchants. Several Sogdian merchants including Cao Yanyan, Cao Guoyi and Cao Bisuo left Chang'an with the Han Chinese merchant Li Shaojin for Gongyue, where Li borrowed from Cao Yanyan 275 rolls (pi) of silk. Apparently, Cao Yanyan had a large store of merchandise there. Later, his brother Cao Lushan and nephew also went to Gongyue which must have been an important center for the commercial activities of their family. When Li Shaojin went to Kucha, Cao Lushan followed him, but he was unable to find his brother there. Cao Lushan then learned from Cao Guoyi and Cao Bisuo that his brother had lent silk to Li. So, when Li and Cao Lushan were both in Gaochang county, Cao Lushan took Li to court. After Cao Lushan had left Gongyue, Cao Guoyi and Cao Bisuo went further west for trade. From the above sketch, we can trace the Sogdian commercial routes around the city of Gongyue which lead east to Chang'an, west to Sogdiana and south to Kucha and Gaochang (Turfan). And Gongyue was the center of the commercial activities of these Cao Sogdian merchants.

Bolü (Gilgit)

In our materials there are many different names designating the area of Bolü. But I will only cite Bolule from *Songyun Xingji* (Record of Song Yun's Travels) and Bolü from *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu* because the former is largely contemporary with the materials in the following paragraph, while the latter is more widely used. Bolule was the area in the north of Kashmir along the Indus River and in the Tang period, it was divided into a Da (major) Bolü which corresponds to the area of present Baltistan and a Xiao (minor) Bolü which corresponds to Gilgit.[11]

Since 1979, archaeologists from Germany and Pakistan have conducted careful investigation on the Pakistan part of the Karakorum Highway along the ancient Silk Road beside the Upper Indus River. On both sides of the Indus in the area between the villages of Chilas and Shatial, they discovered more than 600 inscriptions in Sogdian. Some similar but minor discoveries were also made in the Hunza area to the north. Moreover, together with these Sogdian inscriptions, many other inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī, Chinese, Tibetan, Bactrian, Parthian, Middle Persian, Syrian and Hebrew were found. The Sogdian inscriptions are mostly very short lists of names of passers-by and contain no specific date. But paleographic evidence and dates from the inscriptions in other languages allow us to date these inscriptions between the 4th and the 6th centuries.[12]

According to NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS who deciphered these inscriptions, the people on the inscriptions include those from Tashkent (the State of Shi), Maymurgh (the State of Mi), Farn-mēthan near Panjikent, Ishtikhan (the State of Western Cao), Samarkand (the State of Kang) and Kushanika (the State of He). Clearly, these people from Sogdiana came here by way of Bactria to trade with Indians. SIMS-WILLIAMS also discussed the Chinese inscription of the Northern Wei period which records that "the envoy Gu Weilong 谷巍龍 of Grand Wei is now heading for Mimi 迷密". This inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by MA YONG. This Chinese envoy, according to SIMS-WILLIAMS, probably went together with the returning envoys of the Mi State from the Northern Wei, who, in order to trade with the Indians, chose this southern route via Bolü.[13] These Sogdian inscriptions testify to a wave of expansion of Sogdian merchants, not only to the Tarim Basin and China proper, but also, by way of Tokharistan, to India and Tibet. And there is no reason to assume that Shatial village in Gilgit was the end of Sogdian expansion in this direction[14] because, as we know from the Chinese records, "nothing is beyond the reach" of Sogdian merchants.

11 ZHANG GUANGDA/RONG XINJIANG 1997: "Bolü" [in Chinese] 勃律. In: *Encyclopedia of China*. Vol. I: *History of China* 中國大百科全書・中國歷史. Beijing, p. 52.
12 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989. See also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989–1992.
13 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996, pp. 55–57.

Hepantuo (Tash-Kurghan)

Kepantuo, also known as Hanpantuo 漢盤陀, Hepantuo 訶盤陀, Hepantuo 喝盤陀 and Jiepantuo 羯盤陀, is the present Tash-Kurghan in Xinjiang. In the Kaiyuan era (713–741) of the Tang period, the Congling Garrison which was later elevated to Congling Shouzhuo was there. Kepantuo was on the route from the Tarim Basin to the Pamir (Congling) plateau and when Xuanzang went back to China from India, he passed through the Wakhan Valley into Kepantuo and then took the southern route in the Tarim Basin. In contrast, another Buddhist pilgrim, Huichao, went from Humi to Congling Garrison and then took the northern route in the Tarim Basin. In the 6th year of the Tianbao era (747), the Tang general Gao Xianzhi, who was leading a military campaign against Xiao Bolü, left Anxi (Kucha), passed by Shule (Kashgar), Congling Shouzhuo and the Wakhan Valley, and then turned south to Xiao Bolü. Evidently, Sogdian merchants travelling between Tokharistan, Bolü and the Tarim Basin necessarily passed Kepantuo. Proving this point is one of the Sogdian inscriptions found in the village of Shatial at the ancient Silk Road beside the Upper Indus River which, according to the translation of SIMS-WILLIAMS, reads:

> (I,) Nanai-vandak the (son) of Narisaf have come (here) in (the year?) ten and asked a boon from the spirit of the sacred place, *K'rt*, that I may arrive at *xrβntn* very quickly and see (my) brother in good (health) with joy".[15]

The word *xrβntn* was identified with Kepantuo by YUTAKA YOSHIDA.[16] As for the travelling routes in the Pamir area, one may consult the detailed study of WANG XIAOFU.[17]

Khotan

In my "Sogdians around the Ancient Tarim Basin", I listed all the Khotanese materials discovered in the Khotan area regarding Sogdians (*sūlī*, pl. *sūlya*) based on the compilation and translation of H.W. BAILEY.[18] In 2002, P.O. SKJÆRVØ published *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library: A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations*. No new

14 This is the opinion of Professor K. JETTMAR, the leader of this archaeological project, see JETTMAR 1989, *Introduction*, pp. xlii–xlix, and 1991.
15 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989–1992, I, p. 23; 1996, p. 54.
16 YOSHIDA 1989, pp. 91–93, and 1991, pp. 237–238.
17 WANG XIAOFU 王小甫 1997: "The Routes of Tibetan Entrance into the Western Regions from the End of 7th to the Beginning of the 8th Century" [in Chinese] 七八世紀之交吐蕃入西域之路. In: *Festschrift for Professor Deng Guangming on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday* 慶祝鄧廣銘教授九十華誕論文集. Shijiazhuang, pp. 74–85.
18 RONG XINJIANG 2006, pp. 515–516.

material concerning Sogdians was published and the author also translated *sūlī, sūlya* as Sogdians, though his interpretation of some of the documents differed from that of BAILEY.[19] After my previous article, the Khotanese documents preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of Russian Academy of Science were published and among these documents, SI P 103.41 mentioned *sūlya* which, R.E. EMMERICK and M.I. VOROB'ËVA-DESJATOVSKAJA translated as "merchant".[20] In his review of this edition, however, Y. YOSHIDA insisted on the former translation of "Sogdian". He also adduced Sogdian materials found in the Khotan area, including two Sogdian fragments from the Trinkler and Francke collections respectively, and a Sogdian seal found by STEIN which I had overlooked in my previous article.[21] SI P 103.41 is an official order sent by spāta Ṣṣanīraka to Sīdaka in Gaysāta and other money collectors that

> much there is a deficient thing and (yet now) this whole thing has become excellent due to the Sogdians. Now two months have passed here since the Sogdians arrived here. You have not collected the thing.[22]

This document provides us with new materials concerning Sogdians in Gaysāta, a frontier post in the northeast of the Kingdom of Khotan.

Another group of Chinese documents also discovered in the Khotan area by the Russians was mistakenly placed under the group of Dunhuang (Дх) documents in the St. Petersburg Institute. Among them, one document numbered Дх 18925 which was "the order of the Du zhishi (officer in chief) of the Six Villages in the first month of a certain year concerning Biannu's unpaid tax". This fragmentary document referred to a certain "An Dahan 安達漢 from a tribe" from whom the Khotanese borrowed money.[23] This An Dahan was probably a Sogdian who lived in Gaysāta in the Six Villages, a subordinated prefecture in the northeast of Khotan. And the reason that he was called "from a tribe" was possibly that he belonged to a local Sogdian tribe.

Gaysāta can be identified with the site of Dandan-oiliq. In recent years, many mural paintings featuring a distinct Zoroastrian style were discovered in Buddhist temples there. When considering the origin of this style, scholars naturally turned to Sogdians living in Khotan.[24] Therefore, both literary and

19 SKJÆRVØ 2002, pp. 6, 86, 103, 104, 109, 115, 132, 166.
20 EMMERICK/VOROB'ËVA-DESJATOVSKAJA 1995, p. 152.
21 Y. YOSHIDA 1997: Review of EMMERICK/VOROB'ËVA-DESJATOVSKAJA 1995. In: BSOAS 60, pp. 567–569.
22 EMMERICK/VOROB'ËVA-DESJATOVSKAJA 1995, pp. 152–153.
23 For the plate see *Dunhuang Documents in Russia* 俄藏敦煌文獻, vol. 17, Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House 2001, p. 286. For transcriptions see ZHANG GUANGDA/RONG XINJIANG: "Chinese Documents from Khotan in St. Petersburg Collection" [in Chinese] 聖彼德堡藏和田出土漢文文書考釋, in: *Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies* 敦煌吐魯番研究, vol. 6 (2002), p. 230.
24 See RONG XINJIANG 2003.

iconographical pieces of evidence have proved beyond doubt the existence and commercial activities of Sogdians in Gaysāta in Khotan.

Mazar-tagh in the north of Khotan used to be the northern frontier of this kingdom and in the Tang period, it was called "Shenshan" (Sacred Mountain) and was situated on the route along the Khotan river to Jushide (Tumshuq of Barcuq). I have used Khotanese, Chinese and Tibetan documents to prove the existence of Sogdians here. Moreover, recently published Chinese documents further substantiate our knowledge in this respect. On Mazar Tagh 091 (Or. 8212/1557), a pass-permit certificate of the Tang dynasty, there is a list of names including "the vice ambassador Kang Yunhan 康雲漢, the laborer Shi Zhejie 石者羯, the slave Yiliran 伊禮然 and the slave Fuhun 伏渾"[25] which might have been the record of a group of Sogdian envoys who passed Shenshan. Mazar Tagh 0634 was the "Note of Wang Wulang 王仵郎, the servant in Shenshan Guan (Lodging) in the 6th year of Zhenyuan era (790) of Tang" which recorded Luo Bodifen 羅勃帝芬 from the Shanzheng quarter 善政坊.[26] While his surname Luo does not belong to the nines surnames of Sogdians, his given name, which is a transliteration of the Sogdian name *pwtyprn*,[27] indicates that he was a Sogdian who probably lived in the capital city of Khotan.

In 2005, the National Library of China acquired a group of documents from Khotan which provide information concerning Sogdians in Khotan. They include a newly discovered Judaeo-Persian letter dating from the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century and sent by a certain Sogdian (swgdy/*sugdī*) to somewhere in Khotan (perhaps Gaysāta?).[28] By using a new Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document, Professor DUAN QING discovered that the word *bisā-*, familiarly known as "house", has a Chinese equivalent *cun* 村 meaning "hamlet" or "village".[29] In light of this discovery, we may propose to interpret the "sūlī biśa" in Or. 12637/23 not as "in the Sogdian's house",[30] but as "in the Sogdian village".[31] This "Sogdian village" probably resembled the Sogdian communities in Turfan and Dunhuang.

25 SHA ZHI/WOOD 2005, p. 217.
26 SHA ZHI/WOOD 2005, p. 188.
27 M. ARAKAWA 1994: "On a 'ulaγ' in Khotan under the Tang Rule" [in Japanese] 唐代コータン地域の ulaγ について. In: *Ryūkoku Shidan* 龍谷史壇 103–104, pp. 38–39, n. 24 (opinion of Y. YOSHIDA).
28 ZHANG ZHAN/SHI GUANG: "The Date and Interpretation of a Newly Discovered Judaeo-Persian Text" [in Chinese]. In: *Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies*, vol. 11 (forthcoming).
29 DUAN QING: "Bisā- and Hālaa- in a Chinese-Khotanese Bilingual Document." In: *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, vol. 3 (forthcoming).
30 SKJÆRVØ 2002, p. 132.
31 I would like to thank my student WEN XIN for reminding me of this document.

Loulan, Shanshan

In my "Sogdians around the Ancient Tarim Basin", I discussed the Chinese wood slip in the 18th year of the Jianxing era (330) found in L.A. which records Sogdians in Loulan.[32] This piece of evidence is of some help in determining the date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters and is also very important for the relations between Sogdian merchants and the Shanshan kingdom. YOSHIDA also discussed the relations between Sogdian merchants and the Loulan kingdom and pointed out that the Sogdian document Otani no. 6117 was probably discovered in Loulan together with the famous documents concerning Li Bo (written in 328).[33] The Sogdian Ancient Letter no. 2 mentions that in Louyang Sogdians and Indians all died of starvation and according to W.B. HENNING, the Indians indicated here are those Indians living in Loulan (Kr'wr'n) or Shanshan who spoke Niya Prakrit.[34] The Ancient Letter no. 6 in line 5 also refers to Sogdians who were about to go to Loulan for commercial purposes.[35] Those who traded with the Sogdians could have been local people in Loulan or Indians living there who spoke Niya Prakrit. But much evidence concerning Sogdian merchants suggests that they came to Loulan to trade with other Sogdians from the west, or to acquire merchandises for trading with Sogdians further east.

Kucha

The Turfan document cited above concerning Cao Lushan and Li Shaojin mentions Sogdian merchants who passed Kucha. But this piece of material only proves that Sogdians travelled by way of Kucha. In fact, there must have been a considerable number of Sogdian immigrants who lived in that area.

At the beginning of the 20th century, P. PELLIOT discovered a group of Chinese documents from the Tang period at the site of Douldour-āqour (D.A., and the present names are Yuqitu'er and Xiketu'er)[36] 23 kilometers to the west of

32 RONG XINJIANG 2006, p. 518.

33 YOSHIDA 1996, pp. 69–70. For the transcription and translation of the document, see K. KUDARA/W. SUNDERMANN/Y. YOSHIDA: *Iranian Fragments from the Ōtani Collection: Iranian Fragments Unearthed in Central Asia by Ōtani Mission and Kept at the Library of Ryūkoku University* イラン語断片集成・大谷探檢隊收集・龍谷大學所藏中央アジア出土イラン語資料, Kyoto 1997, Text vol., pp. 105–106; Facsimile vol., p. 32.

34 W.B. HENNING 1948: "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters." In: BSOAS 12 (1947–1948), pp. 601–615, esp. p. 603, n. 3.

35 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996, p. 49.

36 For information on this site, see L. HAMBIS (ed.): *Douldour-aqour et Soubachi*, vol. I: *Planches*, Paris 1967; M. HALLADE/S. GAULIER (eds.): *Douldour-aqour et Soubachi*, vol. II: *Texte*, Paris 1982; WANG BINGHUA 王炳華: "The Site of Yuqitu'er in Kucha, Xinjiang and its Relation with the Zhejue Pass of Anxi in Tang Dynasty" [in Chinese] 新疆庫車玉其土爾遺址與唐安西拓厥關, in: *Studies on Silk Road Archaeology* 絲綢之路考古研究, Urumqi 1993, pp. 82–105.

Kucha which were subsequently given the signatures Pelliot chinois D.A. 1–249. In my previous article, I was only able to use my own transcription made in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris to discuss Sogdians in Kucha. In the meantime ÉRIC TROMBERT has edited and published this group of documents which enable us to know more about the Sogdians in Kucha.

Pelliot chinois D.A. 24 mentions the debtors An Yuanjun 安元俊 and Luo Hu[shu?]fen 罗胡[數?]芬.[37] Foreign immigrants with the surname Luo are generally regarded as from Tokharistan, but in Dunhuang and Turfan documents, those with this surname usually have given names that can be traced back to Sogdian.[38] And the Hu[shu?]fen here resembles the name of a Sogdian. So, both debtors here may be Sogdians in Kucha.

Pelliot chinois D.A. 80 is a petition which records that "Shi Chuo 石啜 fulfilled the corvée of the previous household and was kept constantly busy." TROMBERT considered this Shi Chuo to be Kuchean or Turkic because his given name 啜 was a Turkic official title.[39] But his surname Shi was usually used by Sogdians from Tashkant who immigrated into China, so it is more probable that he was a Turkicized Sogdian who used the Turkic *čor* as his name. The fact that he was liable for the corvée indicates that he was already a registered citizen in Kucha.

In my "Sogdians around the Ancient Tarim Basin", I transcribed Pelliot chinois D.A. 93 as "... man An Fuqin 安拂勤 in the Huairou quarter 懷柔坊".[40] According to TROMBERT, this documents reads

> the money paid for service of the [model ?] man An Fule 安拂勒 in the Huairou quarter, 1500 coins is delivered by Madam Pei 裴大娘, the mother of Zhang Jiaxing 張嘉興, a soldier in charge of defence in the Anren quarter 安仁坊.[41]

The Huairou quarter should be a quarter in the city of Kucha which probably came from the term "Huairou Yuanyi 懷柔遠夷" meaning "to pacify the distant foreigners". Judging from his surname, An Fule may be a Sogdian from the State of Bukhara, and the Huairou quarter was perhaps the center of Sogdians and other western foreigners in Kucha. This Huairou quarter in Kucha reminds us of the Huaiyuan 懷遠 (which has a similar meaning to Huairou) quarter in Chang'an where Di Liuniang 翟六娘, the wife of the Sogdian An Yuanshou 安元壽, once lived.[42] It was possibly also a center of foreign peoples.

37 TROMBERT 2000, pp. 59–60.

38 YOSHIDA 1998, p. 37.

39 TROMBERT 2000, pp. 81–82.

40 RONG XINJIANG 2006, p. 522.

41 TROMBERT 2000, p. 88.

42 *Quantangwen Buyi* 全唐文補遺 (Supplement to the Complete Tang Literatures), vol. II, Xi'an 1995, p. 470. See also RONG XINJIANG 2001, p. 83.

On a list concerning the distribution of grain numbered Pelliot chinois D.A. 107 one finds three names: Cao Sheli 曹舍利, Mi Heng 米恒and An Shifa 安失发, all of which appear twice in this document. TROMBERT equates Sheli in Cao Sheli with the Buddhist Sanskrit *ācaryā*.[43] But as we know, this Sanskrit word was usually transliterated in Chinese as 阇梨 while the common equivalent with 舍利 is *śarīra*. In fact, as the name of a Sogdian from the State of Cao, Sheli here may well have been a transliteration from Sogdian. The Sogdians with the surname Cao may be from the Eastern Cao State in Sutrūshana/Ushrūsanā, the Cao State in Kapūtānā or the Western Cao State in Ishtikhan, whereas those with the surname Mi came from the Mi State in Māymurgh.

Traces of Sogdians also appear in the Chinese documents discovered by the Otani expedition team at the same site. On Otani no. 1505, a fragment of a contract, one finds the "warrantor An Tunlang 安屯狼".[44] Warrantor is a role often assumed by Sogdians in Silk Road cities. Otani no. 1506 is a name-list on which there is a certain Shi Can (?) yan 石惨 (?) 琰. On another similar name-list (no. 1524), one finds a certain An Fushao 安伏稍.[45] These documents are badly damaged and their content cannot be precisely known, but their forms imply that they may be lists for the distribution of certain corvees. Also, Otani no. 8056 from Kumtura is a contract of Mi Shisi 米十四 for borrowing money in the 6th month of the 16th year of Dali era (781).[46] This Mi Shisi may have been a Sogdian immigrant from the State of Mi to Kucha. In Otani no. 8074, a corvée register of Anxi (Kucha), one finds the name An Fuyan 安拂延.[47] This proves that Sogdians performed the corvée just like other local people.

These documents from Douldour-āqour reflect the situation of Sogdians in Kucha during the Tang dynasty. Considering the date of the Manichean writings in Xinjiang, the Iranian Manichean documents I quoted in my 2006 article cannot be earlier than the 8th century.[48] But when did the Sogdians first come to Kucha? Until now we have not found any literary record in this respect. However, iconographical materials may provide some clues.

Images of merchants appear frequently on mural paintings in Kizil and other Buddhist caves in Kucha. ZHU YINGRONG and HAN XIANG regard all of them as Kuchean merchants.[49] LI MINGWEI admitted the existence of the image of

43 TROMBERT 2000, pp. 94–95.
44 YOSHIHISA ODA 1984–2003, I, p. 72.
45 YOSHIHISA ODA 1984–2003, I, pp. 72, 76.
46 YOSHIHISA ODA 1984–2003, III, p. 222.
47 *Saiiki Kōko Zufu* 西域考古圖譜, Tokyo 1915, document no. 18–5; IKEDA ON 池田溫: *Chūgoku kodai sekichō kenkyū* 中国古代籍帳研究, Tokyo 1979, p. 383; YOSHIHISA ODA 1984–2003, III, p. 228. For other examples of Fuyan 拂延 and its etymology, see YOSHIDA 1998, p. 37.
48 RONG XINJIANG 2006, pp. 522–523.
49 HAN XIANG 韓翔/ZHU YINGRONG 朱英榮: *Kucha Buddhist Caves* 龜茲石窟, Xinjiang University Press 1990 [in Chinese], pp. 285–286; ZHU YINGRONG 朱英榮: *Studies on Kucha Buddhist Caves* 龜茲石窟研究, Xinjiang Art and Photo Press 1993 [in Chinese], pp. 20–21.

Kuchean merchants, but connected these images with the actual commerce on the Silk Road, emphasizing that these paintings reflected not the commercial activities in the ancient society of India, but those in the Western Regions. He also considered some of the figures to be Persian merchants.[50] In the discussion about the merchants on the Silk Road, ZHANG QINGJIE did not specify the ethnicity of the merchants depicted in Kizil, but compared them with other images of Iranian merchants from statues, mural paintings and sculptures.[51] KAGEYAMA ETSUKO compared the white hat worn by merchants in Kizil mural paintings with that worn by the Sogdian Sabao on the tomb of An Jia and by Sogdian merchants in Panjikent paintings. She concluded that the merchants on Kizil paintings are actually Sogdians and that these images can be dated in the beginning of the 7th century.[52] Based on these previous studies, I collected the images of the Indian caravan leader *Sabo* in the Buddhist mural paintings of the Kizil, Kumtura, Simsim, Kizil-Qargha and Taitai'er caves and demonstrated that *Sabo* and other merchants in the caravan in these paintings have actually transformed into the Sogdian merchants usually seen in the Western Regions at that time. I suggested that, although the painters were trying to depict Indian merchants in Buddhist sutras, the actual merchants they were familiar with were Sogdian, and so, perhaps subconsciously, they adopted the images of the Sogdian Sabao to depict the Indian Sabo.[53] According to the study of HUO XUCHU, the merchant motif is never seen in the early mural paintings (from the end of the 3rd to the middle of the 4th century) of the Buddhist caves in Kucha, and it was only until the paintings were more developed (from the middle of the 4th to the end of the 5th century) that we find this motif.[54] Apparently, the appearance of the merchant motif in mural paintings may be associated with the activities of Sogdian merchants on the Silk Road. And incidentally, from the Sogdian Ancient Letters we know that Sogdians along the Silk Road had formed their commercial network by the beginning of the 4th century. Therefore, the appearance of Sogdians in Kucha can at least be traced back to the beginning of the 4th century.

50 LI MINGWEI 李明偉 1995: "Silk Road Trade in Mural Paintings in Mogaoku and Kizil Caves" [in Chinese] 莫高窟和克孜爾石窟壁畫中的絲路貿易. In: DUAN WENJIE 段文傑 *et.al.* (eds.): *Collection of Essays of the International Dunhuang Conference in 1990, Grotto Archaeology* (1990 年) 敦煌學國際研討會文集: 石窟考古編. Shenyang, pp. 426–427.
51 ZHANG QINGJIE 張慶捷: "Foreign Merchant Figures, Pictures and Documents in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Period" [in Chinese] 北朝隋唐的胡商俑、胡商圖與胡商文書. In: *Zhongwai guanxi shi: xin shiliao yu xin wenti* 中外關係史: 新史料與新問題 *(History of Sino-Foreign Relationships: New Materials & New Questions)*. Beijing 2004, pp. 173–203
52 KAGEYAMA ETSUKO 2005.
53 RONG XINJIANG 2005.
54 HUO XUCHU 霍旭初 1994: "On the Art of the Early Kizil Mural Paintings" [in Chinese] 克孜爾石窟前期壁畫藝術. In: HUO XUCHU: *Studies on Art of Kucha* 龜茲藝術研究. Urumqi, pp. 44–45.

The reason for my emphasis on the transformation from the Indian *Sabo* in Buddhist literature to the Sogdian *Sabao* in the Iranian cultural milieu is that *Sabo* and *Sabao* represented different religions and the latter, as a caravan leader, was also in charge of Zoroastrian religious affairs in the Sogdian communities. In her article "Sogdian in Kucha", KAGEYAMA pointed out that a Zoroastrian ossuary, which was previously regarded as being from Karashahr, was, like another similar ossuary, in fact discovered in the Mazabitam village to the east of the city of Kucha.[55] Both ossuaries belong to the 8th century. According to Chinese materials, in both Turfan and Dunhuang, Zoroastrian temples were built to the east of main cities. Is it also the case in Kucha? The materials we possess do not allow a positive answer, but we still have reason to believe that in the 7th and 8th centuries, a Sogdian community existed to the east of the city of Kucha, and despite a largely Buddhist local population, they still adhered to their traditional Zoroastrian beliefs.

Yanqi (Karashar)

In my 2006 article, I overlooked an important piece of evidence concerning Sogdians in Yanqi (Karashar).[56] It is the petition of Kang Weiyiluoshi 康尾義羅施 and others asking for a pass-permit certificate in the first year of the Chuigong era (685). In this document, a warrantor was called "Wuqi people Cao Bunazhe 曹不那遮".[57] Wuqi is a variant of Yanqi and Cao Bunazhe's name clearly reveals his Sogdian ethnicity. Cao acted as warrantor in the Xi prefecture (Turfan) for Sogdian merchants heading for Chang'an. Since warrantors were usually registered citizens, this piece of information, isolated as it is, proves the existence of registered Sogdians in Yanqi.

Archaeological evidence concerning Sogdians was also discovered in this area. In 1989, in the village Laocheng of Qigexing a sub-county of Yanqi, a set of silverwares including a silver bowl with a Sogdian inscription was found.[58] The Qigexing sub-county lies on the main route of the Silk Road in Yanqi. So

55 KAGEYAMA ETSUKO 2005. For the archaeological report, see HUANG WENBI 黃文弼: *Report on Archaeological Excavations in Xinjiang from 1957 to 1958 (1957–1958 年新疆考古發掘報告)*, Beijing 1983, pp. 59–60, pl. 9, figs. 42/6, 43/1, 2. For her detailed study on the ossuary previously regarded as being from Karashahr, see KAGEYAMA ETSUKO 1997, pp. 80–81. LIN MEICUN 林梅村 also discussed the Zoroastrian ossuary discovered in Kucha, see "The Earliest Spread of Zoroastrianism into China as Seen in Archaeological Evidences" [in Chinese] 從考古發現看火祆教在中國的初傳, in: LIN MEICUN: *The Western Regions of the Han-Tang Dynasties and the Chinese Civilizations* 漢唐西域與中國文明, Beijing 1998, p. 107.

56 RONG XINJIANG 2006, pp. 523–524.

57 *Turfan Documents*, pp. 346–350.

58 WATT 2004, pp. 185–188 (B.I. MARSHAK).

these silverwares clearly belonged to Sogdian merchants on whose trading route Yanqi was an important station. YOSHIDA's study shows that the script used in these writings is as old as that used in the Ancient Letters or inscriptions of the Upper Indus.[59] Therefore these silverwares are from before the 7th century and at that time Sogidans already existed in the area of Yanqi.

Gaochang, Xi Prefecture (Turfan)

In my article "The Migrations and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang" (2000), I discussed Sogdians in Turfan. Though the massive appearance of Sogdian names in Turfan documents began as late as the 6th century, the record of a Hutian (Zoroastrian Temple) on a colophon of chapter 2 of *Jinguangming jing (Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra)* discovered in the ruins of Anle city implies that Sogdians may have entered Gaochang in the first half of the 5th century. Their colony was located to the east of Gaochang city, similar to the Sogdian colony in Dunhuang.[60] Recently, in Badamu sub-county northeast of the ancient city of Gaochang, a cemetery of a certain Kang family was discovered.[61] This shows that near the cemetery, east of the city of Caochang, there probably once was a Sogdian community which can be associated with the Zoroastrian Temple in the same area.

The newly discovered epitaph of Kang Lunu 康虜奴 and his wife, Lady Zhu 竺氏, although simple in content, is of great academic significance. Before this epitaph was discovered, the earliest evidence of a Sogdian buried in a tomb was the one recorded in the epitaph of Kang Bomiti 康波蜜提, the mother of Di Naninghun 翟那寧昏 in the first year of Linde era (664).[62] The lack of evidence of Sogdian burials at earlier times leads us to assume that Sogdians used the Zoroastrian way of disposing of the dead by exposure.[63] The two ossuaries from the Toyok valley discussed by KAGEYAMA contained the remains of Sogdians.[64] The newly discovered epitaph, which is dated in the 14th year of the Yanchang

59 Y. YOSHIDA 1997: "The Activities of Sogdians as Reflected in Sogdian Written Materials" [in Japanese] ソグド語資料から見たソグド人の活動. In: SUGIYAMA MASAAKI (ed.): *Chūō Yūrashia no tōgō (9–16 seiki)*. Tokyo, p. 231.

60 RONG XINJIANG 2000, p. 125.

61 RONG XINJIANG/LI XIAO/MENG XIANSHI (eds.) 2008: *Newly Discovered Turfan Documents* [in Chinese] 新獲吐魯番出土文獻, Beijing, pp. 380–382. Cf. RONG XINJIANG: "Sogdians as seen in newly discovered documents from Turfan" 新出吐魯番文書所見的粟特人, in: *Tulufanxue yanjiu* 吐魯番學研究 *(Turfan Studies)* 1 (2007), pp. 28–35; M. ARAKAWA: "Sogdians and the Royal House of Ch'ü in the Kao-ch'ang Kingdom", in: *Acta Asiatica* 94 (2008), pp. 67–93.

62 HUANG WENBI 1951: *Gaochang Epitaphs (enlarged edition)*: 高昌磚集 (增訂本). Beijing, p. 53.

63 RONG XINJIANG 1995. Included in RONG XINJIANG 2001, p. 298.

64 KAGEYAMA ETSUKO 1997, pp. 78–80.

era of the Gaochang kingdom (574) is the second earliest example of Sogdians adopting tomb-burial. The earliest is the tomb of Kang Ye 康业 in the 6th year of the Tianhe era of the Western Zhou (571).[65] This shows that from very early on, some of the Sogdians in Turfan used the method of burial similar to that of local Han Chinese people, whereas others continued to observe the traditional way of exposure.

From the discussions above, it becomes evident that east of Sogdiana the activities of Sogdians can be traced in almost every major city and in many minor ones on the main trading routes. Fragmentary as they are, the materials we possess can be pieced together into a larger picture of Sogdian merchants travelling from Gongyue on the route of the northern plain, to the Hunza valley in the Upper Indus, from Kepantuo on the Pamir plateau, to the Shenshan garrison in the heart of the Tarim Basin. All these places became their commercial strongholds or even distributing centers for merchandise. Sogdian merchants not only carried jewelry and spices from west to east, but also used cities such as Chang'an and Wuwei in China proper as their bases, and sold gold, silver and silk to the west. And no matter in which direction they travelled, cities in Khotan, Loulan, Kucha, Yanqi and Gaochang necessarily became the halting places of Sogdian merchants. And these states all benefited from the great profits derived from Silk Road commerce which was largely controlled by the Sogdians. But the commercial relations between Sogdian merchants and these states can not be discussed here in detail, and should be the subject of a separate article.

(Translated by WEN XIN based on my "Further Remarks on Sogdians in the Western Regions" 西域粟特移民聚落補考, published in *Xinyu yanjiu* 西域研究, No. 2 (2005). I have made some additions and references since 2005.)

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65 For the news report on this discovery, see: http://www.cctv.com/geography/20041122/101605.shtml

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Bemerkungen zu susischen Dareios-Inschriften, vornehmlich auf Glasurziegeln

RÜDIGER SCHMITT, Laboe

In dem begrenzten Corpus der achaimenidischen Inschriften nehmen die Texte aus Susa schon wegen ihrer Zahl einen besonderen Platz ein. Darunter befinden sich bekanntlich auch einige längere Bauinschriften, die von beträchtlichem historischem Interesse sind. Genannt seien hier – unter Beschränkung auf das Altpersische, wie sie auch für alles folgende gilt – nur die Texte DSe[1] und DSf. Diese Inschriften sind jedoch in sehr bruchstückhafter Form auf uns gekommen. Einen ersten Eindruck davon vermitteln für DSe die Nachzeichnungen von STEVE 1974a, S. 13f., bzw. STEVE 1987, S. 57f., die die Fragmente der altpersischen Version dieses Textes auf Kalksteintafeln zu erfassen versuchen. Deutlich wird daraus allerdings auch, daß für die Zeilen 19–30[2] (unter Zugrundelegung eines Gesamtumfangs von 52 Zeilen, wie er aufgrund der Textrestitution nach der vollständigen babylonischen Fassung üblicherweise zugrundegelegt wird) nicht ein einziges Wort erhalten ist. Für die Inschrift DSf ist die Überlieferung noch weitaus komplexer, wenngleich eine in eine Vielzahl von Fragmenten zerbrochene Tontafel (vgl. SCHEIL 1929, S. 16–23 und Pl. VIII–XI) ein festes Gerüst für die Textherstellung bietet und den größten Teil des Textes enthält.

Neben der fragmentarischen Überlieferung dieser Texte ist als weitere Besonderheit ins Auge zu fassen, daß die Texte einst – und auch diese Feststellung bezieht sich jetzt nur auf deren altpersische Versionen – in mehreren Exemplaren und offenbar auch in Fassungen mit variierendem Wortlaut vorhanden waren und daß dies noch durch die uns vorliegenden Bruchstücke hindurch sichtbar wird. So liegt die ‚große' Bauinschrift DSf (von 58 Zeilen) in Fragmenten auf (gebrannten) Tontafeln, Steintafeln und Glasurziegeln vor. Einzelne der Fragmente, die zuvor zu DSf gerechnet worden waren, hat STEVE 1974b, S. 161–164, zu einem inhaltlich leicht abweichenden anderen, eigenständigen, aus historischer Sicht (vgl. STEVE/VALLAT/GASCHE 2002–2003, Sp. 493) recht aufschlußreichen Text gestellt (DSz), der nur in elamischer Fassung vollständig vorliegt

1 Ich folge dem seit KENT 1953 eingebürgerten, von MAYRHOFER 1978 und SCHMITT 2000 weitergeführten System der Siglen zur Bezeichnung der einzelnen Inschriften.
2 Das von STEVE 1974a, S. 10f., hinzugerechnete Fragment „DSe 12" gehört nicht in Zeile 29f. (so noch SCHWEIGER 1998, S. 322, 326), sondern zu A^2Sd, wie STEVE 1987, S. 56 oben, richtiggestellt hat. Die Angabe bei SCHWEIGER 1998, S. 326, ist entsprechend zu korrigieren.

(vgl. STEVE 1987, S. 79–81)[3]: Fragmente mit einer anderen Zeileneinteilung als der Haupttext und mit ca. 45 Zeichen (einschließlich Worttrenner) pro Zeile. Aber auch die von STEVE 1974b, S. 135 f., bzw. STEVE 1987, S. 64, weiterhin als zu DSf gehörend anerkannten Fragmente lassen Unterschiede erkennen und weisen auf die Existenz mehrerer verschiedener Versionen dieses Textes: Das Fragment „DSf 12" verwendet anders als der Referenztext und die anderen Fragmente keine Logogramme (vgl. STEVE 1974b, S. 142; 1987, S. 68 zu Zl. 14–15). Und Fragment „DSf 13" läßt für Zeile 40f. einen ‚längeren' Text erkennen (‚länger' auch im Vergleich zu DSz), der im übrigen der babylonischen Textfassung genau entspricht und in dem deshalb „ein erstes Bruchstück einer neuen altpersischen Inschrift ‚DSac' " zu vermuten ist (so SCHMITT 1999, S. 171).

Gegenüber all den Ton- und Steintafelfragmenten nehmen die Inschriftfragmente auf Glasurziegeln eine Sonderstellung ein, und ihnen gebührt eine spezielle Betrachtung. Dabei ist es zunächst erforderlich, die aus Susa bekanntgewordenen (in Altpersisch) beschrifteten Glasurziegel(fragmente) einmal vollzählig zusammenzustellen. Nach meiner Kenntnis finden sich solche Stücke bei

1) PERROT/CHIPIEZ 1890, S. 559: die Nachzeichnung eines Glasurziegels (vgl. SCHWEIGER 2005, der dieses von der Forschung übersehene Stück der Vergessenheit entrissen hat);
2) DIEULAFOY 1893, Pl. XII (nach S. 316): Nr. 1, 2, 8–11 (vgl. MAYRHOFER 1981), im folgenden „D 1, D 2 usw."; vgl. auch DIEULAFOY 1893, S. 284 mit Anm. 2, wo noch die Lesungen weiterer, nicht abgebildeter Ziegel mitgeteilt werden, sowie S. 304, Nr. 1 und 2;
3) SCHEIL 1929, S. 53: Transkription von sieben Fragmenten einzeilig beschriebener Ziegel des „grand module", aus denen BRANDENSTEIN 1932, S. 55f., eine eigene Inschrift, DSm (vgl. noch KENT 1953, S. 145), rekonstruierte, die aber nach HINZ 1941, S. 243, „zu Duplikaten teils von *Dar. Susa f*, teils von *Dar. Susa e* gehören";
4) SCHEIL 1929, S. 55: Nachzeichnung von sechs zweizeilig beschriebenen Fragmenten, von denen STEVE 1974a, S. 9 (Fragment „DSe 13"), bzw. STEVE 1987, S. 56 („DSe 12"), eines der Inschrift DSe zugewiesen hat, während vier („DSf 8 I–IV") nach STEVE 1974b, S. 135f.; 1987, S. 64f., zu DSf gehören (vgl. die Photographie von DSf 8 II bei SCHMANDT-BESSERAT 1978, S. 35, Nr. 24);
5) VALLAT 1972, S. 205 und 212f., Fig. 63, Nr. 5–12: kleine und kleinste Fragmente von Glasurziegeln, Nr. 6–12 vom Apadāna (im folgenden „V 6, V 7 usw."), Nr. 5 dagegen vom Shaur-Palast und deshalb sicher von einem Text Artaxerxes' II. (der im folgenden daher nicht berücksichtigt wird).

3 Zweifel an der Richtigkeit dieser Zuweisung durch STEVE hat SCHWEIGER 1998, S. 455f., geäußert. Der in dieser Diskussion entscheidende Punkt, auf den alles ankommt, ist meines Erachtens der, was man bei diesen sehr stereotypen Inschriften unter einem ‚Text' versteht.

Wie diese Aufzählung zeigt, ist die Liste der Glasurziegel mit altpersischen Inschriften *de facto* länger als jene unvollständige Liste, die SCHWEIGER 2005, S. 581, aus der Literatur zusammengestellt hat.[4] Die wichtigste Aufgabe muß aber zunächst darin bestehen, dieses kleine Corpus etwas zu ordnen:

A) Einzeilig beschriftete Glasurziegel		
(a)	D 1	b-r-t
(b)	D 2	u-t-a-⌜+⌝ (entweder u-t-a-⌜d^{i}⌝ oder u-t-a-⌜š^{i}⌝)
(c)	D 8	v^{i}-š-t-a
(d)	SCHEIL 1929, S. 53	d-a-r-y-v-u-š
(e)	ebd.	v-z-r-k
(f)	ebd.	i-y : ϑ-a-t-i-y
(g)	ebd.	k-m
(h)	ebd.	š-a
(i)	ebd.	m^{i}-i
(j)	ebd.	š : v-š
(k)	V 6	n
(l)	V 7	:
(m)	V 8	⌜+⌝ :
(n)	V 9	n
(o)	V 10	⌜+-+⌝
(p)	V 11	p
(q)	V 12	h-y
(r)	Auch die von DIEULAFOY 1893, S. 284 mit Anm. 2 ohne Abbildung, mitgeteilten Lesungen „*nâma*" (= /nāma/ „Name; namens"), „*tuvm*" (= /tuvam/ „du") und „*hadich*" (= /hadiš/ „Palast") stammen wohl ebenfalls von einzeilig beschrifteten Glasurziegeln.	
(s)	Erst nach Abschluß des Manuskriptes ist mir das (offenbar von LOFTUS gefundene und) von CURTIS 1993, S. 33, Nr. 107 und Pl. 20d, publizierte Fragment aus dem British Museum (Inventarnummer BM 122096) mit den altpersischen Zeichen „m-a :" bekanntgeworden.	

4 Die von SCHWEIGER verzeichnete Inschrift XPg darf, da von anderem Ort stammend, hier außer Betracht bleiben (vgl. dazu SCHMITT 2000, S. 86f. und Pl. 41f.). Auch unter den Fälschungen altpersischer Inschriften gibt es einen Glasurziegel (aus Saqqâra), den SAYCE 1932–1933 ediert hat; er verrät sich schon durch die Beschriftung auf Vorder- *und* Rückseite als Fälschung: vgl. jetzt SCHMITT 2007, S. 68–71, Nr. F 8.

(B) Zweizeilig beschriftete Glasurziegel		
(a)	PERROT/CHIPIEZ 1890, S. 559	a-b-d-y
		: v^{i}-i-š
(b)	D 9	v-u-š : x
		a-y-ϑ-i-y
(c)	D 10	x-š-a-y
		ϑ-i-y :
(d)	D 11	a-t-i-y :
		: x-š-a-y
(e)	SCHEIL 1929, S. 55 („DSe 12")	z-n-a-n-a-m : XŠ :
		i-y-a : v-z-r-k-a
(f)	ebd. („DSf 8 II")	r-n-i-y
		: a-k-r-⌜i⌝
(g)	ebd.	u-r-i
		a : ⌜+⌝
(h)	ebd. („DSf 8 IV")	: i-d-a
		d-š : a
(i)	ebd. („DSf 8 I")	⌜u⌝-n-u
		⌜r⌝-t-⌜i⌝
(j)	ebd. („DSf 8 III")	m : u
		t-y-n

Sowohl vom epigraphischen wie auch vom philologischen Standpunkt aus sind die meisten der nur eine Textzeile aufweisenden Exemplare recht unergiebig. Unter den von SCHEIL nur in Transkription verzeichneten Zeichenfolgen (A d–j) finden sich einige deutlich erkennbare Wörter und Namen, die ganz geläufig, deshalb aber auch unspezifisch sind; als Bestandteile des sog. Königsprotokolls oder der stereotypen Redeeinleitungsformel passen sie zu vielen Inschriften. Auch die Zweizeichenfolgen (A g–i) lassen sich teilweise an mehreren Stellen des geläufigen Formulars einordnen, so daß der Schluß von HINZ 1941, S. 243, es handele sich nicht um Reste eines eigenständigen Textes DSm (wie ihn BRANDENSTEIN 1932, S. 55f., rekonstruierte), sondern um Duplikate von DSe bzw. DSf, gut nachzuvollziehen ist. Nur das Bruchstück A j macht gewisse Schwierigkeiten, da eine auf *-š* auslautende Form in Susa nirgends vor /vašnā A.uramazdāha/ „nach dem Willen Auramazdās" – *vašna-* ist das einzige bekannte Wort mit *v-š-* im Anlaut – bezeugt ist, außer in dem von BRANDENSTEIN rekonstruierten Text, der sich aber in der Wortfolge von DSf 15 (wo *akunauš* unmittelbar hinter *xšāyaϑiyam* steht) deutlich unterscheidet.

Aus den noch kleineren Inschriftbruchstücken, die VALLAT 1972, S. 213, Fig. 63, bekanntgemacht hat, läßt sich erst recht kaum etwas gewinnen; bei V 12 h-y mag das Relativpronomen /haya/ „der, welcher" vorliegen, aber möglicherweise gehören auch V 11 und V 12 zusammen und zu dem Namen von Dareios' Vater v^{i}-i-š-/v^{i}-š-t-a-s-**p-h-y**-a /Vištāspahyā/ (Gen. Sing.).

So verbleiben also nur die drei von DIEULAFOY 1893, Pl. XII, abgebildeten und S. 284 bzw. 304 interpretierten Fragmente D 1, D 2 und D 8 (vgl. A a–c): D 8 v^{i}-š-t-a enthält selbstverständlich den *Vištāspa*-Namen, der in praktisch jeder Dareios-Inschrift zumindest in der Filiationsangabe vorkommen kann, so daß aus ihm nicht viel zu gewinnen ist. Bei der Interpretation von D 1 b-r-t und D 2 u-t-a-⌜+⌝ war DIEULAFOY 1893, S. 284, dagegen in die Irre gegangen, da b-r-t nicht zu der Imperativform /baratu/ „er soll bringen" ergänzt werden kann, die b-r-t^{u}-u-v, mit dem *t^{u}*-Zeichen geschrieben sein müßte; und ebensowenig verbirgt sich hinter u-t-a-⌜+⌝ der in DB IV 83 belegte Name *Utāna* (Ὑτάνης), da der dem *a*-Zeichen nachfolgende Zeichenrest, ein hochliegender waagerechter Keil, wie MAYRHOFER 1981, S. 131, gesehen hat, nicht zu *n*, sondern am ehesten zu *d^{i}* (ich füge hinzu: oder zu *š*) gehören kann. Damit erledigen sich auch die von ROOT 1979, S. 76, Anm. 98 und S. 85, Anm. 123, aus dieser Beischrift zu dem ‚Frieze of Archers' gezogenen Schlüsse, daß dort historische Personen, ja sogar Dareios' Mitverschworene dargestellt seien, ein für allemal.

Eine Einordnung dieser Fragmente hat MAYRHOFER, a. a. O. versucht, indem er b-r-t zu b-r-t-[n-i-y] /bartanaį/ „tragen usw." (Inf.) und u-t-a-⌜+⌝ zu u-t-a-[d^{i}-i-š] /utā-diš/ „und sie" ergänzte, die in dem ‚Fürstenspiegel' DNb 46f. = XPl 52 in engster Nachbarschaft auftreten: /utādiš atāvayam bartanaį/ „und ich [Dareios] vermochte sie [die mir verliehenen Fähigkeiten] zu nutzen". Denn „daß sich in Susa eine weitere Fassung dieses ‚Fürstenspiegels' befunden habe, ist – so MAYRHOFER 1981, S. 132 – keine unwahrscheinliche Annahme". Dies ist im Grundsatz sicher richtig – der Text wäre dann als ‚DSad' zu bezeichnen –, insbesondere, wie MAYRHOFER meint, bei Einschränkung auf „Teile dieses Textes mit einer auf die besondere Situation des Dareios-Palastbaus von Susa bezüglichen Aussage". Aber diese Annahme fällt trotzdem nicht leicht, da diese beiden Bruchstücke die einzigen susischen Reste des doch recht umfangreichen Fürstenspiegel-Textes – DNb entspricht in der Länge ungefähr DSf – wären, es sei denn, daß man in „m-a :" des Londoner Bruchstücks (vgl. A s) lieber die Prohibitivpartikel /mā/ (wie in DNb 57. 60) oder enklitisches /-mā/ „mich" (wie in DNb 8. 10. 19. 20 = XPl 9. 10. 21. 22) sieht als das Demonstrativum i-m-a /imā/ Nom. Pl. fem. (wie in DSe 15; vgl. unten im Text). Es muß meines Erachtens also offenbleiben, zu welchem Text und in welchen Kontext b-r-t (für das es etliche alternative Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten gäbe: /bara(n)ti/, /abara(n)tā/, /bṛta-/) und u-t-a-⌜+⌝ (wofür mir u-t-a-[š-], also /utā-šām, -šiš/ nach der Lage des noch erhaltenen waagerechten Keils sowieso wahrscheinlicher vorkommt) gehören.

Aber wenngleich der Typus der zweizeilig beschrifteten Glasurziegel, den SCHEIL 1929, S. 53, als „petit module" bezeichnet hat,[5] im Vergleich zu dem Typus mit nur einer Textzeile „assez rare" ist (ebd.) – auch die obige Liste bestätigt dies –, so sind sie doch deshalb von größerer Bedeutung und Aussagekraft, weil sie es gestatten, die Zeichenfolge auf dem Ziegel an zwei Stellen eines Textes (wenn er denn bekannt ist) zu ‚verankern' und zudem die Zahl der Zeichen in der oberen Zeile und damit annähernd die Länge einer ganzen Textzeile festzulegen, d. h. die Anzahl der Ziegel und überhaupt die Breite der Schriftfläche zu bestimmen.

Vier dieser Ziegel lassen sich eindeutig der ‚Charte de fondation du Palais' DSf zuordnen (vgl. oben B f und B h–j, die STEVE 1974b, S. 137, und STEVE 1987, S. 65, als „DSf 8 I–IV" bezeichnete), so wie es SCHEIL 1929, S. 54f., schon für eines dieser Stücke (B f = „DSf 8 II") nachgewiesen hatte.

„DSf 8 II"[6] (= DSf 35–37[7]) 37 + 8 Zeichen[8]
[: d]-
r-n-i-y-[m : h-c-a : s-p-r-d-a : u-t-a : h-c-a : b-a-x-t-r-i-y-a : a-b-r-i-y : t-y : i-d-a]
: a-k-r-^{r}i^{i}-[y :]
/daraniyam hacā Spardā utā hacā Bāxtriyā ābariya, taya idā akariya/
„das Gold wurde aus Lydien und aus Baktrien (herbei)gebracht, das hier verarbeitet wurde".

Die weiteren DSf-Fragmente lassen sich mit gleicher Sicherheit an anderen Stellen einfügen:

„DSf 8 I" (= DSf 10–12[9]) 35 + 9 Zeichen
[: a-k^{u}]-
^{u}u^{i}-n-u-[š : h-u-m-i-y : i-m : x-š-ç-m : f-r-a-b-r : t-y : v-z-r-k-m : t-y : u-v-s-m : u-m]-
^{r}r^{i}-t-^{r}i^{i}-[y-m :]
/... akunauš; hauv-maj ima xšaçam frābara, taya vazṛkam, taya uvasam umartiyam/
„[Auramazdā] hat ... gemacht; er hat mir dieses Reich verliehen, das große, das mit guten Pferden (und) guten Mannen".

„DSf 8 III" (= DSf 40–42) 32 + 8 Zeichen
[: a-r-d-t]-
m : u-[t-a : a-s-a : d-a-r^{u}-u-v : h-c-a : m^{u}-u-d-r-a-y-a : a-b-r-i-y : a-r-j-n-m :]
t-y-n-[a :]
/ṛdatam utā āsā dāru hacā Mudrāyā ābariya; arjanam, tayanā .../
„Silber und Ebenholz wurden aus Ägypten (herbei)gebracht; das Farbmaterial, mit dem ..."

5 Die Schriftzeichen sind nach SCHEIL, ebd., nur 25–30 mm hoch, während die senkrechten Keile bei dem „grand module" eine Höhe von 5–6 cm erreichen.
6 Die erhaltenen Textfragmente werden der Einfachheit halber jeweils links an den Zeilenanfang gesetzt, ohne daß dadurch irgendetwas präjudiziert werden soll.
7 Dort ist der gesamte Text bis auf wenige Zeichen ([: s-p]-r-d-a, [: i]-d-[a]) erhalten und im übrigen auch durch Paralleltexte abgesichert.
8 Diese Angabe besagt, daß sich die 45 Zeichen der (oberen) Zeile auf 37 Lautzeichen und 8 Worttrenner verteilen.
9 Zwei Zeichen (x-š-[ç-m]) sind zweifelsfrei ergänzt.

„DSf 8 IV"[10] (= DSf 45–47) 32 + 8 Zeichen
[: t-y-a]
: i-d-a [: k-r-t-a : a-b-i-r-a-d^{u}-u-š : n-a-m : a-v-h-n-m : u-j-i-y : h-c-a : a-v]-
d-š : a-[b-r-i-y :]
/... taya idā kṛtā – Abirāduš nāma āvahanam Ūjaį – hacā avadaš ābariya/
„[Die steinernen Säulen,] die hier bearbeitet (aufgestellt?) wurden – (es ist da) ein Ort namens Abirāduš in Elam – von dort wurden sie (herbei)gebracht".

Aus einem anderen Ziegel (vgl. oben B e [„DSe 12"] und unten) hatte SCHEIL 1929, S. 55, mit Recht gefolgert, daß diese ca. 35 cm langen Glasurziegel neun Zeichen (einschließlich Worttrenner) je Zeile enthielten.[11] Daraus ergab sich für ihn „qu'il a fallu *quatre* [SCHEILS Kursivierung] unités de briques" und daß „le panneau avait donc 1^{m} 40 de largeur". (Auch für die babylonische Version hat er [S. 55f.] die gleiche Breite festgestellt.) Dies erscheint mir – und übrigens bereits KÖNIG 1930, S. 27 –, wie die zwischen 40 und 45 schwankende Gesamtzahl der Zeichen nahelegt, eindeutig zu knapp bemessen; fünf Ziegel wird man je Zeile annehmen müssen, also eine Gesamtbreite von ca. 1,75 m für das Schriftfeld. Daß dann das Schriftfeld des altpersischen Textes breiter ist als das der babylonischen Version, ist übrigens kein schlüssiges Gegenargument, trotz des bekannten Strebens nach Symmetrie in der achaimenidischen Kunst und Epigraphik. Eine symmetrische Anordnung der Texte war schließlich schon dadurch leicht zu erreichen, daß man das breitere altpersische Schriftfeld links und rechts durch das elamische und das babylonische eingerahmt hat, die sich in dem beanspruchten Platz einander viel näherstehen.

Die beiden von SCHEIL 1929, S. 55, abgezeichneten, aber hier bisher noch nicht besprochenen Glasurziegel (vgl. oben B e und B g) gehören eindeutig zu einer anderen Inschrift; und den richtigen Weg zu ihrer Einordnung weist das erste Stück, das ein Kompositum auf °*zana*- „Stamm" erkennen läßt, wie es nur ein einziges Mal in Susa bezeugt ist, nämlich in *vispazana*- DSe 9f.

B e: „DSe 12" (= DSe 9–11) 16 + 3 Zeichen[12]
[: v^{i}-i-s-p]-
z-n-a-n-a-m : XŠ : [a-h-y-a-y-a : b-u-m^{i}]-
i-y-a : v-z-r-k-a-[y-a :]
/... vispazanānām, xšāyaθiya ahyāyā būmiyā vazṛkāyā .../
„[König der Länder] mit allen Stämmen, König auf dieser großen Erde".

10 Hier hatte KÖNIG 1930 offenbar „a-d-a" und darunter dann „u-š : a" gelesen, so daß er es in Zeilen 2–4 (a-k^{u}-u-n-**u-š : a**-i-v-m) einordnete (vgl. S. 29, Anm. f zu § 1); er hat dies jedoch (S. 27) selbst als fraglich bezeichnet, und dies mit gutem Grund, da die Abstände in keinem Fall passen. KÖNIGS Lesung ist jedenfalls aufzugeben.
11 Beiläufig sei an dieser Stelle bemerkt, daß ich gewisse Zweifel daran habe, ob SCHEILS Zeichnungen tatsächlich maßstabgetreu sind.
12 Das Fragment ist bei CURTIS/TALLIS 2005, S. 91, Nr. 63, abgebildet, wird dort aber fälschlicherweise DSf zugeordnet.

Das zweite (und letzte bei SCHEIL, ebd., dokumentierte) Bruchstück (B g) scheint bisher noch überhaupt nicht lokalisiert worden zu sein. Es gehört wohl zu einem weiteren Exemplar von DSe, da u-r-i sicher zu d^{u}-**u-r-i**-y /dūraį/ „fern(hin)" zu ergänzen ist, das in Susa nur in DSe 11 vorkommt, dieses Fragment aber – da unmittelbar an das gerade besprochene /būmiyā vazṛkāyā/ anschließend – nicht mit dem Ziegel des Fragments B e kompatibel ist. Dieses zweite Glasurziegel-Exemplar von DSe hat aber offensichtlich ebensolange Zeilen wie das erste, für das jeweils zwei Ziegelsteine je Lage verwendet worden sein dürften.

B g (= DSe 11f.)[13] 17 + 2 Zeichen
[: d^{u}]-
u-r-i-[y : a-p-i-y : v^{i}-i-š-t-a-s-p-h-y]-
a : [p-u-ç :]
/... dūraį apiy Vištāspahyā puça/[14]
„[König] auch fernhin, des Hystaspes Sohn".

Gleichfalls dem Text DSe zuzuordnen ist meines Erachtens das Londoner Bruchstück (vgl. A s), da ein Auslaut]m-a : /°mā/ auf den beiden großen Dareios-Inschriften aus Susa nur ein einziges Mal vorkommt, nämlich in DSe 15 i-m-a, d. h. in der Wendung /imā dahyāva, tayā .../ „dies (sind) die Länder, die ...".

Zu weiteren Komplikationen führen die von DIEULAFOY 1893, Pl. XII, publizierten Fragmente D 9–11, die zu ganz geläufigen Textstücken gehören, die sich aber sämtlich von DSe und DSf durch die nicht-logographische Schreibung des Königstitels unterscheiden:

D 11 (~ DSe 14, DSf 8) 11 + 1 Zeichen
[: ϑ]-
a-t-i-y : [d-a-r-y-v-u-š]
: x-š-a-y-[ϑ-i-y :]
/ϑāti Dārayava.uš xšāyaϑiya/
„Es kündet Dareios, der König".

Das ist die geläufige Redeeinleitungsformel. Entgegen MAYRHOFER 1981, S. 130, ist dies aber nicht als unmittelbar aufeinanderfolgendes *„[θ]ātiy : xšāy[aθiya]"* zu verstehen, da es diese Ausdrucksweise nicht gibt.[15] Vielmehr ist, da Dareios nach der Redeeinleitungsformel nie eine ausführlichere Königstitulatur

13 KÖNIG 1930, S. 27, hat dieses Fragment („μ") ohne jegliche Erläuterung in DSf 2–4 oder 23–25 einordnen wollen, dies aber selbst als fraglich betrachtet; ich sehe an keiner dieser Stellen auch nur im entferntesten eine Möglichkeit zu einer solchen Einordnung.

14 Die Schreibung dieses Namens variiert in Susa: sowohl v^{i}-i-š-t° (so DSc, DSf usw.) wie auch ‚defektiv' geschriebenes v^{i}-š-t° (so DSa, DSb usw.) sind bezeugt; in DSe 11f. wird üblicherweise [v^{i}-š]-t-a-s-p-h-y-a ergänzt, ohne daß der Zeilenumfang – die Zeilenanfänge und -enden sind gesichert – dies aber zwingend erforderte.

15 Im übrigen ist die Textwiedergabe bei MAYRHOFER, ebd., insofern ungenau, als dort der deutlich erkennbare Worttrenner am Ende der oberen Zeile fehlt.

verwendet, an der hier vorgeschlagenen Interpretation und dem Ansatz eines Textes mit ziemlich kurzen Zeilen nicht zu rütteln.

Hierzu paßt aber keine der für das Fragment D 9 denkbar erscheinenden Zuordnungen zu den einzelnen Elementen der Titulatur[16]:

D 9 (~ DSe 8f., DSf 5f.)
entweder [: d-a-r-y]- 16 + 3 Zeichen
v-u-š : x-[š-a-y-ϑ-i-y : v-z-r-k : x-š]-
a-y-ϑ-i-y [: x-š-a-y-ϑ-i-y-a-n-a-m :]
oder [: d-a-r-y]- 23 + 4 Zeichen
v-u-š : x-[š-a-y-ϑ-i-y : v-z-r-k : x-š-a-y-ϑ-i-y : x-š]-
a-y-ϑ-i-y-[a-n-a-m :]
/Dārayava.uš, xšāyaϑiya vazṛka, xšāyaϑiya xšāyaϑiyānām, .../
„Dareios, der große König, König der Könige".

Nur des Zeilenumfangs wegen ist wohl die erste Variante vorzuziehen, die genau zu Fragment B g (bei SCHEIL 1929, S. 55) stimmt, wenngleich die beiden Stücke keinesfalls zu demselben Text bzw. Inschriftexemplar gehören können.

Und bei D 10 kommt man über die Aufzählung der bestehenden Möglichkeiten überhaupt nicht hinaus. Die Zeichen der beiden Zeilen würden sich zwar bei fortlaufender Lesung zum Königstitel x-š-a-y-ϑ-i-y /xšāyaϑiya/ ergänzen – so MAYRHOFER, a. a. O. –, aber *de facto* muß es sich hier um zwei verschiedene, aufeinanderfolgende Formen des in dem sog. Königsprotokoll mehrfach (5mal in DSe 8–10 bzw. DSf 6) vorkommenden Königstitels handeln, etwa:

x-š-a-y-[ϑ-i-y : v-z-r-k : x-š-a-y]- 15 + 2 Zeichen
ϑ-i-y : [x-š-a-y-ϑ-i-y-a-n-a-m :]

oder

x-š-a-y-[ϑ-i-y : x-š-a-y-ϑ-i-y-a-n-a-m : x-š-a-y]- 22 + 2 Zeichen
ϑ-i-y : [d-h-y-u-n-a-m :]

oder

x-š-a-y-[ϑ-i-y-a-n-a-m : x-š-a-y]- 15 + 1 Zeichen
ϑ-i-y : [d-h-y-u-n-a-m :]

oder

x-š-a-y-[ϑ-i-y : d-h-y-u-n-a-m : v^{i}-i-s-p-z-n-a-n-a-m : x-š-a-y]- 28 + 3 Zeichen
ϑ-i-y : [a-h-y-a-y-a : b-u-m^{i}-i-y-a :]

Allein die letztgenannte Variante ist *a priori* ganz unwahrscheinlich; unter den drei anderen ist aber nicht zu entscheiden.

Als letztes ist nun noch das am längsten publizierte, aber von der Susa-Epigraphik vernachlässigte Inschriftfragment B a zu betrachten, auf das erst

16 Nicht in Frage kommt unmittelbar aufeinanderfolgendes *„[dāraya]vauš : x[š]āyaθiya"*, wie bei MAYRHOFER 1981, S. 130, erwogen.

SCHWEIGER 2005 wieder aufmerksam gemacht hat. Die alte Zeichnung läßt eindeutig folgende Zeichen erkennen:

a-b-d-y
: v^{i}-i-š.

Da die Zeichen von Zeile 2 offensichtlich zu dem Namen v^{i}-i-š-t-a-s-p(-) /Vištāspa-/ von Dareios' Vater zu ergänzen sind,[17] aber in keiner Inschrift aus Susa irgendeine Wortform mit a-b-d-y in angemessenem Abstand vor *Vištāspa-*[18] zu finden ist, müsse es sich hier um einen neuen, bisher nicht bekannten Text handeln. SCHWEIGER 2005, S. 582, hat die Zeichenfolge a-b-d-y zwar einleuchtend als Imperfektform 1. Pers. Sing. oder 3. Pers. Sing. oder Plur. /abandayam/ bzw. /abandaya/ zu der Wurzel *band* „binden, fesseln" interpretiert – „gefangennehmen" ist in DB aber immer durch die Wurzel *grab*, Präs. *gṛbāya-* ausgedrückt, so daß seine Übersetzung in dieser Hinsicht auf jeden Fall zu modifizieren wäre – und daraus konsequenterweise auf „eine erheblich längere Inschrift mit historischem Inhalt" geschlossen (S. 584). Dies erscheint mir allerdings äußerst unwahrscheinlich: Schon die Reihenfolge der Aussagen mit Bericht einer Fesselung/Gefangennahme *vor* der Nennung des Vištāspa ist ganz unerhört. Eine weitere, größere Inschrift, von der man bisher noch gar nichts wußte, – und die obigen Ausführungen haben gezeigt, daß man allem Anschein nach schon mit etlichen unterschiedlichen Exemplaren von DSe und DSf allein auf Glasurziegeln zu rechnen hat – durch ein so kleines und nicht einmal im Original, sondern nur in einer Nachzeichnung vorliegendes Ziegelfragment in Susa bezeugt zu finden, scheint dem Zufall doch allzu viel zuzumuten, auch wenn der Zeichner – ein als Buchillustrator bekannter Künstler – so sorgfältig gearbeitet haben sollte, wie SCHWEIGER 2005, S. 580, Anm. 7, es darzutun versucht. Daß diese Zeichnung wirklich originalgetreu ist, erscheint mir praktisch unvorstellbar, denn es ist ohne Parallele und ganz unerhört, daß sich in dem *b*-Zeichen die beiden Waagerechten und der senkrechte Keil kreuzen; und im übrigen wird es bekanntlich überhaupt vermieden, sich kreuzende Keile zu verwenden. Auch aus der Form des auf der Zeichnung abgebildeten Glasurziegels zieht SCHWEIGER weitere Schlüsse (S. 583), nämlich daß hier „ein halber Inschriftenstein" vorliege, der am Zeilenanfang oder -ende verwendet worden sei, und er skizziert sogar die denkbare Anordnung der Ziegel in dem Fries. Hier wäre in jedem Fall etwas mehr Zurückhaltung angebracht, solange man sich nicht auf genaue Maßangaben der beschrifteten Ziegel selbst stützen kann.

An der Zuverlässigkeit der Zeichnung und der Richtigkeit der Lesung a-b-d-y für die Zeichen der oberen Zeile habe ich, wie gesagt, Zweifel, seit ich SCHWEIGERS Aufsatz gelesen habe. Ich halte es nicht für übertriebene Skepsis, mit der

17 Im Gegensatz zu Fragment D 8 (vgl. oben A c) v^{i}-š-t-a findet sich hier die ‚Plene'-Schreibung v^{i}-i-š-t°; zu dieser Variation vgl. oben Anm. 14.

18 Die Belege dieses Namens sind über das Glossar von KENT 1953, S. 209a, sowie das Register in MAYRHOFER 1978, S. 50, leicht festzustellen.

Möglichkeit zu rechnen – und gerade in einem allgemein kunsthistorischen Werk ohne das mindeste epigraphische Interesse –, daß der beauftragte Zeichner das Ganze etwas ‚geschönt' und auf dem Stein nur in Teilen erkennbare Zeichen in seiner Zeichnung vervollständigt und so eine ‚ideale' Inschrift hergestellt hat, die durchaus korrekturbedürftig sein kann. Zu einer Konjektur sollte man jedoch erst dann seine Zuflucht nehmen, wenn man das Original des Ziegels, das sich im Louvre befinden müßte, eingesehen und dessen tatsächlichen Zustand überprüft hat.[19] Möglichkeiten zu einer Korrektur einzelner Zeichen gibt es durchaus: Besonders verdächtig erscheint mir *d*, da eine minimale Veränderung (die Annahme von zwei waagerechten Keilen statt einem) zu *i* und somit zu der Präposition (bzw. Adverb, Präfix) a-b-i-y /abi/ führte; dafür darf man ins Feld führen, daß man häufig die Folge i-y findet, während man nach d-y lange suchen muß. Auch die Vermutung von *r* statt *b* (also eines Zeichens mit drei statt zweier waagerechter Keile) ist angesichts der mehrfach bezeugten Verwechslung von *r/b* gut denkbar – eine Lesung a-r-i-y /Ariya-/ „arisch" wäre natürlich allzu schön, hat aber sicher auszuscheiden –, und selbst *u* statt *a* oder *h* statt *b* halte ich nicht für gänzlich ausgeschlossen. Aber all diese Überlegungen befriedigen nicht völlig, weil sie zu Lösungen führen, die vom Zeilenumfang her nicht recht aufgehen, etwa u-r-i-y (von d^{u}-**u-r-i-y** /dūraį/) oder a-h-i-y (wenn man mit der bisher nur in Xerxes-Inschriften nachgewiesenen Variante **a-h-i-y**-a-y-a zu a-h-y-a-y-a /ahyāyā/ „auf dieser [Erde]" rechnet). Sie sollten also vorderhand einzig als Gedankenspiele verstanden werden, auch wenn insbesondere eine Lesung [d^{u}]-u-r-i-y und die Annahme des Titels „König auf dieser (großen) Erde auch *fernhin*" (vgl. oben zu B g = DSe 11f.) vor der Filiationsangabe „des Hystaspes Sohn" sehr verlockend ist.

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19 Eine entsprechende briefliche Anfrage beim Musée du Louvre blieb ohne Antwort und die Bestellung einer Photographie unerledigt.

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Pouruchista's Gathic Wedding and the Teleological Composition of the Gathas

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Goftār be Nīk

I intend to show in this article that what appears to be straightforward passage, whose pragmatically descriptive phrasing follows from the occurrence of the event commemorated therein, instead, like the rest of Y53, results from the strictest compositional constraints, whereby Y53 (far from being, as some have supposed, not part of the *Gathas* as composed by Zarathushtra) is the culmination of a long-range plan which extends through the bulk of the Gathic corpus.

The last Gathic poem, Y(asna) 53, features a celebration of the wedding of Zarathushtra's daughter Pouruchista, who is specifically addressed in Y53.3–4:

Y53.3
a tāmcā tū pourucistā haēcaŋ.aspānā
b spitāmī yezuuī dugədrąm zaraθuštrahē
c vaŋhəuš *paitiiāstī manaŋhō aŝahiiā mazdāscā taibiiō dāŋ sarəm
d aθā hām.fərašuuā θβā xraθβā spāništā ārmatōiš hudānū varəšuuā

Y53.4
a *tąm zī vō spərədā niuuarānī yā fəðrōi vīdāŋ
b paiθiiaēcā vāstriiaēibiiō aŋcā x^{v}aētauuē[1]
...

Y53.3
'O Pouruchista Haechataspana Spitamī, thou young(est) of Zarathushtra's daughters, he (Zarathushtra) gives him[2] to thee in union, with obedience to Good Mind, Rightness, and Mazdā. Thus, consult with thy intelligence. With this generous man, make manifest/choose the holiest things of Ārmaiti.

Y53.4
'So *her among you (maidens) do I entrust with zeal, (that) she will provide for father and husband, pasturers and family ...'

1 I follow HUMBACH's emendation **paitiiāstī* at Y53.3c' for mss. *paitiiāstīm* before *m-*. I emend **tąm* at Y53.4a' for mss. *tām*, which reflects the influence of Y53.3a' *tām(cā)*.
2 'him' refers back to Y53.2d'" *saošiiaŋt-* 'future benefactor, prosperer'. It should be noted that recurrences of this word, and correlations with its cognates in *sauu-/sū-*, are frequent in the intertextual charts in the Appendix.

I shall now demonstrate that virtually every word in the above passage of *Yasna* 53, the last poem in the original compositional sequence, proceeds via an obligatory selection from a pool of systematically conditioned lexical options whose contexts differ remarkably from those of our passage. The latter fact is paralleled for the rest of Y53, e.g. Y53.9a″ *nərəpīš* 'decline' (referring to the evil-doers' dark doom), which is related by root to its compositional source, Y44.3d″ *nərəfsaitī* 'wanes' (which itself contrasts with 'waxes', of the moon).[3]

To give some salient examples of words in the above-cited passage from Y53, *ptar-* 'father' refers to Zarathushtra, *dugədar-* 'daughter' to his child Pouruchista, who, among his other female offspring, is *yezuuī* 'young(est)'. However, in the source contexts, the 'father' is Mazdā Ahura, originator of Rightness (Y44.3b″; Y44.7c″[4]; Y47.2d″) and of Good Mind, and the 'daughter' (of Mazdā) is Ārmaiti (Y45.4c–d). Even Pouruchista's description as *yezuuī* 'young(est)' among Zarathushtra's daughters proceeds compositionally from Y31.8a″ *yazu-*, which refers to Mazdā as energetically youthful. Similarly, *paiti-*, occurring at Y53.4b′ for 'husband', may be textually traced to its compositional antecedent at

3 A chart demonstrating the full set of correspondences of Y44 to Y53 is given in the Appendix. The Appendix also contains charts for all other intertextual correspondences discussed here. The charts are arranged first in numerical order of the donating poem, then by the receiving poem, and lastly by directionality (matching or opposite). In the charts, the ordering and number of the donating poems follows that found in the mss. and in modern editions of the *Gathas*, although it is demonstrable that this was not the original order of composition (thus e.g. Y29 was composed before Y28).

4 As per Chart B of Y44 > Y53, Y44.7c″ *piθrē* 'father' (dative), which belongs to the paradigm *pitā* (nominative), *piθr-* (oblique), provides a compositional antecedent, via partial homophony, for the Gathic *hapax* Y53.6c″ *piθā* 'defenses'. However, as per Chart A (via which it is Y44.5d″ *(arəm.)piθβā* (/*-piθwā/) 'noon' which may be adduced as the partially homophonous compositional antecedent for Y53.6c″ *piθā*), Y44.7c″ *piθrē* is the compositional antecedent for Y53.4a″ *fəδrōi* (both forms being metrical variants going back to different treatments of the laryngeal in the Indo-Iranian proto-form /*pHtrai/ 'father', dat.). Y44.7c *uzəmōm … puθrəm piθrē* 'a son excellent with regard to his father' parallels the context of Y53.4a as to the solicitude of child (here daughter) to father.

The attestations of *ptarəm* 'father' (acc.) in Y45.4c″ and Y31.8b″ also correspond in the intertextual charting, which illustrates the intermediation in transmission of forms. In this connection, note that while 'for family', Y53.4b″ *x*ᵛaētauuē* (dat.) has as more immediate antecedent Y49.7c″ *x*ᵛaētuš* (nom.), the latter intermediates its own antecedent, Y46.5d″ *x*ᵛaētauuē* (dat.) which matches the same form at Y53.4b″ (see SCHWARTZ 2006a, p. 62, n. 17). Such examples can be multiplied.

Y44.7c″ *piθrē*, for its part, concatenates with Y44.3b″ *ptā* 'father' (nom.) in the proto-poem Y44.1–9 (wherein Y44.9c″ *paitiš̌a saxiiāṯ* 'the Lord … would proclaim', concatenating in metrical responsion with Y44.1c″ *θβāuuąs saxiiāṯ*, features *paiti-* prominently). As alternative to the intertextual role of Y44.7c″ *piθrē*, Y44.3b″ *ptā* itself, as per the Chart of Y44.1–9 > Y53.1–9, serves as compositional antecedent for Y53.4 *fəδrōi*.

The phenomenon of two alternatively operable sequences in Y44.9 which provide compositional antecedents for the lexical material in Y53 (Y44 > Y53, Charts A and B) is obviously connected with the larger question of the purposes of Zarathushtra's cross-textual serial composition, which is addressed at the conclusion of this paper.

Y44.9c″, where the same word refers to Mazdā Ahura as 'Lord [of Dominion]'; see Chart B of Y44 > Y53.[5] A further instance of recontextualization, among others which could be cited for our passage, is Y53.3c‴ *dā- sarəm* 'give as mate/union/alliance', which proceeds from the use of the same phrase at Y49.8a″–b′, where it refers to the granting/establishment of an eschatological connection in Mazdā's Dominion. Typically of recurrent forms, *sar-* is found in intertextually corresponding positions in other Gathic poems.[6]

In addition, the names of Zarathushtra and (in Y53.2) his patrons and son not only positionally match corresponding names in earlier poems, but the name of his daughter, the bride, Y53.3a′ *pouruciṯā haēcaṯ.aspānā*, is anticipated in equivalent positions of other poems where the name's elements occur: *pouru-* 'many, much' (Y32.6a′; Y43.15a′; Y47.6d′); *ciṯi-* or other nouns or verbs deriving from the root *ciθ/cit* 'to perceive' (Y30.9c″; Y32.5c″; Y34.4b″; Y44.10e′, etc.);[7] the (masculine) name *haēcaṯ.aspa-* (Y46.15a′); the ultimate root of *haēcaṯ-*, *haēc/hic* 'to pour, irrigate' (Y32.14b′ *hīcā*, root-stem *hic-*[8]), and *aspa-* 'horse' (Y44.18c′ *aspā* 'mares'). In the same stanza, Y53.4, *x*ᵛaētu-* 'family' accords with the wedding context, but its compositional precedent in Y49.7c″ has an eschatological context. The situation is similar for *hudānu-* 'generous' Y53.3d‴ vis-à-vis at Y31.16a′ and Y44.9c′. Other relevant intertextual correspondences with the vocabulary of Y53.3–4a-b (and the rest of Y53) may be seen from the appended charts.

5 The two matched instances of *paiti-*, like the matched *yazu-/yezuuī*, *dugədar-*, and √*sprd/z*, conform to the fact that words occurring twice in the Gathic corpus are always matched in the chartings of Gathic intertextuality. Thus also, e.g., *pasu- vīra-* 'cattle and men' in the chart of Y45 > Y53.

6 See next note, third paragraph.

7 The elements *pouru-* and √*ciθ/cit* are found in adjoining lines of Y32: Y32.6a′ *pourū* and Y32.5c″ *fracinas*. It may be noted that *-cistā* and the positionally corresponding forms of √*ciθ/cit* are among the cross-corpus inheritances of *Yasna* 29, in this instance, Y29.4a″ *pairī ciθiṯ*, b″ *aipī ciθiṯ*, whose analysis should no longer be in question (cf. SCHWARTZ 2007b, p. 5, Chart II, with p. 8, fn. 15; the abundant corroboration will be set forth elsewhere).

Also inherited ultimately from Y29 is Y53.3c‴′ *sarəm*, variants of which, throughout the Gathic corpus, have their compositional origin in the hitherto problematic Y29.3a′ *sarəjā* 'smasher of ties/bonds' = 'liberator' (with the concrete meaning of *sar-*, otherwise 'connection, union'). Cf. the second element, *-jan-* 'smashing, smiting, killing' of the same *sarəjā*, whose final recycling is *jān-* in Y53.8c′ *jānərąm* 'killing men' (**jān-nar-*).

The juxtaposition of the elements of *pouru-cistā* in Y32 is paralleled, in the lexical realm, by the elements of Y29.3a′ *sarə-jā* juxtaposed at Y44.17d′ with *sarōi* 'for a connection/union' and Y44.16b′ *vərəθrəm-jā* 'smashing resistance' = 'victorious'. In the onomastic realm, cf. Y46.19b″ *zaraθuštra-* 'having old camels' with its positional correspondences Y44.17b″ *zarəm* and Y44.18c″ *uštrəm* 'camel' (see SCHWARTZ 2006a, pp. 57 and 63, Note 21).

8 See SCHWARTZ 2006a, pp. 57 and 61, Chart V, where the spelling *haēcaṯ.aspānā* is a lapse for *haēcaṯ.aspānā*. KELLENS 1991, p. 86, now takes *haēcaṯ.aspa-* as 'having horses which splash' ("dont les chevaux s'éclaboussent"), with middle voice meaning of *haēca-* vs. active *hiṇca-*, cf. Vedic *sécate : siñcáti*.

The foregoing situation is the result of the technique whereby Zarathushtra generated the course of his Gathic poems.[9] In summary: Beginning with *Yasna* 29, the compositionally earliest Gathic poem, from each poem of the *Gathas*, Zarathushtra drew upon consecutive stanzas to produce two strings of words (matching those of the original sequence at the level of inflected form or stem or root or close homophone thereof) which then recur consecutively, running through the stanzas of the next poem composed. These include words chosen from the same line in any order. The series runs from the earlier poem's first stanza toward its last, and the other series runs from the earlier poem's last stanza toward its first, and the next poem may receive the words in forwards or backwards order of its own stanzas. The process is repeated cumulatively for the generation of each successive poem, up to and including the last, Y53, which thereby reflects the pairs of word-strings of all the earlier poems. The need to accommodate this accumulated material accounts for the unusually bulky, prosodically complex lines of Y53.

A small selection of charts, chiefly focused on illustrating those aspects of the compositional background of Y53.2–5 which are touched on above, is given as an Appendix. My judgment that Y53 is the last Gathic poem which Zarathushtra composed (and Y29 the first) is based on a very large number of chartings of the compositional interrelationships between the various Gathic poems, with their contents also taken into consideration. It is too premature to essay here a detailed relative chronology of the compositions, which would include the order of proto-poems[10], their chronological relationships to the final poems, and their relevance for the chronology of the teleology of Y53.

If, as the data indicate, Y53 is the poem that was composed last, we are left with a puzzle: How did Zarathushtra not only manage to compose his corpus in the face of such extreme self-imposed constraints, but to have thereby produced a composition featuring a celebration of his daughter's marriage in which her name, the statement of her family relationships, and many related details in the confines of Y53.2–5 seem to be generated, according to strictly predetermined options of lexical expressions, from the often remarkably different (and more rarefied) contexts of earlier poems?

At present I can only offer a broad solution to the latter problem: Zarathushtra, early in the course of his compositional career, anticipated the marriage of his youngest daughter, an occasion which is regarded as especially significant in many traditional cultures. In this regard it is significant that he opens Y53 with a declaration that his 'best search/desire has received a hearing', since, he continues, Mazdā has granted good existence forever to those who have learned and who enact the words and deeds of the Good Envisionment/Religion. This opening makes it likely that Zarathushtra looked to his daughter's wedding as

9 See in detail SCHWARTZ 2006a and SCHWARTZ 2007b.
10 See most definitively SCHWARTZ 2006a, pp. 53–54 and 58 for the Gathic proto-poems.

an opportunity for a poetic culmination and summary of his essential doctrinal ideas, especially as pertains to eschatology. Indeed, the second half of the poem is chiefly devoted to the punitive aspect of Zarathushtra's dualistic eschatology. Its last line, Y53.9d, with *xšaϑrəm* 'Dominion' + √*dā* 'give' + *drigu-* 'poor', evidences a concluding linkage to the collocation of these lexemes in the third and last line of Y27.13, a brief prayer (the erstwhile Y29.11[11]), whence Y28–Y34 are called the *Ahunauuaitī Gāϑā* (this fact suggests that Zarathushtra himself gave the five *Gathas* their present prosodically-based order). It was toward his final poetic goal in Y53 that Zarathushtra applied his recursive compositional technique.

It is difficult to say which passages of the poems forming the compositional background of Y53 have phraseology which intentionally anticipates the wedding poem, as adumbrated above, and which passage(s) may have heuristically suggested the composition. For example, Zarathushtra employed the words *yazu-* 'young' and *ptar-* 'father' at Y31.8; *ptar-* 'father' and *dugədar-* 'daughter' at Y45.4 (and *ptar-* 'father' again at Y47.2d″, Y44.3b″, Y44.7c″[12]), where the usage in theological contexts precedes ultimate application to the realia of the wedding. An early theological passage like Y45.4, with its collocation of 'father' and 'daughter', may have suggested to its poet the further use of such phraseology in anticipation of the wedding poem, or may have been the result of such an intention. Similarly, while Y49.8a″–b′ *dā-* + *sarəm* 'establish a connection/tie/union' and variants thereof aptly fit eschatological purposes, they may also have been employed in anticipation of the union of Pourucistā and her future husband, which could then symbolize the heavenly unions of the righteous people with the divine entities. The frequency of *cisti-* and *pouru-* may be explained, apart from their immediate contextual purpose, as antecedents leading to the dénouement *Pourucistā* in connection with her wedding; this device may have begun with the random(?) juxtaposition of *fracinas* (√*ciϑ/cit*) and *pourū* in Y32.5–6 (see fn. 6).

If we assume (as is consistent with our analysis) that Y53 was planned in its essentials before the name of the bridegroom was known, we are led to an explanation of the odd fact that Y53 does not name the bridegroom. The tradition that Pourucistā's bridegroom was Djāmāspa is attested in the Pahlavi gloss of Y53.4c′. It may now be suggested that rather than rework the carefully prearranged wording in order to insert the tetrasyllabic */djāma'aspa-/ (or */djāma'aswa-/), Zarathushtra decided that it was not necessary to specify the name – quite possibly because he had already alluded to Djāmāspa's role as bridegroom, toward the end of the corpus:

> Y51.18a–b
> *tąm cistīm dājāmāspō … aŋā vərəntē taŋ xšaϑrəm* 'Djamaspa, via Rightness, chooses that insight/perception, (and) that dominion/power'.

11 See SCHWARTZ 2003, pp. 215–217.
12 See fn. 3 above.

Y51.18 comes in a series of stanzas which name patrons, but unlike the stanzas which precede, it does not contain specific imagery or the soul's passage to the afterlife. This stanza may have been meant both to have eschatological reference, and, for Zarathushtra's core community, to be understood as a subtle allusion to Djamaspa's forthcoming wedding to Pourchista *(cisti- = -cistā)*[13].

It is noteworthy that Y51.18b' *aŝā vərəṇtē taṯ xšaϑrəm* 'via Rightness chooses that dominion/power' clearly echoes the opening Y51.1a–b *vohū xšaϑrəm vairīm ... aŝā* 'The good dominion/rule to be chosen ... with Rightness', referring to reward for a most generous patron. The stanza in Y51 dedicated to Djamaspa follows those (as in the other attestations of the name) dedicated to the most important patron, Vishtaspa, and that to Frashaoshtra, who seems to have become Zarathushtra's patron before his brother Djamaspa did (cf. Y28.7–8, where only Vishtaspa and Frashaoshtra are named). While the order of patrons in Y51 allows for the prestige of Vishtaspa and Frashaoshtra not to appear diminished by Djamaspa, nevertheless the fact that the beginning of the poem anticipates the praise of Djamaspa in stanza 18 would indicate that, in effect, the focus is on Djamaspa. Furthermore, a special connection between Y51 and Y53 is shown by their uniquely sharing the phrase 'good envisionment', in fact with the dative *daēnaiiāi vaŋhuiiāi* (at Y51.17b' vis-à-vis Y53.4d") in an intertextually corresponding position, and by the parallelism of Y51.18b'–c' *taṯ xšaϑrəm ... hiiaṯ mazdā ... tauuā* and the last line of Y53.9d *taṯ mazdā tauuā xšaϑrəm* 'that dominion (which is) of Thee'. In a way, then, Y51 may complement Y53 and supply the name *Dājāmāspa* missing from Y53.

The likelihood that Djamaspa's name did not figure in the earlier planning of the poem, would, in turn, go with the fact that the etymological elements of

13 The compound name *Pouru-cistā* has traditionally been taken as 'having much insight', although KELLENS 1991, p. 96 contests this translation, preferring 'celle qui est remarquée par tous'. The older translation, apart from the morphology of *cistā*, is favored by the fact that all other compounds with *pouru-* are possessive, 'having many/much ...', in accordance with an Indo-European name-type in **polHu-* 'much' (cf. *Pouru.jīra-* 'very intelligent'). This requires that *-cistā* is a noun (or adj.) and not (as per KELLENS) a past participle. The implicit problem is that one would expect **pourucisti-*, with *cisti-* 'insight, perception'. MAYRHOFER 1977, pp. 72–73, no. 263, who takes *-cistā* as an unusual replacement for *-cisti-*, and translates 'Mit viel Einsicht, sehr einsichtig', attempts to meet the problem by referring to WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER 1896–1964, II, 1, p. 118 seq., which mentions such Old Indic forms as *daśāṅgulá-* 'having 10 fingerlengths' and *pūrṇadarvá-* 'having a full spoon', in which the second member represents an underlying *i*-stem, although no *-ti*-stems are cited. Prof. HANNS-PETER SCHMIDT (personal communication) supplies as example Vedic *trivitastá-* 'consisting of three *vitasti*-s (lengths of the span of a hand)'. In addition, there is the simplex noun *cistā* 'insight, perception', well-attested as the divinity of *Yasht* 16 (note also Yt 10.126, where *rāzišta cista aŝaoni* 'the straightest, righteous C.' fits the octosyllabic pattern of divine names plus their canonical epithets, noted in SCHWARTZ 2006c, pp. 495–496). The simplex *cistā* is readily analyzable as the fem. counterpart of the very common Vedic n. *cittá-* 'thought, conception, perception', but it could alternatively have been extracted from a compound such as *pourucistā*.

Dājāmāspa- are not found in a Gathic intertextual connection with this name, whereas all the other proper names in the Gathas demonstrably have such etymological correlations.[14] In any event, the latter Gathic intertextual connections between proper names and their elements should be taken together with that intertextual reoccurrence of lexical equivalence groups which characterizes the charts. It is probable that the charts attest a mnemonically-oriented continuum which is in support of the teleological aspect of the corpus, although the question of to what extent the original audiences perceived the interconnected nature of the corpus is beyond the scope of the present article.

The teleological composition culminating in Y53 confirms that the corpus was authored by a single historical personage, Zarathushtra, as per his constant self-identification. This authorship fits the realia of archaic Indo-European poetry, as most relevantly evidenced by the *RigVeda*: In an institutional milieu prizing individual skill, a poet-priest, who names himself, competitively seeks patrons, who are named in commemoration of their generosity. Given that this setting is what is found in the *Gathas*, and in view of their compositional unity and extraordinary craft, it is hard to conceive a realistic scenario other than the authorship by a genuine Zarathushtra.

I confess that, being still too close to the data above, I cannot yet assess their full implications. For the charted interrelationships set forth in this article, I can find no alternative explanation to the hypothesis that the cross-textual composition was used teleologically, with Zarathushtra having planned out Y53 before the presentation of a long series of poems which it culminates.

It is quite possible that the charted relationships[15] represent both a poem-by-poem transmission of words belonging to lexical equivalence sets as "vertical" building blocks of individual compositions, and a "horizontal" cross-textual series of such words acting as mnemonic markers for the poet, which proceed to their goal in Y53. The "horizontal" recurrence of such words, in vertical sequences, which laces through the entire corpus, clearly had the effect of bringing the entire corpus into a unity, in effect a single metapoem.

At the same time, these "horizontal" recurrences may have had, for Zarathushtra, some mnemonic role in the intertextual transmission of key words, culminating in Y53.[16] Furthermore, the phenomenon may have been another cryptic device for appreciation by initiates, although it is unclear to what extent Zarathushtra's inner audience of initiates were meant to (and/or could) perceive these interrelationships. However, the principles of compositional intertextuality between any two poems parallel those governing concentric ring composition within each single poem, so that perception of intertextuality could be

14 See SCHWARTZ 2006a, III seq.

15 Cf. also the charts in SCHWARTZ 2006a and 2007b.

16 See the charts in SCHWARTZ 2006a and 2007b for further examples of intertextual interrelations with possible mnemonic function (see also fn. 3, end). It is noteworthy that the same words and their cognates appear again and again in the charts.

extended to the entire corpus on a poem-by-poem basis. In addition, paranomasia aimed at a perceptive audience seems implicit e.g. in such "horizontal" correspondences as Y46.1a *nəmōi … kuϑrā nəmōi aiienī*: Y51.22c **nāmānī* and Y44.1b *nəmaŋhō ā yaϑā nāmā*.[17]

In addition to all the complexities entailed by the above exposition, it must not be forgotten that the accomplishment by the poet grows all the more awesome when one considers the remarkably elaborate ring composition(s) of each poem[18] and the exigencies of making each poem a distinct work which puts forth intelligible messages (apart from a simultaneous esoteric dimension). Considering further the innovative ethico-religious contents of the poems leads one to be humbled by the *Gathas* as an ancient exemplum of intellect and inspiration. In writing this I am not unaware of the attempts of some scholars to reduce the corpus to a humdrum expression of primitive ritual, with the very authorship of the *Gathas* consigned to a haze of questionability.

I close with the hope that future study of the material I have laid out will bring further understanding. Perhaps even more surprising revelations concerning the intricacies of the *Gathas* will emerge.

Postscript

As concerns the chance of coincidence, in lieu of whatever conceivable statistical criterion one can devise, I tentatively suggest that the reader carefully examine, in addition to the gapless charts appended to this article, those I have published in the *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 16 and 17 (to which I can add many scores of other gapless charts of lexical [and phrasal!] correspondences which I have drawn up interconnecting all the poems in the corpus, including the many charts I presented with focus on Y29 at the Vienna conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea). In addition, the reader should consider the fact that stems/roots which occur only twice in the corpus, e.g. *dugədar-*, *yazu-/yezuuī*, and *pasu- + vīra-* discussed in the course of this article, *yāma-/yima-* (and verbal cognates thereof) and the onomastic correlations in my article in BAI 16, and many others such as *fsəratu-* and *mərəždˀ-*, are connected in such charts, and stems/roots of moderately low frequency, such as all the attestations of 'sun(ny)' are likewise shown to be interconnected.

I hope NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS will enjoy this Gathic departure from the East Middle Iranian focus via which our careers were connected for many years, and through which he continues to distinguish himself with important contributions.

Completed January 6, 2008.[19]

17 Cf. SCHWARTZ 2006a, p. 62, fn. 15.

18 SCHWARTZ 2006a.

19 Thanks are, once again, due to my assistant MICHAEL ELLSWORTH for his indispensable discussion and help toward the production of this article. I also thank DAVID S. FLATTERY, ALMUT HINTZE, LEWIS A. LEAVITT, JAMES R. RUSSELL, and HANNS-PETER SCHMIDT for their remarks.

Appendix

Y29.1–10 + Y27.13 (= *Y29.11)[20] > Y44.20–7

Y29.1b′ *aēšəmō*	Y44.20c″ *aēšəmāi*	'fury'
Y29.1c′ *nōiţ*	Y44.19b″ *nōiţ*	'not'
Y29.2a′ *kaϑā*	Y44.18b′ *kaϑā*	'how?'
Y29.3a′ *sarə(jā)*	Y44.17d′ *sarōi*	'nexus, bond'
Y29.3a′ *(sarə)jā*	Y44.16b′ *(vərəϑrəm.)jā*	'smashing'
Y29.3c′ *jimā*	Y44.15c″ *jamaētē*	'come'
Y29.4a′ *saxᵛārə*	Y44.14c″ *sāŋghahiiā*	√'proclaim'
Y29.5a″ *zastāiš*	Y44.14b′ *zastaiiō*	'hands'
Y29.6b′ *aşāţ hacā*	Y44.13d *aşahiiā … hacənā*	'in association with Rightness'
Y29.7b″ *nōiţ*	Y44.12e‴ *nōiţ*	'not'
Y29.8a′ *huuō*	Y44.12e′ *huuō*	'that one, he'
Y29.9b″ *vistō*	Y44.11d″ *frauuōiuuidē*	√'find, obtain'
Y29.10b″ *vasəmī išā(.xšaϑrīm)*	Y44.10e″ *ištīš uşən*	'might' + √'wish'
Y29.10b″ *(hu)šəitīš*	Y44.9e″ *šiiąs*	√'dwell'
Y29.10c″ *vaēdəm*	Y44.8d″ *vaēidiiāi*	√'know, find, obtain'
Y27.13a″ *xšaϑrəmcā*	Y44.7b″ *xšaϑrā*	'dominion, rule'

Y29.1–10 + Y27.13 (= *Y29.11) > Y53.1–9

Y29.1b′ *aēšəmō*	Y53.1a′ *īštiš*	√'be in motion'; 'seek'
Y29.2b′ ***dātā***	Y53.2c‴ ***dadāţ***	**'give, establish'**
Y29.3a′ ***sarə(jā)***	Y53.3c‴ ***sarəm***	**'nexus, mate'**
Y29.4b′ ***varəšaitē***	Y53.3d‴ ***varəšuuā***	**'accomplish'**
Y29.5b″ *duuaidī*	Y53.4d′ *dadāţ*	√'give, establish'
Y29.6b′ *vistō*	Y53.5c′ *vaēdō.dūm*	√'find/obtain'
Y29.6b″ *ahū*	Y53.5c″ *ahūm*	'existence'
Y29.7c′ *vohū manaŋhā*	Y53.5c‴ *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō*	'Good Mind'
Y29.8c″ *hōī*	Y53.5d″ *hōi*	'to/for him'
Y29.9b″ *nərəš*	Y53.6a′ *narō*	'man'
Y29.9c′ *aŋhaţ*	Y53.7a′ *aŋhaţ*	'will be'
Y29.10b″ *(hu)šəitīš rāmąmcā dāţ*	Y53.8c″–c‴ *rāmąm dadātū šiietibiiō*	…'establish peace' + 'settlements'
Y27.13c *xšaϑrəm … yim drigubiiō dadaţ*	Y53.9d *xšaϑrəm yā dāhī drigauuē*	'dominion' + 'grant/assign for the poor'

Y29.1–10 + Y27.13 (= *Y29.11) > Y53.9–1

Y29.1b′ *aēšəmō*	Y53.9b′ *aēšasā*	√'be in motion'; 'seek, desire'

20 See SCHWARTZ 2003, pp. 315–317, on Y27.13 as the original coda of Y29.

Y29.1b″ *dərəš-cā*	Y53.8d″ *dərəzā*	'fetter'
Y29.2b′ *xšaiiaṇtō*	Y53.8c′ *(hu)xšaθrāiš*	√'rule'
Y29.3a′ *(sarə)jā*	Y53.8c′ *jən(ṇ)ərąm*	√'smite, smash'
Y29.4b″ *varəšaitē*	Y53.8a′ *(duž)uuarəšnaŋhō*	√'accomplish'
Y29.5c″ *drəguuasū*	Y53.7c″ *drəguuatō*	'wrongsome'
Y29.6b′ *ahū*	Y53.6e″ *ahūm*	'existence'
Y29.7c′ *vohū manaŋhā*	Y53.5c‴ *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō*	'Good Mind'
Y29.7c″ *dāiiāṯ*	Y53.4e′ *dadāṯ*	'give, establish'
Y29.8b″ ***zaraθuštrō spitāmō***	Y53.3b′ ***spitāmī zaraθuštrahē***	**'Spitam- Zarathushtra-'**
Y29.9c″ *dāiiāṯ*	Y53.2c‴ *dadāṯ*	'give, establish'
Y29.10b″ *dāṯ*	Y53.2c′ *dāŋhō*	√'give, establish'
Y27.13b″ *šiiaoθananąm*	Y53.1e‴ *šiiaoθanā-cā*	'action'
Y27.13a″ *ašāṯ(-cīṯ) hacā*	Y53.1c′ *ašāṯ hacā*	'in accord with Rightness'

Y30.11–1 > Y53.1–9

Y30.11a′ *saśaθā*	Y53.1d′ *saśəṇ-cā*	'learn'
Y30.10b″ *manaŋhā*	Y53.2a′ *manaŋhā*	'via/with mind'
Y30.9c″ ***cistiš***	Y53.3a′ *(pouru)**cistā***	**'perception'**
Y30.8b″ ***vohū manaŋhā***	Y53.4c″ ***manaŋhō vaŋhāuš***	**'Good Mind'**
Y30.7c″ *aŋhaṯ*	Y53.5d″ *aŋhaṯ*	'will be'
Y30.6c″ *ahūm*	Y53.6e″ *ahūm*	'existence'
Y30.5b′ *mainiiuš*	Y53.7c″ *mainiiuš*	'spirit'
Y30.4c′ *drəguuatąm*	Y53.7c″ *drəguuatō*	'wrongsome'
Y30.4b″ *aŋhaitī apəmam*	Y53.7d‴ *aŋhaṯ apəmam*	'will be last'
Y30.3b′ *vacahī*	Y53.7d‴ *vacō*	'word'
Y30.2b″ *narəm narəm*	Y53.8c′ *(jə[n])nərąm (xrū)nərąm*	'man (...) man'
Y30.2c′ *mazā*	Y53.8d″ *mazištō*	'great(-)'
Y30.2b′ *(ā)uuarənā̊*	Y53.9a′ *(duž)uuarənāiš*	'choice'
Y30.1a′ *išəṇtō*	Y53.9b′ *aēšasā*	√'seek, desire'

Y31.1–*15[21] > Y53.1–9

Y31.1c′ *vahištā*	Y53.1a′ *vahištā*	'best things'
Y31.2c″ *ašāṯ hacā*	Y53.1c′ *ašāṯ hacā*	'in accord with Rightness'
Y31.3c″ *vīspāng*	Y53.1c″ *vīspāi.ā*	'all'
Y31.4a″ *mazdāscā ahurā*	Y53.1c″ *ahurō mazdā̊*	'Ahura Mazda'
Y31.5a′ *vaocā*	Y53.1d‴ *uxδā*	√'speak'

21 Y31.12–22 (like Y31.1–11) fulfills the criteria of a complete poem in that its stanzas concentrically concatenate via formally related words/phrases, and its central stanza concatenates via formally related words/phrases with the last stanza.

The stanzas marked with asterisks represent the original order (later on, stanza *13 was erroneously placed before stanza 16), as demonstrated in SCHWARTZ 2006a, p. 54, and confirmed by this and similar charts of the relationships between the Gathic poems.

Y31.6b″ *vaocaṯ*	Y53.2a″ *uxδāiš*	√'speak'
Y31.6c″ *manaŋhā*	Y53.2a′ *manaŋhā*	'via mind'
Y31.7b′ *dąmiš*	Y53.2e″ *dadāṯ*	√'establish'
Y31.8b′ ***yazūm***	Y53.3b′ ***yezuuī***	**'young'**
Y31.9c″ ***vāstriiō***	Y53.4a″ ***vāstriiaēibiiō***	**'pasturer'**
Y31.10b′ *aṣauuanəm*	Y53.4c′ *aṣāunī*	'righteous'
Y31.11a″ *daēnā̊scā*	Y53.4d″ *daēnaiiāi*	'envisionment'
Y31.11c′ *sənghąscā*	Y53.5a′ *sāxʷānī (ʰsaxʷ-)*	'proclamation'
Y31.12a′ *aθrā*	Y53.6a″ *aθā*	'fire'; 'thus'
Y31.*13a″ *drəguuāitē*	Y53.7c″ *drəguuatō*	'wrongsome'
Y31.*14b″ *mazištąm*	Y53.8d″ *mazištō*	'greatest'
Y31.*15b″ *aṣaonō*	Y53.9c″ *aṣauuā*	'righteous'

Y31.12–22 > Y53.1–9

Y31.12a′ *vācəm*	Y53.1d‴ *uxδā*	√'speak'
Y31.*13b′ *(duš.)šiiaoθanāi*	Y53.2a″ *šiiaoθanā(cā)*	'action'
Y31.*14a′ ***frasā***	Y53.3d′ *(həm.)**fərašuuā***	**'ask'**
Y31.*15a′ ***θβā***	Y53.3d′ ***θβā***	**'Thee'**
Y31.16a′ ***hudānuš***	Y53.3d″ ***hudānū***	**'generous'**
Y31.16b″ *(a)**spərəzatā***	Y53.4a′ ***spərədā***[22]	**'be zealous'**
Y31.17a′ ***vərənauuaitē***	Y53.4a′ *(ni)**uuarānī***	√**'believe, trust'**[23]
Y31.17b′ *mraotū*	Y53.5a″ *mraomī*	'speak, say, tell'
Y31.18c′ *marakaēcā*	Y53.6c‴ *mərəngəduiiē*	√'destroy'
Y31.19a″ *ahum(.biš)*	Y53.6c‴ *ahūm*	'existence'
Y31.20c′ *drəguuaṇtō*	Y53.7c″ *drəguuatō*	'wrongsome'
Y31.21c″ *mainiiū*	Y53.7c″ *mainiiuš*	'spirit'
Y31.22b′ *huuō*	Y53.8d′ *huuō*	'he, that one'
Y31.22b′ *xšaθrā*	Y53.9d′ *xšaθrəm*	'dominion'
Y31.22c′ *tōi mazdā*	Y53.9d′ *mazdā tauuā*	'Thy ... O Mazdā'

Y32.16–1 > Y53.9–1

Y32.16b′ *xšaiiąs*	Y53.9d′ *xšaθrəm*	√'rule'
Y32.16a′ *vahištā(.cīṯ)*	Y53.9d″ *vahiiō*	'best, better'

22 */sprz-/ < */sprdʰ-s-/; the textual relationship between the *spərəd-* and *spərəz-* parallels that between *uruuād-* and *uruuāz-*, both from *√*vrādʰ* 'have bliss, joy'. For the latter forms, note that Y34.6c″ *uruuāidiiā̊* intertextually derives from the stem **uruuāz-* in Y32.12b′ **uruuāš.uxtī* (text *uruuāxš.uxtī*); cf. SCHWARTZ 2006b, p. 87, fn. 6.

This textual correspondence between *spərəd-* 'zeal' and *aspərəzatā* 'strives, is zealous' and the foregoing explanation of their etymological relationship, entails a revision of the account of their Vedic cognates, *spárdhante* (etc.) 'strive against, strive for', *spṛ́dh-* 'zeal, eagerness (for battle)', and *spṛhāyanti* 'are desirous for, strive for', etc. The latter form was hitherto grouped (via arbitrary semantic assumptions) with OAv. *aspərəzatā* and further Gr. σπέρχομαι 'to rush', Eng. *(to) spring* under a PIE root **sperĝʰ*. Instead, the OInd. root *spṛh* should be derived from *spṛdh-* (cf. e.g. OInd. *ihā*, MInd. *idhā*, Av. *idā*) under the same Indo-Iranian root in *-dʰ- as OAv. *spərəd-* and *aspərəzatā*.

23 Cf. Y30.6b″ *varətā*: Y53.4a′ *(ni)uuarānī*, SCHWARTZ 2006a, p. 60, Chart IV.

Y32.15b″ *jiiātəuš*	Y53.9c″ *jiiātəuš*	'of/from life'
Y32.15″ *vasō*	Y53.9c‴ *vasā(.itōiš)*	'wish'
Y32.14c′ *jaidiiāi*	Y53.8c′ *jən(n)aṛąm)*	√'smite, kill'
Y32.14b″ *drəguuaṇtəm*	Y53.7c″ *drəguuatō*	'wrongsome'
Y32.13b′ *aŋhāuš marəxtārō*	Y53.6e‴ *ahūm mərəŋgəduiiē*	√'destroy' + 'existence'
Y32.12c″ *drujəm*	Y53.6b′ *drūjō*	'Wrong'
Y32.11b′ *(aŋ°hīšcā) aŋhauuas(cā)*	Y53.5c″ *(abiiascā) ahūm*	'lord'; 'existence'
Y32.11b″ *vaēdəm*	Y53.5c′ *vaēdō.dūm*	'obtain'
Y32.10c″ *aṣāunē*	Y53.4c′ *aṣāunī*	'righteous'
Y32.10b′ *huuarə(cā)*	Y53.4c‴ *x°ənuuaṯ*	'sun(-)'
Y32.9a′ ***xratūm***	Y53.3d′ ***xraθβā***	**'intelligence'**
Y32.8c″ ***θβahmī***	Y53.3d′ ***θβā***	**'(-)Thee'**
Y32.7c′ ***tuuəm***	Y53.3a′ ***tū***	**'Thou'**
Y32.6a′ ***pourū***	Y53.3a′ ***pouru****(cistā)*	**'many'**
Y32.5c″ *(fra)****cinas***	Y53.3a′ *(pouru)****cistā***	√**'perceive, have insight'**
Y32.4a″ *daṇtō*	Y53.2d′ *dā̆ŋhō*	'give, establish'
Y32.3a′ *vīspā̆ŋhō*	Y53.1c″ *vīspāi.ā*	'all'
Y32.2b *hacā … aṣā (hu)šhaxā*	Y53.1c′ *aṣāṯ hacā*	'from association with Rightness'
Y32.1b″ *ahurahiiā … mazdā̆*	Y53.1c′ *ahurō mazdā̆*	'Ahura Mazdā'

Y34.1–10 > Y53.1–9

Y34.1a′ *šiiaoθanā*	Y53.1d‴ *šiiaoθanā-cā*	'action'
Y34.2a″ *yasnā*	Y53.2b″ *yasnąs-cā*	'worship'
Y34.3c″ *saošiiaṇtō*	Y53.2c‴ *saošiiaṇtō*	'future benefactors'
Y34.3c′ *(hu)dā̆ŋhō*	Y53.2a′ *dā̆ŋhō*	'give, establish'
Y34.4b″ ***ciθrā****(.auuaŋhəm)*	Y53.3a′ *(pouru)****cistā***	√**'perceive'**
Y34.5c″ *vaŋhāuš … manaŋhō*	Y53.3c′ *vaŋhāuš … manaŋhō*	'of Good Mind'
Y34.6b′ *dātā*	Y53.3c″ *dāṯ*	'establish, give'
Y34.6b″ *vīspā*	Y53.4d″ *vīspāi.ā*	'all'
Y34.7c′ *ainiiām*	Y53.5d′ *ainīm*	'other'
Y34.8c″ *manō*	Y53.6e″ *manahīm*	'mind'
Y34.9c″ *yauuaṯ*	Y53.7b′ *yauuaṯ*	'so long'
Y34.9c′ *maš*	Y53.8d″ *mazištō*	'great(-)'
Y34.10c″ *θβahmī xšaθrōi*	Y53.9d′ *tauuā xšaθrəm*	'Thine' + 'dominion'

Y43.16–8 > Y53.1–9

Y43.16a″ *zaraθuštrō*	Y53.1a″ *zaraθuštrahē*	'Zarathushtra'
Y43.15e″ *vīspāŋg*	Y53.1c″ *vīspāi.ā*	'all'
Y43.15e′ *aṯ tōi*	Y53.2a′ *aṯ(cā) hōi*	'and to thee/him'
Y43.15d′ ***pourūš***	Y53.3a′ ***pouru****(cistā)*	**'much, many'**

Y43.14e′ *vīspāiš*	Y53.4d‴ *vīspāi.ā*	'all'
Y43.14d″ *səŋghahiiā*	Y53.5a′ *sāx°ənī (°sax°-)*	√'proclaim'
Y43.14a″ *vaēdəmnō*	Y53.5c′ *vaēdō.dūm*	'obtain'
Y43.14a′ *nā*	Y53.6a′ *narō*	'man'
Y43.13d′ *yaoš*	Y53.7b′ *yauuaṯ*	'length of time'[24]
Y43.12d″ *hacimnō*	Y53.7b″ *haxtiia̯*	√'join, associate'[25]
Y43.11d″ *zrazdāitiš*	Y53.7b′ *zrazdištō*	√'be faithful, zealous'
Y43.10e′ *xšaiiąs*	Y53.8c′ *(hu)xšaθrāiš*	√'rule'
Y43.10e′ *aēšəm*	Y53.9b′ *aēšasā*	√'be forceful, seek'
Y43.9c″ *vaŝī*	Y53.9c‴ *vasā(.itōiščā)*	'be desirous, be greedy'
Y43.8c′ *aṣāunē*	Y53.9c′ *aṣauuā*	'righteous'

Y44.1–9 > Y53.1–9

Y44.1d *aṣā hākurənā*	Y53.1c′ *aṣāṯ hacā*	'Rightness' + √'associate'
Y44.2c″ *sūidiiāi*	Y53.2d‴ *saošiiaṇtō*	√'benefit, prosper'
Y44.2d″ *spəṇtō*	Y53.3d″ *spāništā*	'holy'
Y44.3b″ ***ptā***	Y53.4a″ ***fəθrōi***	**'father'**
Y44.3c′ *x°ōŋg*	Y53.4c″ *x°ənuuaṯ*	'sun(-)'
Y44.4e″ *mazdā dąmiš*	Y53.4d′ *mazdā̆ dadāṯ*	'Mazdā' + √'establish'
Y44.5d″ *°vazdōŋ-huuaṇtəm*[26]	Y53.5a′ *vaziiamnābiiō*	'devotee, sustainer'; 'being led/wed'
Y44.6a′ *haiθiiā*	Y53.6a′ *haiθiiā*	'true'
Y44.6a″ *aθā*	Y53.6a″ *aθā*	'thus, so'
Y44.7e′ *mainiiū*	Y53.7c″ *mainiiuš*	'spirit'
Y44.7e″ *vīspaŋąm*	Y53.8a′ *vīspā̆ŋhō*	'all'
Y44.7e″ *dātārəm*	Y53.8c″ *dadātū*	√'establish, give'
Y44.8b″ *tōi*	Y53.9a′ *tōi*	'to Thee'
Y44.9d′ *xšaθrahiiā*	Y53.9d′ *xšaθrəm*	'dominion'

24 Cf. Y28.4c′ *yauuaṯ* concatenating with Y28.8c″ *yauuē*. Clearly *yauuaṯ* 'as long as' represents the relative adverb corresponding to demonstrative *auuaṯ* 'so long' and is different etymologically from *yauu-/yao-*, oblique of *āiiu-* 'age, duration, (long) time'. However, *yauuaṯ* and *yauu-/yao-* evidence secondary association due to formal and semantic similarity. In West Iranian, the interaction is also evidenced; here, however, the original *ā* of *°yāva(n)t-* = Vedic *yāva(n)t-* resulted in the change of *°yavaitāt-* (= OAv. Y28.11a″ *yauuaētāt-*, compositionally proceeding from Y28.8c″ *yauuē*) to *°yāvaitāt-* > MPers. *jāwēd* 'eternal' etc. The assignment of Y53.7b′ *yauuaṯ* to a verbal stem *°yauu-* (to Vedic *yáuti* 'attaches, yokes') lacks support.

25 Evidently *haxti-* (= Vedic *sákthi-*) 'thighbone, loin' was associated with √*hak* (√*hac*) 'to join', as again at Y46.10d′ *haxšāi*: Y53.7b″ *haxšiia̯*.

26 For proof of the reading(s) with *vazd-* for mss. *cazd-*, see SCHWARTZ 2006a, p. 62, fn. 5 on the ring-compositional relationship of Y31.3b′ *cazdōŋhuuaδəbiiō* to Y31.21c′ *vazduuarə*.

Y44.1–14 > Y53.9–1 (A)

Y44.1c″ *ϑβā(uuąs)*	Y53.9d′ *tauuā*	'Thy'
Y44.2c″ *paitišāṯ*	Y53.9b′ *aēšasā*	√'set in motion'; 'seek, desire'
Y44.3d″ *nərəfsaitī*	Y53.9a″ *narəpīš*	√'to decline'
Y44.4b′ *(kas)nā*	Y53.8c′ *(jə[n])nərąm (xrū)nərąm(cā)*	'man'
Y44.5c″ *zaēmā(cā)*	Y53.7d′ *(vī)zaiiaϑā*	√'impel, throw'
Y44.5d″ *(arəm.)piϑβā*	Y53.6c″ *piϑā*	'noon'; 'defenses'
Y44.6b″ *aϑā*	Y53.6a″ *aϑā*	'thus'
Y44.6b′ *haiϑiiā*	Y53.6a′ *haiϑiiā*	'true'
Y44.6d″ *vohū … manaŋhā*	Y53.5d‴ *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō*	'Good Mind'
Y44.7c″ ***piϑrē***	Y53.4a″ ***fəδrōi***	**'father' (dat.)**
Y44.8c″ ***frašī***	Y53.3d′ *(hām.)**frašuuā***	**'ask'**
Y44.9c′ ***hudānaoš***	Y53.3d″ ***hudānū***	**'generous'**
Y44.10e′ ***cistōiš***	Y53.3a′ *(pouru)**cistā***	**'perception, insight'**
Y44 11c″ *daēnā*	Y53.2d″ *daēnąm*	'envisionment'
Y44.12d″ *sauuā*	Y53.2d‴ *saošiiaṇtō*	√'prosper, benefit'
144.13d *aṣahiiā … hacānā*	Y53.1c′ *aṣāṯ hacā*	'via association with/of Rightness'
Y44.14d″ *dāuuōi*	Y53.1b″ *dāṯ*	'give'

Y44.1–14 > Y53.9–1 (B)

Y44.1c″ *ϑβā(uuąs)*	Y53.9d′ *tauuā*	'Thy'
Y44.2c″ *paitišāṯ*	Y53.9b′ *aēšasā*	√'set in motion'; 'seek, desire'
Y44.3d″ *nərəfsaitī*	Y53.9a″ *narəpīš*	√'to decline'
Y44.4b′ *(kas)nā*	Y53.8c′ *(jə[n])nərąm (xrū)nərąm(cā)*	'man'
Y44.5c″ *zaēmā(cā)*	Y53.7d′ *(vī)zaiiaϑā*	√'impel, throw'
Y44.6b″ *aϑā*	Y53.6a″ *aϑā*	'thus'
Y44.6b′ *haiϑiiā*	Y53.6a′ *haiϑiiā*	'true'
Y44.7c″ *piϑrē*	Y53.6c″ *piϑā*	'father'; 'defenses'
Y44.8b′ *māndaidiiā*	Y53.5b′ *mən(cā) … dazdūm*	'bethink'
Y44.8d″ *vaēidiiāi*	Y53.5e′ *vaēdō.dūm*	'know, find, obtain'
Y44.8d″ *aŋhāuš*	Y53.5c″ *ahūm*	'existence'
Y44.9c″ ***paitišə***	Y53.4b′ ***paiϑiiaē***(cā)	**'lord, master, husband'**
Y44.9c′ ***hudānaoš***	Y53.3d″ ***hudānū***	**'generous'**
Y44.10e′ ***cistōiš***	Y53.3a′ *(pouru)**cistā***	**'perception, insight'**
Y44.11c″ *daēnā*	Y53.2d″ *daēnąm*	'envisionment'
Y44.12d″ *sauuā*	Y53.2d‴ *saošiiaṇtō*	√'prosper, benefit'
Y44.13d *aṣahiiā … hacānā*	Y53.1c′ *aṣāṯ hacā*	'via association with/of Rightness'
Y44.14d″ *dāuuōi*	Y53.1b″ *dāṯ*	'give'

Y45.1–11 > Y31.1–17

Y45.1d″ *mərąšiiāṯ*	Y31.1c″ *(vī)mərəncaitē*	'destroy'
Y45.1c′ *nōiṯ*	Y31.2c′ *nōiṯ*	'not'
Y45.1e″ *hizuuā*	Y31.3c′ *hizuuā*	'tongue'
Y45.2d′ *varanā*	Y31.3c″ *vauraiiā*	√'believe'
Y45.3b′ *mōi*	Y31.4c′ *maibiiō*	'to me'
Y45.3b″ *vaocaṯ*	Y31.5a′ *vaocā*	'say'
Y45.3b′ *vīduuā*	Y31.5b′ *vīduiiē*	'know'
Y45.3c′ *mąθrəm*	Y31.6b′ *mąθrəm*	'mant(h)ra'
Y45.3d″ *mānāi(cā)*	Y31.7a′ *manṭā*	√'think'
Y45.4c″ *ptarəm*	Y31.8b″ *ptarəm*	'father'
Y45.4d″ *(hu)šiiaoϑanā*	Y31.8c″ *šiiaoϑanaēšū*	'action'
Y45.4d″ *ārmaitiš*	Y31.9a′ *ārmaitiš*	'Ārmaiti'
Y45.5e″ *mainiiəuš*	Y31.9b″ *mainii(ə)uš*	'spirit'
Y45.6b″ *həṇtī*	Y31.9c″ *aŋhaṯ*	√'be'
Y45.7c″ *aṣaonō*	Y31.10b′ *aṣauuanəm*	'righteous'
Y45.8c″ *šiiaoϑanahiiā*	Y31.11c′ *šiiaoϑanā(cā)*	'action'
Y45.8d′ *vīduš*	Y31.12b′ *vīduuā*	'having known'
Y45.9d′ *pasuš vīrəng*	Y31.*13c″ (= 15c″) *pasəuš vīrāaṯ(cā)*	'cattle and men'
Y45.10c′ *aṣā*	Y31.*14c″ (= 13c″) *aṣā*	'with/via Rightness'
Y45.10e′ *stōi*	Y31.*15c″ (= 14c″) *aŋhən*	√'be'
Y45.11d′ *dəng*	Y31.16a″ *dəmanahiiā*	'house'
Y45.11d″ *mazdā ahurā*	Y31.17c′ *mazdā ahurā*	'Mazdā Ahura'

Y45.1–10 > Y53.1–9

Y45.1b″ *išaϑā*	Y53.1a′ *īštiš*	√'seek'
Y45.2d″ *uxδā … šiiaoϑanā*	Y53.1d‴ *uxδā šiiaoϑanā(cā)*	'by words … by deeds'
Y45.3b″ *vaocaṯ*	Y53.2a″ *uxδāiš*	√'say'
Y45.4d′ ***dugəδā***	Y53.3b″ ***dugədrąm***	**'daughter'**
Y45.4d″ ***ārmaitiš***	Y53.3d″ ***ārmatōiš***	**'Ārmaiti'**
Y45.4e″ *vīspā(.hišas)*	Y53.4d″ *vīspāi.ā*	'all'
Y45.5a″ *mraoṯ*	Y53.5a″ *mraomī*	'speak'
Y45.6b″ *həṇtī*	Y53.5d″ *aŋhaṯ*	√'be'
Y45.7d″ *nərąs*	Y53.6a′ *narō*	'men'
Y45.8c′ *mainiiəuš*	Y53.7c″ *mainiiuš*	'spirit'
Y45.9c″ *varəzī*	Y53.8a′ *(duž)uuarəšnāŋhō*	√'nourishment, energy'; √'accomplish'
Y45.10d′ *xšaθrōi*	Y53.9e′ *xšaθrəm*	'dominion'
Y45.10e′ *dąn*	Y53.9e″ *dāhī*	'give'

Y45.1–7 > Y53.9–1

Y45.1b″ *išaϑā*	Y53.9b′ *aēšasā*	√'seek'
Y45.2d′ *varanā*	Y53.9a′ *(duž)uuarənāiš*	'choice'

Y45.3c″ *varəšəṇtī*	Y53.8a′ *(duž)uuarəšnā̊ŋhō*	√'effect'
Y45.3e″ *aŋhaṯ apāməm*	Y53.7c″-c‴ *aŋhaitī apāməm*	'will be last'
Y45.3e′ *aŋhāuš*	Y53.6e′ *ahūm*	'existence'
Y45.4b′ *vaēdā*	Y53.5c′ *vaēdō.dūm*	'know, find, obtain'
Y45.4c′ ***ptarəm***	Y53.4a″ ***fəðrōi***	**'father'**
Y45.4c″ ***ārmaitiš***	Y53.3d″ ***ārmatōiš***	**'Ārmaiti'**
Y45.4d′ ***dugədā***	Y53.3b′ ***dugədrąm***	**'daughter'**
Y45.5e″ *šiiaoδanāiš*	Y53.2a″ *šiiaoδanāiš(cā)*	'with actions'
Y45.6c″ *sraotū*	Y53.1a′ *srāuuī*	'hear'
Y45.6e″ *vahištā*	Y53.1a′ *vahištā*	'best things'
Y45.7a″ *išā̊ṇtī*	Y53.1a′ *īštiš*	√'seek'

Y46.1–11 > Y53.1–9

Y46.1c″ *hācā*	Y53.1c′ *hacā*	√'associate'
Y46.2d″ *daidīṯ*	Y53.2d‴ *dadāṯ*	'give, establish'
Y46.3c″ *saošiiaṇtō*	Y53.2d‴ *saošiiaṇtō*	'future benefactors'
Y46.4e″ *paδmāŋg*	Y53.2d′ *paδō*	'path(-)'
Y46.4e″ ***(hu)cistōiš***	Y53.3a′ ***(pouru)cistā***	**'perception, insight'**
Y46.5a″ ***adąs***	Y53.3c′ ***(paitii)āstīm***[27]	**'receive'**
Y46.5d″ ***x^{v}aētauuē***	Y53.4c″ ***x^{v}aētauuē***	**'for family'**
Y46.5d″ *mruiiāṯ*	Y53.5a″ *mraomī*	'speak'
Y46.6e′ *daēnā̊*	Y53.5c′ *daēnābīš*	'envisionment'
Y46.7c′ *aniiām*	Y53.5d′ *ainīm*	'other (acc.sg.)'
Y46.8d′ *tanuuəm*	Y53.6c″ *tanuuō*	'body'
Y46.8d″ *pāiiāṯ*	Y53.6c′ *piδā*	√'protect, defend'
Y46.9b′ *yaδā*	Y53.7b″ *yaδrā*	relative deixis
Y46.10d′ *vīspāiš*	Y53.8b′ *vīspā̊ŋhō*	'all'
Y46.11d″ *pərətuš*	Y53.9b″ *pəšō(.tanuuō)*[28]	'bridge, passage'; 'forfeit'

Y46.19–7 > Y53.1–9

Y46.19b′ *zaraδuštrāi*	Y53.1a″ *zaraδuštrahē*	'Zarathushtra'
Y46.18a″ *vahištā*	Y53.1a′ *vahištā*	'best things'
Y46.17c″ *vahməŋg*	Y53.2b′ *vahmāi.ā*	'eulogy'
Y46.16a′. *fərašaoštrā*	Y53.2c‴ *fərašaoštras(cā)*	'Frashaoshtra'
Y46.15a′ ***haēcaṯ.aspā***	Y53.3a″ ***haēcaṯ.aspānā***	**'Haechat.aspa(-)'**
Y46.15a′ ***spitamā̊ŋhō***	Y53.3b′ ***spitāmī***	**'Spitama(-)'**
Y46.14a″ *ašauuā*	Y53.4c′ *ašāunī*	'righteous'
Y46.13d″ *mazdā̊ … dadāṯ ahurō*	Y53.4d′ *mazdā̊ dadaṯ ahurō*	'Mazda Ahura gives'
Y46.12e″ *sastē*	Y53.5a′ *sāx^{v}ānī (sax^{v}-)*	√'to proclaim'
Y46.12c″ *frādō*	Y53.6b″ *frāidīm*	'prosperity'

27 *-āsti-* < **-ād(H)ti-* < *ā* √*dā* 'to receive, accept', as also *adąs*.
28 *pəšō(.tanuuō)* from */pṛta(-tanu'ah)/.

Y46.11b″ *ahūm mərəngəidiiāi*	Y53.6e‴ *ahūm mərəṇgəduiiē*	'to destroy' + 'existence'
Y46.10d′ *haxšāi*	Y53.7b″ *haxtiiā̊*	√'associate, join'[29]
Y46.10a′ *nā*	Y53.8c′ *(jə[n])naraṃ (xrū)naraṃ(cā)*	'man'
Y46.9d′ *išəṇtī*	Y53.9b′ *aēšasā*	√'seek, desire'
Y46.8d′ *tanuuəm*	Y53.9b″ *(pəšō.)tanuuō*	'body'
Y46.8d″ *(hu)jiiātōiš*	Y53.9c″ *jiiātəuš*	'life'
Y46.7a″ *dadā̊*	Y53.9e″ *dāhī*	'give'

Y47.1–6 > Y53.1–9

Y47.1a′ *vahištā(cā)*	Y53.1a′ *vahištā*	'best things'
Y47.1b′ *hacā ašāṯ*	Y53.1c′ *ašāt hacā*	'in accord with Rightness'
Y47.2c″ *šiiaoδanā*	Y53.2a″ *šiiaoδanāiš(cā)*	'action'
Y47.2d′ ***cistī***	Y53.3a′ ***(pouru)cistā***	**'insight'**
Y47.2d″ ***ptā***	Y53.4a″ ***piθrōi***	**'father'**
Y47.3c′ ***vāstrāi***	Y53.4b′ ***vāstriiāi***	**'pastur(-)'**
Y47.4b″ *ašaonō*	Y53.4c′ *ašāunī*	'righteous'
Y47.4c″ *ašāunē*	Y53.4c′ *ašauuabiiō*	'righteous'
Y47.4c″ *aŋhaṯ*	Y53.5d′ *aŋhaṯ*	'will be'
Y47.4d″ *drəguuāitē*	Y53.6e′ *drəguuō.dəbiiō*	'wrongsome'
Y47.5a″ *mainiiū*	Y53.7c″ *mainiiuš*	'spirit'
Y47.5a″ *šiiąs*	Y53.8c‴ *šiieitibiiō*	√'dwell'
Y47.6b′ *vaŋhāu*	Y53.9d″ *vahiiō*	'good/better'

Y47.6–1 > Y53.1–9

Y47.6d″ *išəṇtō*	Y53.1a′ *īštiš*	√'seek, set in motion'
Y47.6d″ *vāurāitē*	Y53.2b″ *(fra)orəṯ*	√'believe, opt for, will'
Y47.6d′ ***pourūš***	Y53.3a′ ***pouru****(cistā)*	**'much'**
Y47.6b″ ***vīdāitī***	Y53.4a″ ***vīdāṯ***	**'allot, provide for'**
Y47.5b′ *ašāune*	Y53.4c′ *ašāunī*	'righteous'
Y47.4c″ *aŋhaṯ*	Y53.5d″ *aŋhaṯ*	'will be'
Y47.4c″ *iδā*	Y53.6a′ *iδā*	'so'
Y47.3a″ *mainiiəuš*	Y53.7c″ *mainiiuš*	'spirit'
Y47.2c″ *vərəziiāṯ*	Y53.8a′ *(duž)uuarəšnā̊ŋhō*	√'effect, make manifest'
Y47.1d″ *xšaθrā*	Y53.8c′ *(hu)xšaθrāiš*	'dominion'
Y47.1c′ *dąn*	Y53.9d″ *dāhī*	'give'
Y47.1a′ *vahištā(cā)*	Y53.9d‴ *vahiiō*	'more/most good'

29 See fn. 25.

Y49.12–1 > Y53.1–9

Y49.12d″ *ištā vahištəm*	Y53.1a *vahištā īštiš*	'best' + √'seek'; √'set in motion'
Y49.12b′ *zaraθuštrāi*	Y53.1a′ *zaraθuštrahē*	'Zarathushtra'
Y49.11b″ *(duž)daēnāŋg*	Y53.1d″ *daēnaiiā̊*	'envisionment'
Y49.11a″ *(duž)šiiaoθanāŋg (duž)uuacaŋhō*	Y53.1d″ *uxδā šiiaoθanā(cā)*	'action' + 'word'
Y49.10a′ *manō*	Y53.2a″ *manaŋhā*	'mind'
Y49.9a″ *suiiē*	Y53.2d″ *saošiiaṇtō*	√'prosper, benefit'
Y49.8a″–b′ ***aṣ̌abiiā dā̊ sarəm***	Y53.3c″–c′″ ***aṣ̌abiiā … dāṯ sarəm***	**'establish' + 'connection, mate' + 'of Rightness'**
Y49.7c″ ***xᵛaētuš***	Y53.4b″ ***xᵛaētauuē***	**'family'**
Y49.6d′ *daēnąm*	Y53.4d″ *daēnaiiāi*	'envisionment'
Y49.5b′ *daēnąm*	Y53.5c′ *daēnābīš*	'envisionment'
Y49.4c″ *vąs*	Y53.5d″ *vīuuāŋghatū*	√'overcome'
Y49.3d″ *drəguuatō haxmāŋg* Y53.6b′ *drūjō hacā*	'association of wrong(some)'	
Y49.3b″ *druxš*	Y53.6c′ **[drujō]*	'Wrong'
Y49.3c″ *stōi*	Y53.7a′ *aŋhaṯ*	√'be'
Y49.2c″ *dōrəšt*	Y53.8c″ *dərəzā*	√'to fetter'
Y49.1a″ *mazištō*	Y53.8b″ *mazištō*	'greatest'
Y49.1a″ *pafrē*	Y53.9b″ *pəšō(.tanuuō)*[30]	√*'be counter to' > 'oppose'; 'pay, forfeit'

Y51.22–11 > Y53.1–9

Y51.22a″ *vahištəm*	Y53.1a′ *vahištā*	'best'
Y51.22a′ *aṣ̌āṯ hacā*	Y53.1c′ *aṣ̌āṯ hacā*	'in accord with Rightness'
Y51.21a″ *uxδāiš šiiaoθanā*	Y53.2a″ *uxδāiš šiiaoθanāiš(cā)*	'with words and deeds'
Y51.20c″ *yazəmnā̊ŋhō*	Y53.2c″ *yasnąs(cā)*	√'worship'
Y51.20a″ *sauuō*	Y53.2d′″ *saošiiaṇtō*	'prosper, benefit'
Y51.19b″ *daēnaiiā̊*	Y53.2d″ *daēnąm*	'envisionment'
Y51.18a′ ***cistīm***	Y53.3a′ *(pouru)**cistā***	'insight, perception'
Y51.18a′ ***tąm***	Y53.4a′ ****tąm***[31]	'her'
Y51.17b′ *daēnaiiāi vaŋhuiiāi*	Y53.4d″ *daēnaiiāi vaŋhuiiāi*	'for the good envisionment'
Y51.16c″ *sazdiiāi*	Y53.5a′ *sāxᵛānī (*saxᵛ-)*	√'to proclaim'
Y51.16c′ *aθā*	Y53.6a″ *aθā*	'thus'
Y51.16a″ *nąsaṯ*	Y53.6d′″ *nąsat*	'reaches'; 'falls away, goes lost'
Y51.16a″ *magahiiā*	Y53.7a″ *magahiiā*	'of patronage gift'

30 See fn. 28.
31 See fn. 1.

Y51.15a′ *miždəm*	Y53.7a′ *miždəm*	'reward'
Y51.14c′ *apāməm*	Y53.7d′″ *apāməm*	'last'
Y51.13a″ *haiθīm*	Y53.8b″ *hāṇtū*	'to be'
Y51.12a″ *pərətā̊* (or *pərətō*)	Y53.9b″ *pəšō(.tanuuō)*[32]	'bridge, passage'; 'forfeit'
Y51.11a′, b′, c′ *kā* 11b″ *kā*	Y53.9c′ *kū*	'who?'; 'where?'

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32 See fn. 28.

Classification of Linguistic Features in Early Judeo-Persian Texts

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A short unpublished fragment in the Firkowicz Collection kept at the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg,[1] consists of one leaf (two pages) from a detailed commentary on the Book of Jeremiah. The portion preserved starts at an early part of the book, and contains the end of the introduction, which is followed by the commentary itself. Most of the commentary is lost. The language of this fragment will be described briefly in this paper.

Another fragment, kept at the Cambridge University Library,[2] is part of an extensive treatise on matters of Jewish religious law according to the Karaite tradition. Although there are some 36 pages in this fragment, all of them have lost a large part of the middle section, so that many lines are either lost or only have some letters preserved at the beginning and the end. This makes it sometimes difficult to understand the full meaning of phrases, but enough of the text is left to make it possible to characterize it.

The language of both manuscripts may be described as Early Judeo-Persian (EJP), a term which means that it is written in a variety of New Persian, that it is datable to the pre-Mongol period (i.e. before roughly 1220 CE), and that it is written in Hebrew characters. It must be underlined that Early Judeo-Persian is not a designation of a single or unified language. It refers to several varieties of New Persian used presumably in as many different localities in the Persian-speaking world. None of these texts can be described as a vernacular, for the writers seem to aim at presenting a literary form of Persian. However, in the absence of a firm central authority imposing a unified orthography and grammar, the diverse writers in different localities use a form of language that was close in certain respects to the pronunciation, grammar and lexicon that characterized the vernacular of their environment. While we may not be able to reconstruct a genuine dialect form of Persian from any of these texts, each one of them shows peculiarities that were no doubt characteristic of this or that area. The distinctive features of each variety of Persian in these texts are sometimes the reflection

1 It carries the shelf-mark Jevr.-Arab. I 4611. In my classified list of the EJP texts this fragment has the number T16.

2 T-S K 24.30. In my classified list it carries the number H1.

not of the language itself but of the orthographical traditions that prevailed in a given local school.

All of the Iranian texts in Hebrew script belonging to the pre-Mongol layer of the language so far discovered, with one exception,[3] can be classified, as stated above, as New Persian. The absence of uniformity in the writing of EJP is a boon to the scholar, for it allows us to see some of the local differences in the use of the language. These were mostly blurred under the cover of the orthographic and grammatical uniformity of SNP.

Assigning a more or less precise topographical distribution to these linguistic groups has proved to be rather complicated. Only gradually, as more EJP texts have come to light, has it been possible to assign the texts to different localities. The distance covered in this field over the past forty years may be gauged by comparing LAZARD's ground-breaking article of 1968, when very few data were available for Early Judeo-Persian (and the term had not yet come into use), with his more recent articles (especially LAZARD 1987), and further with the works of PAUL (2002) and GINDIN (2004).

The two texts under consideration, marked T16 and H1 respectively in my classified list, can be shown to belong to two of the main groups of texts. T16 is from the Firkowicz Collection at the Russian National Library, and like most of the Judaeo-Persian texts in that collection, it represents a North-East Iranian type of Persian. H1 is from the Geniza Collection of Cambridge University Library, and like most of the Judaeo-Persian material in the Cairo Geniza, the text of T16 is typical of the Khuzistan school.

At the moment it is possible to distinguish the following groups of texts, classified by region. Few of the texts contain an explicit reference to their place of provenance, and in most cases the attribution is based on circumstantial evidence. Texts which cannot be assigned to one of the regions with any confidence are not included in this list.

1. The area of Khuzistan, in south-western Iran.[4] The main manuscripts representing this variety of EJP are: T2, H1, H3 (= SM or Ar), L14, L16. Most of the commercial letters in the Geniza collection of Cambridge University Library seem to belong to this group.[5]
2. Central Fars. One fragment only is known to belong to this type of language; this is the Tafsir of Psalms from Zefreh, discovered by NETZER (T17).[6]
3. The Bukhara region in the far north-eastern area of medieval Persian culture. Texts belonging to this variety of EJP are: the first part of the Ezekiel Tafsir (T7, or Ez-1),[7] the Tafsir of Genesis from the Firkowicz Collection (T10),[8] and the Tafsir of Jeremiah (T16).[9]
4. Chinese Turkestan: two pieces of commercial correspondence from the area of Dandan Uiliq have so far come to light.[10] In the case of these two documents, the special linguistic features which they contain can be explained not only by their regional derivation, but also by their dating, for they are among the earliest of EJP pieces of writing.
5. Afghanistan: several epitaphs on tomb-stones from Ghur,[11] as well as a short inscription on a Torah-pointer[12] belong to this group. A very early form of this type of language is attested in the rock inscriptions of Tang-i Azao (TA).[13]
6. An unknown Judeo-Iranian language, different from EJP, which will not be discussed in the present article, cannot yet be assigned to any region.[14]

3 See SHAKED 1988.
4 A similar form of language may have been current also in Sistan, in south-eastern Iran. It is impossible to assign any of the extant EJP texts to Sistan, but there are affinities between the EJP language of Khuzistan and the ENP language of Sistan; cf. LAZARD 1987, p. 173, and RAVĀQĪ 1364 HŠ: pp. *bīst o panj—sī o šeš*.
5 For an explanation of the abbreviations see Bibliography.
6 Cf. NETZER 2002; SHAKED 2008.

The following table aims at characterizing each one of the first five language groups by using a selection of linguistic and orthographic features. It is my hope that this table may make it easier to establish the geographical area of texts which may come to light in the future.

Comparative Table of Selected Features in EJP

		Khuzistan (incl. Ez-2 and H1)	Fars	Bukhara region (including T16)	Afghanistan	Dandan Uiliq
Orthography	Arabic ḍ ض	c or d (H1: c, d)	d	ṭ or c (T16: b'ty = Arab.-Persian *ba'dī*)		
	Arabic ṣ ص	c (H1 c, once s: n'qs)	c	c (T16 occasionally s (e.g. swd'')	c	c
	Arabic ẓ ظ	Ez-2: *ṭet*		Ez-1: *ṭet*		
	Persian k	k (H1: q, k)	q, k	k	q (TA), k (Ghur)	q
	Persian č	c				c

7 Cf. GINDIN 2004, 2007 and forthcoming.
8 Cf. SHAKED 2003.
9 Discussed more particularly in the present article.
10 UTAS 1968; SHAKED 1971, p. 182, fn. 25; LAZARD 1988; UTAS in MOREEN 2000, pp. 23–24; PAUL 2002, pp. 210–212. A new text from the same region was presented at the *Sixth European Conference of Iranian Studies in Vienna, September 2007* by ZHANG ZHAN, and will be edited by him.
11 This variety of EJP will be indicated by the abbreviation Ghur. Cf. GNOLI 1964; RAPP 1965; 1971, 1973; SHAKED 1981, 1995, 1999.
12 Cf. SHAKED/JACOBY 2005.
13 HENNING 1958.
14 SHAKED 1988.

		Khuzistan (incl. Ez-2 and H1)	Fars	Bukhara region (including T16)	Afghanistan	Dandan Uiliq
Orthography	Persian, Arabic j ج	*c* (SM and L16: *z* and *c*)	c	g	g	
	Persian ž ژ		z	Ez-1: occasionally g		
	internal ā	SM: sometimes unmarked, cf. lnktg'ryh, p'dywnd; Ez-2, H1: often unmarked		*Ez-1: alef* rarely omitted	*alef* not omitted	*alef* not omitted
	ī or ē	SM: nyykwy				nyyq, hyd (DU-2)
Prepositions and particles	MP *pad*, SNP *ba*	p'	p'	p'	p'	p'
	'to': prep. *ō*	'- attached to the following word; SM: sometimes 'w- attached to the following word. H1: unattested		unattested		' attached to the following word
	'on', 'with'	'br, 'b'	'br	'br, 'b'	wr, br	'br, br
	'in'	'ndr	'ndr	'ndr	dr, 'ndr	'ndr
	by as preposition 'to'	✓	unattested	rare		✓ (DU-2)
	(bē) mr ... r', 'zmr	'zmr	unattested	'zmr	unattested	mr... r' (DU-2)
Verbal features	Past tense forms: 'to do', indicating 'to' or acc.	3rd sg. past: kyrd	kyrd	krd		DU-2: qrd (past stem), qrdyd
	3rd pl.	3rd pl. past: kyrdynd	'wptynd	krdnd		
	Secondary past stem	prystyd-, 'wptyd-, 'styd- (but nbyšt-)	'wptyd-	Ez-1, T16, T10: nybysyd (alongside nybyšt)	unattested	DU-2: qrdyd-, prystyd-
	Present tense 1st sg.	-wm, Ez-2: -'m	-wm	-wm		DU-2: -wm
	2nd pl. present:	kwnyd	unattested	Ez-1, T10 and T16: kwnyd, kwnyt		DU-2: d'ryd (imp.)
	3rd pl. present	-ynd	-nd (-ynd)	-nd		DU-2: pdyryptn, rptn

		Khuzistan (incl. Ez-2 and H1)	Fars	Bukhara region (including T16)	Afghanistan	Dandan Uiliq
Verbal features	'is', 'there is'	hyst	hyst, hynd	hst	unattested	hst
	passive constructions	internal -yh- infix	passive with *āmadan*	passive formed with *āmadan*; TE-1: also internal -yh-		
	past tense forms in *-agi*	unattested	unattested	TE-1: *būdagī*	unattested	unattested
	verbal nouns with *-išn/-išt*	*-išn*, *-iš*. In Ez-2: *-iš*, *-išt*	*-išn*	*-išn*, *-iš*	unattested	unattested
Enclitic pronouns		preponderance of enclitic over independent pronouns		preponderance of independent over enclitic pronouns (Ez-1).[15] T16 makes extensive use of enclitic pronouns		nyyqwm 'I am well'; 'š[16] by prmy d'dn (DU-2), 'order to give (it) to her'
ezafe		y- attached to the following word (H1: sometimes to the end of the preceding word)	y as an independent word	-y attached to the preceding word	-y attached to the preceding word	'y as an independent word; also DU-2: y- attached to the following word
Plural forms[17]		mostly -h'	-yh': rncyh'; -'n: rwz'n wšb'n	mostly -yh'		'zdyhh (= *āzādīhā*) 'munificences'
abstract ending		-yh ending	-yh: pdlyh; -y: pr'mwšy	-y; note T16: mlyky 'kingship'		-y
'thing'		tys; SM: tys (positive), chyz (negative); H1, Ez-2: cyz	unattested	Ez-1: cyz	unattested	DU-2: cyz for negative expressions
'or'		y' (SM: 'yyb); Ez-2: yw, H1: y'w	unattested	Ez-1, T10: y'	unattested	unattested
'friend, helper'		'y'r		'y'r	y'r (TA)	unattested

15 Cf. GINDIN 2004, pp. 133–134.
16 The combination 'š may be explained as the preposition *ō* with the pronoun; cf. PAUL 2002, § 81.
17 PAUL 2002, pp. 91–95, supplies many data on the form of the plural in different EJP texts.

A brief enumeration of the main features of T16[18]

krd, krdnd, bwdnd, etc.; hst; second person plural is kwnyt, byd'nyt (not always); *ezāfe* marked by attaching a *yod* to the end of the preceding word;

Alphabet and phonology

- b'ṭy (2:20) 'some' corresponds to the Arabic word *ba'ḍ*.
- Arabic *ṣād* is sometimes rendered by *sīn*. E.g. swd" (2:28, 29), from Arabic *ṣudā'* 'headache, migraine', probably with a meaning extended to include 'pain' in general; cf. Dozy 1927, p. 824. In contrast qṣ'ṣ (2:28) retains the Arabic *ṣād*.
- *imāla*: 'ymym'n (2:19), Arabic *imām*, translating כהנים (Jer. 1:1); 'ylym'n (2:20), Arabic *'ālim* 'scholars'; ktyb (2:26), Arabic *kitāb* 'book'.
- kwš'dh (1:12) for SNP *gušāde*.[19]

Verbs

Verbal forms

- A final -y indicates a habitual form of the verb (this is only attested in the past tense in this fragment; historically this is an optative ending). E.g. wcwn p' k'nh y'y 'mdndy pwšty 'yš'n 'ndr grdnystndy wcwnyn 'ndr 'mdndy (1:2–3) *u cūn pa xāne(-i) *xudā āmadand-ī pušt-i ēšān andar gardanistand-ī va cūnīn andar āmadand-ī* 'and when they came (=used to come) to the House of God, they would turn their backs and they would come in this manner'.
- The ending of the first person singular in the present tense is -wm: kwnwm (1:6).
- The ending of the second person plural is quite consistently -yt, with few exceptions, in contrast to SNP and regular Judeo-Pesian *-ēd*. Examples: 'ndr 'bgnyt (1:8) 'throw (it) in'; šwm' by d'nyt (1:10) 'you should know'; šwm' k'ry šwm' r'st kwnyt (1:11) 'you should do your work properly'; wgwpt ky byrwyt wbygwyyt 'n mrd r' ky pryst'd šwm' r' bpyšy mn (1:18–19) 'and he said: Go and say to that man who sent you to me'. 'ndr bryt wby nyhyd (1:23) 'bring in and place'; 'b' ks k'z'r m' kwnyt 'yl' mlyk r' bykwšyd (2:1) 'do not fight with any one, but kill the king'. It should be remarked that all the occurrences noted in this fragment are imperative forms.
- 1st sg. pres. 'brwm (1:20) 'I shall bring'.
- The past stem of the verb 'to write' is the secondarily created form nybysyd, cf. mšh '"h twrh r' hmy nybysyd (1:9).
- The form of the verb 'to make' in the past is krd (e.g. 1:10).

18 A full edition and translation of the text will be given on a separate occasion.
19 Comments on this word in Paul 2002, p. 66.

- hyštnd (1:20) 'they abandoned'; nyh'dnd (1:24) 'they placed'; ṭ"t d'dnd 'wyr' (2:10–11) 'they submitted themselves to him'.
- by'h (1:16) 'come!' (SNP *biyā*).
- The adverb for expressing a continuous action is *hamē*, and can be used with imperative forms too. Examples: hm' ks hmy 'ndr 'bgnyt p' 'w y' zr y' sym (1:7) *hama kas hamē andar abganēt pa ō yā zarr yā sēm* 'Every one, throw into it (continuously) either gold or silver'; p' k'nh k'z'r g'yy mn hmy 'br rwwm (1:30) *pa xāne-kāzār jāy-i man hamē abar ravam* 'I am going to the battle field, my place'. Note the order of words, with *hamē* coming before the detached preverb *(andar, abar)* and not immediately before the verb. Paul (2002, p. 150) seems to be right in observing that the use of *hamē* often implies a lively communicative situation.
- wswyy ṭrp 'rṣ yhwdh hmy b'yyst 'wyr' gwdštn (1:27–28) 'he needed to go towards the Land of Judah for passing it'.
- A curious passive participle form (?): hrcy p' 'yn spr twrh nybysydyy (1:19) 'Whatever is written in this book of the Torah'.
- Passive is formed with the auxiliary verb *āmadan*. In the present tense: ky 'br dsty 'w pydh 'yyd (1:25–26) 'for it will be manifest by his hand'. In the past tense: ky y'šyhw kwšth 'md (2:5) 'that Josiah had been killed'.
- nyšyst (2:4) 'he sat' > 'ascended the throne'.
- Causative formation: 'wyr' nyš'nystnd (2:9) 'he sat' > 'ascended the throne'.

Syntax of the verb

- gwptyš (1:15) 'he said to him'; bygwyytyš ky (1:19) 'say to him:'; t' pr'h nkh gwptyš (1:29) 'then Pharaoh Neko said to him'; byrwn brdndyš[20] (2:2–3) 'they carried him out'.
- mr' wtwr' cy hyst dwšmn'dy (1:28–29) 'what enmity do we have, me and you?'
- hmy b'yyst 'wyr' gwdštn (1:28) 'it was necessary for him to pass'. Note the full infinitive after *bāyist*; and the use of *hamē* before *bāyist*.

Nouns

- plural: 'wqwbtyh' (1:21) 'punishments'
- *yā-yi vaḥdat* or the indefinite marker: t'bwty (1:6)
- abstract ending: p' ḥ' s'lyy p' mlyky nyšyst (2:3–4) 'he ascended the royal throne at the age of eight years'. s'lyy is probably the equivalent SNP *sālegī*; note the unusual abstract *malikī*.

Nominal phrases

- The *ezāfe* is seldom expressed, but when it is, it is written as a *yod* attached to the end of the previous word. Example: pwšt-y 'yš'n (*pušt-i ēšān*, 1:2). It is

20 One might have expected here -'š, according to Paul (2002, § 81).

not expressed e.g. in: ky cwnyn bwd nyyt ʿʾmh y'y (1:4) *ki cūnīn būd niyyat-i ʿāmme-yi xudā* 'for thus was the general intention of God'.

– ks r' dst n' rsyd pdyš (1:25) 'no one's hand reached it', literally 'the hand of (any) person did not reach it'.

Particles and prepositions

– The particle *tā* is used very often in the sense of a conjunction meaning roughly 'and then' or the like. Examples: t' y'šyhw k'nh y'y r' p'k krd (1:4–5) *tā yošiyyahu xāne-yi xudā rā pāk kard* 'then Josiah cleaned the house of God'; t' 'n wqt spr twrh byrwn 'md (1:8–9) 'then, at that time, the book of the Torah came out'; t' kw'nd ḥlqywhu mlyk šnyd wgryyst (1:17) 'then Hilkiah read (out loud), (and) the king heard and wept'; t' mrdwm'n mwḥtšm r' pryst'd pyšy zny ḥwldh nby'h (1:18) 'then he sent respectable men to a woman, Hulda the prophetess'; t' yšr'l'n r' tšwbh krdn myd'd (1:22) 'then he gave (order) to the Israelites to repent'; t' y'šyh pryst'd p' bwn 'w (1:28) 'then Josiah sent to him (a message)'; t' pr'h nkh gwptyš (1:29) 'then Pharaoh Neko said to him'. There is one example where the usage is unclear: t' yšr'ln n' 'rz'ny bwdnd p' 'w (1:26) 'for (?) the Israelites were not worthy of it'. The conjunction *tā* is also used in the sense of 'until': t' 'lyhw pyd' 'mdn (1:25) 'until the manifestation of Elijah'.

– The preposition p' *pa*, which continues Middle Persian *pad*, and anticipates Standard New Persian *ba*, is frequently employed. Example: wrpt p' zmy 'šrh šbṭym (1:5) *va raft pa zami-yi ʿasara šebaṭim* 'and he went into the land of the ten tribes'.

– The preposition *a* or *ō* 'to, for' is attested in 1:15: kwnwm 'wr' ' mrmh 'I shall repair it'.

– bswy 'in order, for': ky hmy 'yy bswy k'z'r krdn p' zmy mn (1:29) 'that you are coming to wage battle in my land'. b- contrasts with the regular p' of the preposition. In T10 (the Genesis Tafsir) we have however p' swy, pswy; cf. SHAKED 2003, p. 214.

– 'b' (1:30) 'with'.

– psy—with *ezafe*: psy g' m'h (2:10) 'after three months'. But sometimes it is psy, seemingly as an adverb, 'afterwards': psy 'w 'ndr šwd 'zyry 'mry nbwkdn'ṣr (2:14–15) 'afterwards he placed himself under the command of Nebuchadnezzar'.

– 'zyr, with an *ezafe*: psy 'w 'ndr šwd 'zyry 'mry nbwkdn'ṣr (2:14–15) 'afterwards he placed himself under the command of Nebuchadnezzar'.

Pronouns

– The demonstrative pronoun *ān* is used as a definite article even when the Judeo-Persian text seems to stand on its own. The pronoun *ān* is well known

to be used in Judeo-Persian texts which reflect a Hebrew biblical verse where a definite article occurs in the original. Examples: w'n gwryh' 'yš'n r' 'br knd (1:5) *va ān gōrīhā(-yi) ēšān rā abar kand* 'and he dug up their tombs'.

– ky *ki* is: (1) the relative pronoun for persons; (2) 'when' as a relative pronoun; (3) a conjunction 'that'; (4) as a conjunction 'for, because' (like Middle Persian and New Persian *ce*). Examples:
  1) hr yky ky kw'st (1:7) *har yakē ki xwāst* 'every one who desired';
  2) ky kwštndyš l"ṭ s'lh bwd (2:4) 'when they killed him he was 39 years old';
  3) wgwpt ky (1:7) *va guft ki* 'and he said:'; t' gwptyš ky (1:15) 'then he said to him:';
  4) ky mšh ʿʾmh twrh r' hmy nybysyd (1:9) *ki moše ʿalaw haššalom tora rā hamē nibēsīd* 'for Moses, peace be with him, wrote (continuously) the Torah'. Note the secondary past stem form *nibēsīd*. ky 'br dsty 'w pydh 'yyd (1:25–26) 'for it will be manifest by his hand'.

– cysty (1:15) 'what is this?' seems to contain an ending -y, perhaps reflecting the demonstrative pronoun *ēd*.

Case markers (accusative)

– The accusative case is marked by a postposition r' *(rā)* when the noun affected is definite. Examples: t' y'šyhw k'nh y'y r' p'k krd (1:4–5) *tā yošiyyahu xāne-yi xudā rā pāk kard* 'then Josiah cleaned the house of God'; wp'k krd 'rc yšr'l r' (1:5–6) *va pāk kard ereṣ yisra'el rā* 'and he cleaned the Land of Israel'. When the object noun is indefinite, no *rā* is postpositioned, e.g. t'bwty nyh'd wgwpt (1:6–7) *tābūt-ē nihād va guft* 'He placed a box and said'.

Lexical points

– 'rz'ny (2:3) 'worthy'
– 'ydr (2:18, 25) 'here'
– bstw(y) (1:24) 'case, jar'
– cr'k'n (2:2) 'shooters' (pl.)
– dwšmn'dy (1:29) 'enmity'
– ḥ'ṭyr (1:18) 'present', SNP *ḥāẓir* (from Arabic *ḥāḍir*)
– k'z'r (1:29) 'battle'; k'nh k'z'r g'yy mn (1:30) 'battle field' calque on the Hebrew בית מלחמתי (2Chron 35:21)
– kwm'r: wkwm'r hmy krdnd 'br 'yš'n (2:15) *xumār* (?) 'scoffing' (?) which corresponds to ויהיו מלעיבים במלאכי האלהים
– kwš'dh (1:12) corresponding to SNP *gušāde*
– mlyky (2:4) 'kingship'; mlyky krd (2:4) 'he ruled'
– ṭzr (1:12) 'a room in the Temple', cf. NP *tajar, tazar* defined as 'a winter house with heating installations' or 'a treasury, store room' (the latter definition is

said to be in the usage of Qazvin), BORHĀN 1342 HŠ, I, p. 472. Etymological discussion in HASANDUST 1383 HŠ, pp. 328–329.
- zj (1:23) 'box, ark'
- zwhr (1:32) 'power'.

Verbs
- nys'dnd (2:26) 'they put', but nyh'd (1:6) 'he placed', nyh'dh (1:12) 'placed'
- nyš *niš-* (pres. stem) 'to see', n' nyšy (1:21) 'you will not see'.

Words from Hebrew and Aramaic
- mnh (1:24) 'manna'
- pswq (2:25) apparently used in the sense of 'word'
- pwš'ṭ 'explanation', apparently a Hebrew equivalent of the Arabic-Persian term *tafsīr* (?). The Hebrew word is not attested in this form. The forms *pešaṭ*, *pešuṭ*, which is closest to the word used in EJP, has a somewhat different meaning, viz. 'plain sense', as against an allegorical or mystical meaning. The word occurs in pwš'ṭy 'w bygw (2:17) 'say its exegesis' (?).

Expressions
- The expression *frīstād pa bun-i* ... means 'he sent for ...' (e.g. 1:14, 17)
- *pa qibal-i ān ki* (1:20) 'because of ...'

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DU-2 = The (second) Dandan Uiliq document. Present location unknown. To be published by ZHANG ZHAN.

EJP = Early Judeo-Persian

ENP = Early New Persian

Ez-1 = Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, Jevr.-arab. II 1682. Tafsir of Ezekiel, Part 1 (SHAKED list: T7). Published by GINDIN 2007. First discussion: SALEMANN 1900.

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SM = Sefer Mitzvot (SHAKED list: H3). Published in MACKENZIE 1968; some notes: SHAKED 1971; PAUL 2002 (also referred to as "Ar[gument]").
SNP = Standard New Persian
T2 = Grammatical *tafsir* on several biblical books. Excerpts published by SHAKED 1982, p. 304ff.; full publication by KHAN 2000, pp. 241–331.
T7 = Cf. above under Ez–1, Ez–2.
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T16 = St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Jevr.-Arab. I 4611. A *tafsir* on Jeremiah. Discussed in the present article.
TA = The Tang-i Azao inscriptions in EJP; cf. HENNING 1957.
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Celto-Iranica

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Although Iranian and Celtic are at the opposite ends of the Indo-European world, they do have some points of contact. Some Celtic philologists have even thought Indo-Iranian and Celtic to have a special affinity within the Indo-European family, despite recent archaeologically driven claims that Celtic emerged on the Atlantic seaboard.[1]

Be this as it may, Celtic must have made contact with Iranian when Celtic-speakers moved eastwards from central Europe in the third century BC. As a result there has been a good deal of argument about whether some names are Iranian or Celtic, for example the place-name *Maitonion* on the Dniester or the ethnonym *Anartoi* in Dacia (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 3.5.15 and 3.8.3).[2] Some Celtic-speakers went further east. After sacking Delphi in 279, Celtic tribes crossed into Asia Minor and eventually settled in Galatia, where a number of clearly Celtic place-names are recorded in antiquity.[3] Some may have gone further. In Armenia Minor a tributary of the Euphrates, now called Karabudak in Turkish, is called *Sabrina* in an inscription on a Roman bridge (AD 249/251),[4] a name recalling various Celtic river-names in Britain, including *Sabrina* (Severn), as well as *Sabhrann* in Ireland.[5] Tantalizingly, Ptolemy (*Geography*, 5.6.7)

1 K.H. Schmidt: *Celtic: A Western Indo-European Language?* Innsbruck 1996; G.R. Isaac: "The Nature and Origins of the Celtic Languages: Atlantic Seaways, Italo-Celtic and Other Paralinguistic Misapprehensions", in: *Studia Celtica* 38 (2004), pp. 49–58.

2 See discussion by A. Falileyev (*Celtic Dacia: Personal Names, Place-Names and Ethnic Names of Celtic Origin in Dacia and Scythia Minor*, Aberystwyth 2007, pp. 18 and 21–22), citing earlier literature including I. Ronca: "Presunti o probabili iranismi nell' onomastica daco-getica secondo la Geografia di Tolomeo", in: *Dacoromania* 1 (1973), pp. 237–251.

3 P. Sims-Williams: *Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor*. Oxford 2006, pp. 269–285.

4 R.J.A. Talbert (ed.): *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton 2000, Map 64G1, Bridge no. 5; V.W. Yorke: "Inscriptions from Eastern Asia Minor", in: *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 18 (1898), pp. 306–327 (320–321); T.B. Mitford: "Cappadocia and Armenia Minor: Historical Setting of the *Limes*", in: H. Temporini/W. Haase (eds.): *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, Pt. II: *Principat*, vol. 7.2: *Politische Geschichte (Provinzen und Randvölker; Griechischer Balkanraum; Kleinasien)*, Berlin 1980, pp. 1169–1228 (pp. 1184–1185, 1212, 1219, and plate II.3).

5 Sims-Williams 2006, pp. 28 and 293.

gives the name *Skordiskos* to the nearby mountain range,[6] which recalls the famous Celtic tribe of *Scordisci* from the Balkans, who could have come overland through Galatia or across the Black Sea and down through Cappadocia.[7] If this possibility is accepted, one could start to speculate that other names in the vicinity, such as *mons Dastracus* (in a lost book of Livy quoted by Orosius 6.4.3), with its Celtic-looking suffix, belong to Celtic rather than Iranian or some other language.[8]

There is a problem, however, in relying on forms like *Sabrina* and *Dastracus* in Roman sources, since the underlying local names may have been adapted to familiar Western names. A further example is provided by the most eastern of all the Celtic-looking names in Ptolemy's *Geography* (6.14.9): the Central Asian tribe of *Tektosakes*, located somewhere in eastern Kazakhstan, but bearing a known variant of the well-known Celtic ethnonym *Tectosages* 'possession seekers' (cf. Old Irish *techtaigidir* 'seeks to (re)establish a land claim' < **tekto-sag-*).[9] Celtic migrants of this name are found in Bohemia/Moravia, in southern Gaul around Toulouse, and in Galatia around Ancyra, the last group having moved there after the sack of Delphi in 279 BC.[10] It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that another group followed the Silk Road further east to 'the base from which the merchants set out for China', at the north-east corner of the land of the Sakai (Ptolemy 6.13.1), and then turned northwards into the mountains of Kazakhstan. However, as I pointed out in 2006, *Tektosakes* could always represent some non-Celtic name, perhaps connected with the Iranian Sakas.[11] Since writing that, I noted that the same suggestion was made exactly a century earlier in an almost unobtainable work by GEORGES COUSIN, s.n. *Tectosages*:

> Τεκτόσακες, population en Scythie, le long d'Imaus. Mais il suffit de remarquer que cette contrée était habitée par les Saces (PAPE, s.v. Σάκαι, donne aussi la forme Σάκες) pour comprendre comment a pu s'établir une confusion de noms. Peut-être le mot *Tecto-* remplace-t-il quelque préfixe par lequel les Saces du nord-ouest de l'Imaus se distinguaient (ou: étaient distingués par les Grecs) de leur homonymes d'au delà de la même chaîne de montagnes.[12]

6 TALBERT 2000, Map 64G1; MITFORD 1980, pp. 1214–1215.
7 SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006, pp. 293–294.
8 TALBERT 2000, Map 64G1. Compare *Dastarkon* on the river *Karmalas* (Map 64C3) in Cappadocia (Strabo 12.2.5) which has been thought to be Iranian (L. ZGUSTA: *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*. Heidelberg 1984, p. 156).
9 H. HUMBACH/S. ZIEGLER (eds.): *Ptolemy: Geography, Book 6: Middle East, Central and North Asia, China*. Wiesbaden, vol. I (1998), p. 186, and vol. II (2002), figs. 34–35. On *-sakes/-sages* and the location see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006, pp. 295, n. 53, and 298–299.
10 K. TOMASCHITZ: *Die Wanderungen der Kelten in der antiken literarischen Überlieferung*. Vienna 2002, pp. 130–134, 145, 155–163 and 181; TALBERT 2000, Maps 25F2 and 63B1.
11 SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006, pp. 295, n. 53, and 299.
12 G. COUSIN: "Additions au 'Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz' d'A. Holder", in: *Études de géographie ancienne*. Paris 1906, pp. 346–489, (p. 476) [repr. in: P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (ed.) 2006: *Additions to Alfred Holder's Celtic Thesaurus by Georges Cousin together with an Electronically Searchable Version of Holder's Headwords by Llinos Dafis and Ashwin Gohil and Indexes to Joshua Whatmough's 'The Dialects of Ancient Gaul' by Xavier Delamarre and G. R. Isaac*. Aberystwyth, p. 476].

In the melting-pot of the Roman Empire, Celtic and Iranian continued to merge, as soldiers, merchants, and other personnel travelled east and west.[13] As a result, there is again potential for confusing Celtic and Iranian names. A striking example is provided by an inscription including a name *Arimanius* (or similar) on a statue of a winged deity at York. In the *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum* this *Arimanius* at York is included as a cognomen alongside the probably Celtic cognomina *Arimanus* and *Ariomanus* in Noricum and Pannonia.[14] He is almost certainly a deity, however, one sometimes identified, strange at it may seem, with 'Ahriman, the evil counterpart of Mithras':

> Vol(usius) Iren[aeus] / Arimani(o?) v(otum) [s(olvens) l(ibens) m(erito)] / d(onum) [d(edit)]
> "Volusius Irenaeus, in willingly and deservedly fulfilling his vow to Arimanius, gave this gift."[15]

Among the Iranians in Roman Britain were a unit of Sarmatian cavalry at Ribchester (Lancashire) who in AD 241 made a dedication to the Celtic god Maponos, 'divine son', a divinity who reappears as Mabon son of Modron (< **Maponos* son of **Mātronā* 'divine mother') in medieval Welsh literature.[16] What, if any, influence these Sarmatians had on British Celtic tradition has been the subject of much fruitless speculation – for example, an attempt to derive the Holy Grail from the Ossetic Nartyamonga.[17] There is one place in medieval

13 Celtic personal names in the east are especially found among incoming residents rather than natives: M.E. RAYBOULD/P. SIMS-WILLIAMS: *The Geography of Celtic Personal Names in the Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire*, Aberystwyth 2007, pp. 21–25 and 200 (map); P. SIMS-WILLIAMS: "Comparing the Distribution of Celtic Personal Names with that of Celtic Place-Names", in: J.L. GARCÍA ALONSO (ed.): *Celtic and Other Languages in Ancient Europe*, Salamanca 2008, pp. 29–51.
14 B. LŐRINCZ/F. REDŐ (eds.): *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*. Budapest/Vienna 1994–2002, vol. I, pp. 168–169. For the relevant inscriptions see M.E. RAYBOULD/P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (eds.): *A Corpus of Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire Containing Celtic Personal Names*, Aberystwyth 2007, nos. BRI 10, NOR 16, 79, 83, 93, PAN 21 and 41.
15 R.G. COLLINGWOOD (ed.): *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*. Vol. I: *Inscriptions on stone*. Addenda and corrigenda by R.S.O. TOMLIN. 2nd ed. Stroud 1995, no. 641, with addendum by TOMLIN, p. 770; RAYBOULD/SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007 (see note 14), no. BRI 10.
16 COLLINGWOOD 1995, no. 583 and p. 767; R. BROMWICH (ed.): *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain*, 3rd ed., Cardiff 2006, pp. 424–428.
17 C.S. LITTLETON: "The Holy Grail, the Cauldron of Annwn, and the Nartyamonga: A Further Note on the Sarmatian Connection." In: *Journal of American Folklore* 92 (1979), pp. 326–333. The 'Sarmatian theory', along with a 'Mithraic theory', a 'Buddhist theory' etc., is consigned to a footnote by J. CAREY: *Ireland and the Grail*, Aberystwyth 2007, p. 297, n. 1.

Welsh literature, however, where the Ossetic legends provide a useful analogue. In the story of *Branwen* the king Brân is confronted with an impassable river:

> 'Lord', said his noblemen, 'thou knowest the peculiarity of the river: none can go through it, nor is there a bridge over it. What is thy counsel as to a bridge?' said they. 'There is none', said he, 'save that he who is chief, let him be a bridge. I will myself be a bridge', said he. And then was that saying first uttered, and it is still used as a proverb. And then, after he had lain him down across the river, hurdles were placed upon him, and his hosts passed through over him.[18]

HEINRICH KERN, followed by STEFAN ZIMMER, has compared *Mahākapi-Jātaka*, a Buddhist fable about a monkey king acting as bridge to save his own followers.[19] A geographically closer parallel occurs in the Ossetic saga of the Narts (here the warriors are trading insults, just as in the Old Irish saga of *Mac Dathō's Pig*):

> 'One time you [Soslan] lay down across the sea, and the army passed from one shore to the other on you as if you were a bridge. But your back became tired by the hooves of the horses, you bent your body, and everyone fell into the sea!'[20]

In such a case, Iranian literature simply provides a useful analogue to a Celtic story and there is no reason to suppose a direct or even indirect connection. Another such parallel is the *Shahnama* which provides an analogue to the technique known to Irish scholars as the 'watchman device': Suhrab questions his Iranian prisoner of war, Hajir, about the Iranian host marshalled against him, and while he describes them, Hajir identifies them, just as in so many medieval Irish sagas of about the same period (eleventh century).[21] While there can be no direct connection, the Persian epic should offer a salutary warning to the Celticists who have assumed that the Irish material must derive from the *teichoskopia* in Book III of Homer's *Iliad*. The same is true of an episode in the *Mahābhārata* III.254 in which Jayadratha, having abducted Draupadī from her five husbands, describes to her the five chariots pursuing them and hears her identify them one

18 *The Mabinogion*, translated by G. JONES and TH. JONES, London 1949, p. 34.

19 H. KERN: "Aus der indischen und der keltischen Sagenwelt", in: *Gurupūjākaumudī: Festgabe zum fünfzigjährigen Doctorjubiläum Albrecht Weber*, Leipzig 1896, pp. 93–94; S. ZIMMER: "*A uo penn bit pont*: Aspects of Leadership in Celtic and Indo-European", in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 53 (2003), pp. 202–229, esp. pp. 204–205 and 221–223. The story is not wholly fanciful: some monkeys do act as bridges from branch to branch for smaller ones of the group.

20 G. DUMÉZIL (transl.): *Légendes sur les Nartes: suivies de cinq notes mythologiques*, Paris 1930, p. 137; the passage is noted by LITTLETON 1979, p. 327, but without the Welsh parallel.

21 The parallel was pointed out by J. DE VRIES: *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*, London 1963, p. 77. See further P. SIMS-WILLIAMS: "Riddling Treatment of the 'Watchman Device' in *Branwen* and *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*", in: *Studia Celtica* 12/13 (1977–1978), pp. 83–117.

by one.[22] In some of the Celtic versions of the 'watchman device', the watchers disagree about what is approaching; there is again a good parallel for this in Ossetic, as Nick pointed out to me many years ago: a character on a watchtower asks whether it is smoke that he can see and another answers (correctly) that it is the breath of horses and the dust raised by their hooves – and so on.[23]

The one area of literature in which Iranian and Celtic are linked by solid textual connections is Christian literature:

> A certain holy monk abode forty years in the desert. Once as he was a fasting for God, the death of the soul of the sinner and of the righteous was revealed to him ...

Is this a translation from the Christian Sogdian manuscript C2 or from the Irish Liber Flavus Fergusiorum?[24] In the early Middle Ages, the Irish and the Sogdians were linked by a chain of Christian intermediaries, Latin, Greek, and Syriac; they spoke the same language again, so to speak.

22 S.W. JAMISON: "Draupadī on the Walls of Troy: *Iliad* 3 from an Indic Perspective." In: *Classical Antiquity* 13 (1994), pp. 5–16.

23 G. DUMÉZIL (transl.): *Le livre des héros: légendes sur les Nartes*. Paris 1965, p. 64. See further P. SIMS-WILLIAMS: "'Is it Fog or Smoke or Warriors Fighting?': Irish and Welsh Parallels to the *Finnsburg* Fragment", in: *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 27 (1976–1978), pp. 505–514. For a Finnish parallel see G. KURMAN: "Negative Comparison in Literary Epic Narrative", in: *Comparative Literature* 21 (1969), pp. 337–347, esp. p. 343. It has been argued that the figure is extremely old: G. PINAULT: "Négation et comparaison en védique", in: BSL 80/1 (1985), pp. 103–144.

24 The latter! See C. MARSTRANDER (ed. and trans.): "The Two Deaths", in: *Ériu* 5 (1911), pp. 120–125.

Behind the Scenes: Some Notes on the Decipherment of the Sogdian Manuscripts in the Stein Collection

Ursula Sims-Williams, London[1]

The first German Turfan expedition (1902–1903), led by Albert Grünwedel (1856–1935), Director of the Indian Department of the Berlin Ethnological Museum, brought back 46 crates of finds which reached Berlin in the summer of 1903. Among them were many fragments of Iranian languages in Manichaean script which his then assistant, F.W.K. Müller (1863–1930),[2] with a background in Semitic languages, quickly realised was closely related to the Estrangelo Syriac script.

Müller's first two articles, published in 1904,[3] on the "Estrangelo" script fragments, recognised them as being Manichaean in content and written in Turkish, Middle Persian, and an unknown dialect of Pahlavi, ie. Sogdian.[4] In the summer of 1905, further discoveries from the Christan site Bulayïq north of Turfan included identifiable Christian texts in Sogdian.[5] These provided Müller with the key to a better understanding of the Manichaean Sogdian texts which hitherto had been only partially understood.[6]

Meanwhile Aurel Stein (1862–1943), while exploring the Dunhuang Limes during his second expedition to Central Asia (1906–1908), came across the ruined watch tower T.XII.a, a guard-post on the wall guarding the western border of China. Here on 18th April 1907, his assistant Naik discovered the remnants of

1 It gives me great pleasure to be able to offer Nicholas, to whom I am so indebted for his encouragement over the years, this article containing some of the results of my Sogdian "excavations" in the archives of the Stein collection.

2 See Durkin-Meisterernst 2004; also his "Mueller, Friedrich W.K." in: EIr (www.iranica.com).

3 Müller 1904a and 1904b.

4 Müller 1904b, p. 111. It was Müller's collaborator Andreas who was apparently responsible for first calling the language Sogdian. See Müller 1907, p. 260, n. 2; and Gauthiot 1914, p. xi: "Cela faisait huit pages en tout [Müller 1904b, pp. 96–103], très mêlées et accompagnées de quelques notes de M. Andreas. Dans l'une d'elles M. Andreas appelait 'sogdien' le 'dialecte pehlvi' de M.F.W.K. Müller; c'est de cette façon modeste et obscure que le sogdien fit sa réapparition."

5 The first publication of a Christian Sogdian text was in November 1905 by E. Sachau to whom A. von Le Coq had sent photographs from Kara Khoja on 24 June 1905 (Sachau 1905, p. 964).

6 Müller 1907, p. 260.

a post bag containing what became known as the Sogdian *Ancient Letters*,[7] the oldest commercial documents in the Sogdian language. As STEIN's field diary for April 18th records:

> Returned to camp by 6.30 P.M. Shortly after 7 Naik arrived with surprising finds from T.XII.a. From rubbish filling a narrow passage along S foot of Pao-t'ai, there had emerged circ. 3' above floor 7 rolls of paper, three still tied up, containing what proved well-preserved Aramaic writing.[8]

and on 19th April:

> Unfolded two Aramaic paper. One frgt. shows portion of fol. 4" broad; height complete 8". Other is complete 8" × 16", folded twice in middle.[9]

STEIN arrived back in London at the end of January 1909. His collection of nearly 100 packing cases was accommodated temporarily in the Natural History Museum, but space was so limited that by the end of June only one third of the collection had been unpacked.[10] STEIN, however, was able to report on the discovery of the *Ancient Letters* to the Geographical Society on 8 March, saying "Are these perhaps in some Iranian tongue, and were they left behind by some early traders from Persia or Western Turkestan coming for the silk of the distant *Seres*?"[11]

The Stein collection was transferred to new quarters in the basement of the British Museum on 5 August 1909,[12] but work on the manuscripts did not begin until the following year. STEIN was abroad from July 1909 until the end of April 1910, but this did not prevent him from directing operations from a distance. The *Ancient Letters* were despatched to Dr. COWLEY,[13] at the Bodleian Library Oxford, on March 14th.[14]

On March 17th COWLEY wrote to STEIN:

> The precious documents arrived on Tuesday – & yesterday I saw the binder & gave him T.xii.a.ii.6 to arrange. I think it best to give him only one at a time – & I began with this one, because it is the easiest to deal with. I will see that everything belonging to each piece is carefully kept with it. As you have had them photographed in their present state, I need not have that done again, but as soon as they are all unrolled & set up, I will have them photographed – with a scale.
>
> I have only had a very cursory look at them at present. They are so fragile that I do not like to touch them. One of them has a very Mongolian look – which is not encouraging.[15]

7 T.XII.a.ii.1–9 (British Library MSS Or.8212/92–101).
8 Bodleian Stein MS 199: field diary March-August 1907, f. 31. As far as I know the exact date of the discovery of the *Ancient Letters* has not been noted before.
9 *Ibid.*, f. 33.
10 British Library MSS Eur D 815, f. 373: Stein to Under Secretary of State, India Office (copy), 28 June 1909.
11 STEIN 1909, p. 35.
12 British Library MSS Eur D 815, f. 383: F. Andrews to Under Secretary of State, India Office (copy), 5 August 1909.
13 Sir ARTHUR ERNEST COWLEY (1861–1931), Semitic scholar, famous for his work on the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine, and librarian at the Bodleian from 1896. He became Bodley's Librarian in 1919.
14 Bodleian Stein MS 39, f. 18: Miss F.M.G. Lorimer (1883–1967), Assistant at the Stein Collection 1909–1922, to Stein, 21 March 1910. For more on Miss LORIMER, see H. WANG: "Stein's recording angel: Miss F.M.G. Lorimer", in: JRAS, ser. 3, 8.2 (1998), pp. 207–228.

COWLEY published preliminary results of his examination of the *Ancient Letters* in January 1911. His article included a photograph of T.XII.a.ii.4 (Or.8212/93), together with a wordlist and alphabet. Although the script was Aramaic in origin, COWLEY felt certain that the language must be "some form of Iranian in which, as in Pahlavi, Aramaic words were used."[16]

In a letter from the German Iranist CARL FRIEDRICH ANDREAS (1846–1930) to STEIN, dated 27 March 1911,[17] we learn that ANDREAS first heard of COWLEY's article on January 23 when the Russian orientalist SERGEI OLDENBURG (1863–1934) was visiting him with several colleagues including ROBERT GAUTHIOT (1876–1916)[18] from Paris. OLDENBURG mentioned it to ANDREAS, and the next day gave him a copy of the January issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. ANDREAS immediately saw that the script was identical to that of coins issued by the rulers of Bukhara, which he had come across in the work of LERCH,[19] and in the coin collection in Berlin which he had studied the previous summer. He recognised the Sogdian word <*xwt'w*> 'lord' – transcribed however with a final <*y*> by COWLEY –, which he knew from the coins and also from the Turfan manuscripts. From this he concluded

> that the script and language of your documents must be Sogdian, and Professor Gauthiot agrees with me on this. We can now fully recognise, as in the case of the coinage, the old Aramaic script from Sogdiana, from which the cursive script evolved in which the Sogdian Buddhist translations and later, Uigur, was written. The relationship of this cursive script to that of your documents and the coins of the Buxār-Xuδāvs, is the same as that of the cursive Pahlavi of the papyri and manuscripts to the script of the Sasanian inscriptions.[20]

15 Bodleian Stein MS 72, ff. 28–29: Cowley to Stein.
16 COWLEY 1911, p. 162.
17 Bodleian Stein MS 63, ff. 189–190. On ANDREAS see W. LENTZ/D.N. MACKENZIE/B. SCHLERATH: "Andreas, Friedrich Carl", in: EIr 2.1 (1985), pp. 27–30.
18 See A. MEILLET: "Nécrologie: Robert Gauthiot", in: BSL 20 (1916), pp. 127–132; H. JUNKER: "Robert Gauthiot", in: *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch* 6 (1918), pp. 126–129.
19 LERCH 1876.
20 Bodleian Stein MS 63, f. 189: "Ich schloss aus alledem, dass Schrift und Sprache der von Ihnen entdeckten Dokumente soghdisch sein müssten, worin mir Prof. Gauthiot beistimmte. Wir lernen nun vollständiger als durch die Münzen die alte aramäische Schrift von Sogdiana kennen, aus der sich die Kursive entwickelt hat, in der die soghdischen Übersetzungen buddhistischer Werke und später das Uighurische geschrieben worden sind. Das Verhältnis dieser Kursive zu der Schrift Ihrer Dokumente und der Münzen

ANDREAS recognised the aramaeogram representing the demonstrative pronoun <*ZK*>, COWLEY's <*yk*>, while commenting that the letters <*z*> and <*y*> had almost merged. On the letter <'>, he wrote:

> Cowley didn't recognise the letter <'>. The second word in the 7th line is certainly to be read <'*L*> and is the aramaeogram for *awi*, Middle Iranian *ō*. This <'*L*>[21] probably occurs twice also in line 9 on the right margin ... and also in line 3 before the numbers. For the first word of the 8th line, I would tentatively propose the reading <'*L ZKw*> where the final <*w*> is a phonetic complement. – The reading <'*D*> (p. 163)[22] is impossible on palaeographic and linguistic grounds.[23]

Meanwhile GAUTHIOT had also been working on the photograph of T.XII.a.ii.4. By comparing it with the Buddhist Sogdian manuscripts which he had been working on in the Pelliot collection, he was able to make considerable advances in interpreting the script, and recognised many common Sogdian words and aramaeograms. On 13 March 1911,[24] GAUTHIOT sent his paper[25] to STEIN who arranged to publish it in the April number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. On hearing from ANDREAS a few days afterwards, STEIN wrote to GAUTHIOT:

> Since receiving your last letter, I heard from Prof. Andreas, who communicated results closely in agreement with those which you have indicated in your paper. I had already in January communicated to him a copy of Dr. Cowley's article, and had asked him then to give us his assistance, but it was only nine days ago that I had the above-mentioned letter from him.[26]

der Buxār-Xuōāvs ist dasselbe wie das des kursiven Pāhlāvī der Papyri und Handschriften zu der Schrift der Sasaniden-Inschriften."

21 For <'*L*> = Sogd. *par*, see SKJÆRVØ 1976, pp. 112–116, who analysed the following words exactly the same way, some sixty years later.

22 COWLEY 1911, p. 163: "[it] seems to be the Pahlavi *vad* = Aram. 'D 'to'." It is particularly pleasing to be able to cite ANDREAS' views here since this arameogram was the subject of one of Nicholas' first articles (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1975, pp. 134–139). Coincidentally P.O. SKJÆRVØ had also come to the same conclusion, but was just beaten to the post (see his contribution in this volume)! Presumably ANDREAS was saying that, on the one hand, the <*d*> of <'*D*> here, is not the same as the <*ō*> of <'*L*> = <'Δ> (Sogdian used the Aramaic <*l*> to express *δ*); on the other hand, Pahlavi <*OD*> means 'to', while <*OL*> means 'to, on', etc. I am grateful to P.O. SKJÆRVØ for his help with this passage.

23 Bodleian Stein MS 63, f. 190: "Das <'> hat Cowley nicht erkannt. Das zweite Wort der 7ten Zeile ist sicher <'*L*> zu lesen und ist das aramäische Ideogram für *awi*, mittelirānisch *ō*. Wahrscheinlich findet sich dieses <'*L*> auch in der am rechten Rande von oben nach unten laufenden Zeile (9) zweimal und in Zeile 3 vor den Zahlzeichen. Und für das erste Wort der achten Zeile möchte ich, als Versuch, die Lesung <'*L ZKw*> vorschlagen, wo dann das schliessende <*w*> phonetisches Komplement wäre. – Die Lesung <'*D*> (S. 163) ist paläographisch wie sprachlich unmöglich."

24 British Library MSS Eur D 815, ff. 720–721: Stein to Gauthiot (copy), 15 March 1911.

25 GAUTHIOT 1911.

26 British Library MSS Eur D 815, ff. 724–726: Stein to Gauthiot (copy), 10 April 1911.

After consultation with Dr. COWLEY, STEIN decided to send a complete set of photographs of the remaining letters to both GAUTHIOT and ANDREAS, adding

> We must leave it to you and to him either to continue your labours independently, or to work in consultation if that should appear to you a more desirable course.[27]

GAUTHIOT replied reassuring STEIN that ANDREAS was fully aware of his results[28] and in October[29] submitted a second paper which was published in April of the following year.

STEIN had not initially realised that several of the Buddhist scrolls from Dunhuang were also in Sogdian. This was first noticed in 1910 by EDWARD DENISON ROSS[30] who had written to STEIN in 1909 offering to devote himself to the study of the Uigur materials.[31] STEIN arranged for photographs to be sent to ROSS who, in April 1910, wrote

> By the same post [March 17th] I received from Barnett[32] a first instalment of Uighur pabulum in the shape of some photos taken by Andrews ... The scroll of which some photos were sent is not Uighur after all, but if I mistake not, Soghdian,[33]

and several months later

> The 'Soghdian'? scroll is giving me much trouble – and it may be some quite new language. At any rate it looks unmistakably Iranian – and the Inhalt is certainly Buddhist.[34]

While examining previously unopened bundles of Chinese manuscripts, several more Sogdian scrolls were discovered,[35] photographs of which, including Ch.0093A (Or.8212/80A), the Sogdian *Vessantara Jātaka*, were sent to F.W.K. MÜLLER for decipherment.[36] MÜLLER identified Ch.ci.001 (Or.8212/85) as containing a Buddhist metaphysical treatise, which he called the *Dhyāna* text, and

27 *Ibid.*

28 British Library MSS Eur D 815, f. 727: Stein to Gauthiot (copy), 18 April 1911.

29 British Library MSS Eur D 815, ff. 728–729: Stein to Gauthiot (copy), 31 October 1911. This was GAUTHIOT 1912b.

30 Sir EDWARD DENISON ROSS (1871–1940). Ross succeeded STEIN in 1901 as Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, and in November 1916 became the first Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London.

31 STEIN 1921, p. 923; also ROSS 1943, p. 106.

32 LIONEL DAVID BARNETT (1871–1960), Keeper of the Dept. of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. at the British Museum, 1908–1936.

33 Hungarian Academy of Sciences Stein 8, ff. 202–203: Ross, Calcutta, to Stein, 21 April 1910. I am most grateful to Dr. ÁGNES KELECSÉNYI and Dr. IMRE GALAMBOS for providing me with these references.

34 Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Stein 8, ff. 213–214: Ross, Calcutta, to Stein, undated.

35 Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Stein 8, ff. 217–218: Stein, Merton College Oxford, to Ross (copy), 20 September 1910.

36 British Library MSS Eur D 815, ff. 730–732: Stein to Gauthiot (copy), 11 November 1911.

sent a translation and notes to STEIN on 24 September 1910.[37] He also identified Ch.0050 (Or.8212/158) as a portion of the 5th and 6th chapters of the *Padmacintāmaṇidhāraṇī sūtra*.[38] GAUTHIOT meanwhile was working on Pelliot's manuscript of the *Vessantara Jātaka*, of which 5 leaves were in the Stein Collection. In 1912 he published an edition of all the Paris pages of the text as well as those in London, the latter on the basis on STEIN's photographs, having also obtained the photograph of folio 8, which had been sent to Berlin, from MÜLLER, who was fully occupied with other work.[39] GAUTHIOT also published, with L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, Ch.0092 (Or.8212/175), the Sanskrit *Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī* fragment, written in Brahmi with an interlinear transcription in Sogdian script.[40]

From April 1912 to April 1913, ROSS was on leave from Calcutta and worked in the Stein Collection at the British Museum. At first he occupied himself with the Uigur manuscripts but soon turned his attention to the Sogdian material. In the meantime, STEIN, who by now had returned to India, was becoming concerned about the lack of progress with the Sogdian items. He wrote to Dr. BARNETT at the British Museum who, in STEIN's absence, was responsible for the Collection:

> I am anxious to get some progress achieved about the Sogdian pieces. You are aware that photos of them have been with F.W.K. Müller for over two years past without any tangible results in the shape of preliminary notices or inventory notes. I have asked Miss Hughes to ask M. for some definite answer but do not expect much after a year's silence! In the meantime Gauthiot who has been so helpful to me about the early Sogdian documents, has made constant progress with the Pelliot materials, and I should be very glad, indeed, if he could take over the Tun-huang Sogdian rolls, too. He is on very good terms with Müller and would probably be able to get him readily to agree to this devolution. M. has plenty to occupy him in Berlin & would feel rather relieved, I think, if a fully competent & businesslike worker like Gauthiot took over these materials.
>
> Not knowing how matters stand with Müller I cannot approach Gauthiot direct without great loss of time. So I should feel most grateful if you could kindly sound him on my behalf. All the Sogdian texts or nearly so are available in photos, and prints from these could be sent to Paris if Gauthiot agreed & came to a satisfactory understanding with Müller.
>
> The work presupposes sound Middle Iranian knowledge, and it is on this account that I do *not* care to fall in with a hint received through Miss Lorimer and entrust Ross, ingenious & manysided as he is, with this material, too ...[41]

37 MÜLLER/LENTZ 1934, p. 504.
38 STEIN 1921, p. 920.
39 GAUTHIOT 1912a, p. 164: "La photographie de la feuille 8 a été quelque temps à Berlin entre les mains de M. F.W.K. Müller qui, absorbé par d'autres traveaux, a eu l'amabilité de me la faire envoyer."
40 DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN/GAUTHIOT 1912.
41 British Library MS Or.13114, ff. 52–53: Stein to Barnett, 29 December 1912.

At about the same time STEIN received ROSS's long awaited but somewhat meagre inventory slips and was alarmed at what he read. STEIN was especially irritated by ROSS's lack of communication which, nevertheless, did not seem to prevent him from talking freely about his discoveries to colleagues in Paris and Berlin. In a scathing reply he wrote:

> ... I should like to be able to inform myself about the indications which led you to recognize bamboo paper in several of the fragments containing apparently Sogdian texts and to date the ink in one of them (Ch.00284)[42] as of the 14th cent. I am equally curious, of course, about the Sogdian fragment (Ch.00289)[43] on what you consider "mulberry paper of the Ming dynasty [1368–1644]."
>
> Now the experience gained through Von Wiesner's[44] investigations have taught us how difficult it is to judge of the real character of *any* paper without very thorough microscopical analysis. Appearances to the eye, even of the supposed "expert", if he does not follow strict laboratory methods, are often very deceptive. I am not aware that V. Wiesner's published researches – and he is the first, and up to the present almost sole authority on this difficult subject, have extended to "bamboo" or Ming dynasty papers.[45]

By March 1913, there was still no reply from MÜLLER. STEIN advised BARNETT:

> I fear, we must be prepared for delay with this most learned of men. If you have heard nothing from him by the time this reaches you, it would be, perhaps, best to offer the use of the MSS. to Gauthiot, explaining that in view of your letter of Jan. 30th you had to interpret Müller's silence as consent. In case Gauthiot thereupon accepts the publication, it would be easy and safe to send a polite intimation to Müller in the sense proposed by you. M. will anyhow have had the advantage of studying these texts for use with his own work for Berlin. Of course he will be welcome to keep the photos and rotographs for personal use.[46]

ROSS, meanwhile, had been with GAUTHIOT to visit MÜLLER in Berlin in January, and when he returned to London he brought back MÜLLER's notes and translations of Ch.00352 (Or.8212/159), the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa sūtra*, and Ch.0050 (Or.8212/158), the *Padmacintāmaṇidhāraṇī sūtra*, which were accepted for publication in JRAS.[47] Owing to problems with the proofs[48] and the outbreak

42 British Library MS Or.8212/123, a Uigur letter of the 9th or 10th century. See HAMILTON 1986, no. 23.
43 British Library MS Or.8212/84, a 9th century fragment containing the *Aŝəm vohū* fragment. See SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976, fragment 4.
44 JULIUS RITTER VON WIESNER (1838–1916), botanist and plant physiologist. VON WIESNER analysed paper samples of many of STEIN's manuscripts including the *Ancient Letters* (STEIN 1921, pp. 673–674).
45 British Library MS Or.13114, ff. 56–57: Stein to Ross (copy), 2 February 1913.
46 British Library MS Or.13114, ff. 60–61: Stein to Barnett, 2 March 1913.
47 Bodleian Stein MS 41, ff. 101–102: Ross to Stein (copy), 20 March 1913; see also British Library MSS Eur D 815, f. 717.
48 Bodleian Stein MS 94, f. 156: Miss Lorimer to Stein, 4 May 1914: "It seemed all ready for publication last year, as you know, when Dr. Müller's illness came and the proofs were

of war, they were never published although a revised version of MÜLLER's article on the *Padmacintāmaṇidhāraṇī* appeared in 1926.[49]

Attempts to gain GAUTHIOT's collaboration were not much more successful. In April BARNETT wrote to STEIN

> I am afraid it will be impossible to get Gauthiot enlisted in the work of your Sogdiana, for he is about to flee away to the heart of Sogdia in order to learn what he can of the modern dialect, and will start next month.[50]

ROSS, meanwhile, was offended not to be entrusted with the work himself, but STEIN remained opposed to the idea:

> Ross never worked on the Sogdian texts *with my knowledge* and cannot feel hurt at their not being handed over to him. He is *not* competent to deal with them, not possessing a knowledge of Pahlavi & Middle Iranian.[51]

In April 1913 ROSS returned to Calcutta, but resigned in April 1914 when he formally joined the British Museum as Assistant of the First Class,[52] an especially created post with specific responsibility for the Stein Collection. As Miss LORIMER reported to STEIN:

> ... Of course what he really wants to do are the Soghdian MSS ... and says that he would set down to them steadily if he was given the freedom to go ahead; and that M. Gauthiot has promised that he would read his proofs for him and help him with all of it; and he would not mind whether his name appeared or not. But Dr. F.W.K. Muller is still "sitting" on the MSS. (i.e. the photographs he got of them), and no one can find out whether he is doing any work on them or not.[53]

ROSS spent only a few months at the Museum before war broke out when he was transferred to the War Office. In 1916 he was appointed Director of the new School of Oriental Studies. GAUTHIOT was also fully occupied with the war until his death, in September 1916, from wounds inflicted at the Second Battle of Artois. When *Serindia* was published in 1921, STEIN had to make do with the provisional inventory slips of the Sogdian materials which had been prepared by ROSS and BARNETT from MÜLLER's notes. In publishing photographs of the

sent to Dr. Ross to correct. He found he could not correct them without reference to Dr. Müller; and he says there is much in it which requires alteration in accordance with the later work done by M. Gauthiot ... Dr. Müller replied in a private letter to Dr. Von Lecoq [as reported by Dr. Ross] ... that he did not mind what the JRAS article was like, and that he would not trouble to make any alterations in it, but that he felt obliged to publish something in the JRAS as he had promised you to publish an article first in it."

49 MÜLLER 1926.

50 Bodleian Stein MS 65, f. 31: Barnett to Stein, 4 April 1913.

51 Bodleian Stein MS 41, ff. 99–100: Stein to F. Andrews, 14 April 1913.

52 India Office List 1915; ROSS 1943, p. 116. See also Bodleian Stein MS 94, ff. 142–145: Miss Lorimer to Stein, 20 February 1914.

53 Bodleian Stein MS 94, ff. 150–158: Miss Lorimer to Stein, 4 May 1914.

Ancient Letters, STEIN wrote that at least "I have assured for other scholars also, the possibility of progress towards complete decipherment."[54]

It was 1926 before work re-commenced on the Sogdian manuscripts, when HANS REICHELT (1877–1939), who was then Professor of Comparative Philology at the University of Hamburg, wrote to STEIN requesting permission to work on the Buddhist manuscripts and the *Ancient Letters*.[55] His editions, published in 1928 and 1931[56] were the first systematic publications of Stein's Sogdian collection.

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OL' News: ODs and Ends

PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ, Cambridge (Mass.)

I met Nick for the first time in 1976, when, still an unknown in Iranist circles, I did a tour of Europe to introduce myself to other Iranists – what Dr. GERSHEVITCH would later refer to as my Grand Tour. At the time, I had already published my "Notes on the Dialects of Mīnāb and Hormoz," and my "Sogdian Notes" had just appeared, which I brought with me to present to Professor I. GERSHEVITCH and Nick in Cambridge.

During my student days in Olso, I had been working through S. KONOW and G. MORGENSTIERNE's libraries at the Indo-Iranian Institute of the University of Oslo. In time, I came to the Sogdian section and H. REICHELT's edition of the Sogdian *Ancient Letters*. I had already ploughed through the Middle Persian section with the inscriptions, and, while reading the Sogdian *Ancient Letters* from the facsimiles and W.B. HENNING's 1948 article on Letter II, came across what I decided must be the arameograms <OL> and <OL-ZK, OL-ZKw> in Letters II and IV. From the contexts, I also concluded that they must be read *par* and *par-ō*. Since, at the time, the first word of the address formula ("To …") was thought to be <OR> for <OL>, as suggested by R. GAUTHIOT,[1] and was still cited as such by HENNING,[2] I also decided that must be wrong: it must be read as <OD>, the standard arameogram for "to" in Middle Persian. Since HENNING did not mention any alternate views on this word,[3] I assumed there were none. Excited, I began writing this up, when Nick's article "Notes on Sogdian Palaeography" appeared, in which he argued for a return to A. COWLEY's reading of the word as the arameogram <OD>, originally accepted also by GAUTHIOT.[4] It was the first of a few occasions on which we thought alike and published one before the other. I was consoled by the fact that I had found <OL>, at least.

In the summer of 2007, however, URSULA SIMS-WILLIAMS showed me the letter from F.C. ANDREAS discussed here in her article. Beginning to read, I soon had a sinking feeling, knowing ANDREAS' talent for seeing things, and, yes, there it was! ANDREAS had spotted both the <OL> and the <OL-ZKw>. So, in

1 GAUTHIOT 1912, pp. 349–351, whose suggestion ('R for 'L) was quoted with approval by HENNING 1946, p. 717.
2 In the dedication of the article "*'R βyw xwt'w p'rnyt* [= Barnett]" (HENNING 1948, p. 601).
3 He referred to REICHELT's list of arameograms and added several more (HENNING 1948, p. 602, n. 2).
4 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1975, p. 136, n. 27; COWLEY 1911, p. 163; GAUTHIOT 1911, p. 506.

the end, both Nick's <OD> and my <OL> were old news. What is remarkable, however, is that HENNING not only did not mention COWLEY's <OD>, but, apparently, was also unaware of ANDREAS' <OL>.

Here, I would like to offer to one of my oldest friends this note on a use of Pahlavi *tā* <OD> which I also partly "rediscovered," but which has been little emphasized in the literature and is not registered in D.N. MACKENZIE's *Pahlavi dictionary* (1971) or in C.J. BRUNNER's *Syntax of Middle Iranian* (1977).[5]

Pahlavi *tā* (Manichean Middle Persian *dā*) is notoriously multivalent, both as a preposition and as a conjunction,[6] and to these various functions we should now add that of a postposition meaning 'except, unless'. It is also found as *bē ... tā*, which H.S. NYBERG correctly diagnosed as a "frame preposition" meaning 'except'[7] in the following passages from the *Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān* and the *Pahlavi Rivayat*:

> *az haft frazend ī Mihrōg* ***bē*** *man* ***tā*** *anīy*[8] *kas nē mānd estēd* "of the seven children of Mihrōg, except me, no one else is left" (*Kārnāmag* 12.21)[9]

> *pas az ān ī ka druz ō dām dwārist* ***bē*** *Zarduxšt* ***tā*** *az gētīyān kas-iz nē dīd haft kišwar* "after the Druz rushed upon the world, no one of the people in the world, except Zarduxšt, had seen the seven continents" (*Pahlavi Rivayat* 46.9)[10]

An occurrence of "*bē tā* ... 'except'" was registered by J. AMOUZGAR and A. TAFAZZOLI in their edition of *Dēnkard* 5, but the sentence should probably be analyzed differently:

> *ōzad ī mardōm* ***bē*** *ān ī andar kōšišn ud ēd *kū*[11] *rēš nē kunišn* ***tā*** *pad framān ī xwadāyān guft estēd* "the killing of people except in fights, and this, *that injury – it has been said – should not be caused until (ordered) by the command of the rulers" (*Dēnkard* 5.11.3)

The editors rendered this as "il ne faut tuer (personne) ni causer des blessures (à autrui) sauf dans le cas où l'ordre (est donné) par les seigneurs à l'exception

5 BRUNNER only discusses the conjunction, not the preposition.

6 See BRUNNER 1977, pp. 242–245, and cf. New Persian *tā* described in LAZARD 1963, pp. 425–426, 479–483.

7 NYBERG 1974, p. 189b.

8 I transcribe this word thus in view of the relatively frequent spelling <ZKydy> and the form *anīz* (Persian *nīz*). The development of final *-iya-* would be as in *mašīy* for Avestan *mašiia-*, *gētīy* for *gaēθiia-*, *ahurānīy* for *ahurānī* (Y.66.1), etc., all spelled with final <-yd> or <-ydy>.

9 SANJANA (1896, p. 63) edited <BRA L OD>, but translated as "up to now except myself" (p. 52), and this is apparently the interpretation of the passage adopted by F. GRENET (2003, pp. 114–115): *bē man tā [nūn] any kas*, but translation: "il n'est resté personne en dehors de moi". See also JAMASPASA/HINTZE (forthcoming).

10 The *tā* is found in the old parts of the manuscripts MR1 and J, but not in BK, which B.N. DHABHAR (1913, p. 130) and A.V. WILLIAMS (1990, pp. 162–163) followed. It is, however, the *lectio difficilior*.

11 Mss. *kē*. In the following, obvious editorial emendations are marked by an asterisk (*).

des combats," but, here, I believe, *bē* alone is 'except' and *tā* the regular preposition. If *bē ... tā* together meant 'except' here, we would expect *bē pad framān ī xwadāyān tā*.

Other examples of *bē ... tā* 'except' that I have noticed include the following:

With noun/adjective:

> *pas ēk-ēw az kust ī Xwarāsān āyēd wad-mard ... pad sarīh ī ōy andar Pārs mardōm bē abesihēnd.* ***bē*** *huzārag ī pad Kāzrūn drayā bārīhā* ***tā*** *bē nē mānēd az ān* "then one will come from Xwarāsān, a bad man ... during his leadership, people will be decimated in Pārs, and no one will remain of them, except a few on the shores of the sea of Kāzrūn" (*Bundahišn* 33.25)

With prepositional phrase:

> *zanīh* ***bē*** *pad ham-dādestānīh ī duxt* ***tā*** *nē bawēd* "(in that case) 'wifehood' does not occur except when the daughter agrees" (*Rivāyat ī Ādur-farrbay* 10.2)

> *ēk ēn kū pus-zāyišnīh warzišnīh andar šab* ***bē*** *pad abar-rōšnīh ī ātaxš ayāb star ayāb māh* ***tā*** *nē kunišn. čē wazurg petyarag awiš paywandīd estēd ud pad wīstom ī Huspāram ān ī andar tārīkīh warzīd frāy-*pādixšāyīh ī Gannāg Mēnōy*[12] *abar-iš ruwān nimūd estēd* "One is this: One should not 'make babies'[13] at night except in the light of the fire or the stars or the moon,[14] (for then) there is great adversity connected with it; in the 20th (section) of the Huspāram (nask) it is shown that, when one is 'made' in darkness, the Foul Spirit's command over its (the child's) soul is increased" (*Šāyest nē šāyest, Suppl.* 12.7)

> *ka-š murw-ēw ēwkardag abar bē abganēd* ***bē*** *pad rāh ī hamkarzag* ***tā*** *rēman nē bawēd* "if a bird 'throws' (sth.) on it that is 'connected' with it, it does not become unclean except by way of 'having a part in common' with it" (*Pahlavi Videvdad* 3.14)

> *Ohrmazd dām ī xwēš* ***bē*** *pad rāh ī apatītīh* ***tā*** *pad Gannāg Mēnōy bē nē hilēd* "Ohrmazd does not leave his own creatures to the Foul Spirit except when they

12 I regard the reading of this word as *mēnōg* as wrong. It is consistently spelled with <-wy> or <-wd> and hardly ever with final <-wk'>, except, perhaps, in late manuscripts, where it is just as likely to indicate final *-ō*. It represents both Avestan *mainiiu-* and *mainiiauua-*, but is formally derived from the latter. Similarly, *gētīy* is, in my opinion, a learned form of *gaēθiia-*, see above, n. 8. Both *mēnōy* and *gētīy* are nouns (common) and adjectives, as in *yazdān ī ahlawān ī mēnōyān ud gētīyān* for Avestan *yazatanąm aŋaonąm mainiiauuanąm gaēθiianąm* (*Yasna* 0.12) and *mēnōyān yazdān* "the gods of the other world" for Avestan *mainiiauuanąm yazatanąm*, as well as, I believe, originally, in the phrase *mēnōy xrad* "the *xrad* in the other world" (only later understood as *mēnōy ī xrad* "the 'spirit' of the *xrad*"). The Manichean term *mēnōgīh* denoting the material soul is not enough to invalidate the evidence of the Pahlavi spellings. The regular Pahlavi adjectives are *mēnōyīg* and *gētīyīg*, also not spelled with <-k->.

13 KOTWAL (1969, p. 28) has "the labour of child-birth," but I am not sure that *warzišnīh* can have this meaning, and KOTWAL does not give any parallels. On the other hand, *warz-* is well-attested in the sexual meaning.

14 Thus KOTWAL 1969, p. 28!

have not repented" ("The only way Ohrmazd leaves his own creatures ...") (*Šāyest nē šāyest* 8.23b)[15]

ud tā nē šōyēd wāz ōh gīrišn u-š dast šustan ***bē*** *pad gōmēz* ***tā*** *nē šāyēd* "and as long as she does not wash, she should observe the *bāj* in the usual way,[16] and she is not allowed to wash her hands except with *gōmēz*" (*Šāyest nē šāyest* 3.21b)[17]

With noun/pronoun plus relative clause:

ud pad ān dašt ***bē*** *jōrdāg ud xwarišnīg tis ī kārēnd ud drūnēnd ud padiš zīyēnd* ***tā*** *anīy drūnāy ud draxt ud urwar nēst* "and on that plain, except grain and eatable things that they sow and reap and live from, there are no other reapables, trees, or plants" (*Mēnōy xrad* 61.21)

ēdōn harw gyāg šnūman pādixšāy kerdan
ast kē ēdōn gōwēd hād ***bē*** *ān ī jud-ristagān šāyist* ***tā*** *pādixšāy kerdan*
"it is permissible to perform the *šnūman* (of the fire) in this way everywhere;
There is one who says: 'That is, it is permissible to perform it except (where?) it is OK for those of different customs (to attend?)'." (*Šāyest nē šāyest* 7.8)[18]

With subordinate clause:

ud ka-š abāz ō draxt ī mādagwar nē estēd ***bē*** *ka-š az bē ōbastan bīm* ***tā*** *frōd nē barēd* "and if the corpse does not reach back to the trunk of the tree (then), except when/if there is fear of falling, it does not carry the (impurity) downward" (*Šāyest nē šāyest* 2.29)

ēn xrafstarīhā čiyōn zamīgīg ast ud ābānīg-iz ast gōwēd kū xrafstar hamāg jādūg ud mār jādūgtar ***bē*** *agar-iš ōzanēnd* ***tā*** *nē *mīrēd*[19] "these (various) evil animals are, for instance, those living on the ground and those in the water; there is one who says: All the evil animals are sorcerers and the snake 'more sorcerer' (than the others); it does not die except if they *kill it" (*Bundahišn* 22.18)

I have also noticed an example with *jud ... tā* "other than, except":

az kišwar ō kišwar ***jud*** *pad parwānagīh yazdān ud warzāwandīh* ***tā*** *šudan nē šāyēd* "it is not possible to go from continent to continent other than by the permission of the gods and (= or) by miracle" (*Bundahišn* 8.4)

In addition to these examples of *bē (jud) ... tā* 'except', there are, however, also quite a few in which ... *tā* alone has this function. I noticed this use of *tā* while reading Pahlavi legal texts with Y. ELMAN of the New York Yeshiva University

15 TAVADIA: "except on account of non-repentance, till then, Ohrmazd does not leave His own creatures unto the 'Evil Spirit' ".
16 On this meaning of *ōh*, see SKJÆRVØ, forthcoming.
17 TAVADIA: "and [as to] the washing of her hands, except with cattle's urine, till then it is not allowed".
18 TAVADIA has "except [when] those which are different customs have been allowed, till then one is authorised to perform [as said above]".
19 Thus B.T. ANKLESARIA, who translates "unless they kill it"; the mss. have <YMRRWNyt'> *gōwēd*, presumably, for <YMYTWNyt'>.

and his student S. SECUNDA (PhD 2007), when it gradually became clear to me that this use of *tā* was unusual, but not entirely uncommon, and that it must have a special function. It seemed to me that this *tā* was, in fact, not a preposition or conjunction, but a postposition expressing limitation. This assumption later proved fruitful, as more and more examples came to light. Several are found in the *Hērbedestān*, which I shall discuss below. We thus have four idioms for 'except': *bē ...* (common), *bē ... tā*, *jud ... tā*, and ... *tā*.

The editors of the texts cited below all clearly recognized this aberrant use of *tā*; for instance, KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK listed it in the *Hērbedestān* glossary as "tā[2]," but analyzed it as a conjunction meaning 'note that, that is, then', giving the references 1.3, 2.5(?), 19.8,9 and passim[20] (p. 106). HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN rendered it as 'then'. TAVADIA in his translation of the *Šāyest nē šāyest* mostly rendered it as 'till then'.

With demonstrative pronoun plus relative clause:

ēn ān ī pad abd-kerdīh kerd estād ***tā*** *abārīg was šahr ud šahrestānīhā ud mānīhā kerd hēnd kē gugān dērang* "except/aside from these (= the preceding ones, which are) those that had been made miraculously, many other lands and cities and manors have been made, which (it would be) tedious (to list) individually" (*Bundahišn* 32.9)[21]

With subordinate clause:

ka ēwar dānēd kū daštān ***tā*** *jāmag hamāg bē guharīdan ud pad gyāg ī daštān bē nišast* "except when she knows for certain that she is menstruating, all her garments are to be changed,[22] and she is to sit in the place of menstruation" (*Šāyest nē šāyest* 3.6)[23]

Gōgušnasp guft hād mard ka (az?) hērbedestān kerdan wattar bē bawēd ***tā*** *hamē *ōy ī abzārōmandtar šawišn čē ēdōn nīrmattar* "Gōgušnasp said: OK, (but,)[24] except when a man becomes worse off (?) *by pursuing priestly training, the one

20 §2.5 does not have <OD>, however, but <wk>, as they point out and as edited by HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN (1990, §2.10). I think, perhaps, we should read *ēn az abestāg paydāg nē āsrō(g) ī *āmadag* [both mss. YATWNyt'k; for YHMTWNyt'k *rasīdag*?] *az rāh paymānag* "This is manifest from the Avesta: The measure (by which to judge the case) is not 'a priest who has come from the road'." The text referred to may be *Yasna* 42.6 *ān ī āsrōnān abāz-rasīšnīh yazam kē āyānd az dūr pad ahlāyīh-xwāhišnīh ō deh* "we offer up in sacrifice the return of *the priests, who shall come* from afar in search of Order for the land."
21 Here, B.T. ANKLESARIA renders *tā* as 'whereas'.
22 TAVADIA cites New Persian *gōharīdan* "to exchange, barter," which I suppose is rather *gōharīdan* and a later form of *wihir-*, Manichean Middle Persian *wihur-*, Parthian *wihir-* "change, confuse"(?). The Persian verb is in STEINGASS (1892, p. 1107) and DEHXODĀ's *Loγat-nāme* (1964, p. 601), which cites *Borhān-e qāte'* and *Ānandrāj*. EMMERICK (1968, p. 9) compares Khotanese *āphār-* "be disturbed", etc., with the Manichean forms.
23 TAVADIA: "till the changing of all her garments".
24 On the use of *hād* <HWEt'>, see SKJÆRVØ, forthcoming.

better equipped shall always go, for in this way it is more useful" (*Hērbedestān* 1.3.2)[25]

Here, HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN (§1.10) take *tā hamē* as an idiom meaning 'once and for all', while KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK have only 'then' (for *tā*) and (accidentally) do not translate *hamē*.

Several examples are found in chapter 19 of the *Hērbedestān*. The passage is interesting, although quite dense and with assumptions and implications that are sometimes hard to fathom, but worth-while quoting in extenso.[26] The issue at hand is whether a priest can teach people who sacrifice to evil gods *(daēuuas)* and people who have committed capital crimes. The Avestan text then suggests that it can be done if one has no other means of subsistence, but that there are specific rules for what kind of remuneration is permissible. In conclusion, the Avestan text quotes a harsh scriptural judgment of him who teaches the "holy word" to someone who has no faith in it. The chapter closes with a general discussion of the issues involved.

Hērbedestān 19.1 (19.1–2)
[Av.] *<kaŧ>*[27] *nā daēuuaiiasnāi vā tanu.pərəθāi vā *aēθriiāi cašāiti*
"Shall a man teach a student who sacrifices to the *daēuuas* or one whose body is forfeited?"

*čiyōn mard ō ōy ī dēwēsnān ud anērān ayāb ō *tanābuhlīgān ō margarzānān hāwišt ēw čāšēd ay ēd-iš čāšt.*
"'How can a man be supposed to teach[28] a pupil who is of *daēuuaiiasnas*' and non-Iranians, 'or to those guilty of a *tanābuhl* (sin)', (i.e.) to those worthy-of-death?
This means/implies that he is (already) teaching[29] him."

Hērbedestān 19.2 (19.3)
[Av.] *dahmō niuruzdō aδāitiiō.draonā*
(Yes, if he is) a qualified (priest), emaciated and (reduced to eating) a *draonah* that is not according to the law –

25 Less likely *wattar … tā *hamāg* "worse than all".
26 The paragraph numbers are after KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, those of HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN 1990 in parenthesis.
27 Pahlavi *čiyōn mard* = §18.1, where the Avestan has *kaŧ nā*. – I need not provide a complete critical apparatus here, which is found in the two editions.
28 The Avestan subjunctive appears to be rendered by the Pahlavi "hortative" construction with *ēw*, although I do not think this is common in questions. KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992: "How (is it), may a man …", but in §18.1 they have "How shall a man …" (alternately, read: *hāwišt-ēw*). HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN (1990) do not translate *čiyōn*.
29 Or short for *ēd-iš čāšt bawēd* "this is being taught by him"? Both manuscripts have *čāšt*. HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN (1990) and KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK (1992) both emend to **čāšēd*, but the emendation is not indispensable. The form *čāšt* appears to be used as 3rd singular indicative also elsewhere.

pad ān zamān ka dahm [Av.] niuruzd *adādīhā-*sūrīh*[30] *kū *nē nān nē gōšt nēst.*
At the time when 'a qualified (priest, being) *niuruzd*, has only meals that are not according to the law', i.e., he has neither bread nor meat –

Hērbedestān 19.3 (19.4)
[Av.] *dāitiiehe draonaŋhō *upa.jåŋha*
(thinking:) Let me *come upon (= find) some[31] *draonah* that is according to the law!

ān ī dādīhā sūr abar-rasišnīh rāy kū tā-m bawād.
'in order for a meal according to the law to arrive', (i.e., thinking:) so that I may have some!

There is a text-critical problem here. The manuscripts have HJ *upa.janåŋha*, TD *upa.jnåŋha*, but the Pahlavi translation shows that the *-n-* is probably spurious, and the editors emend to *upa.jasa-*: KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK to *upa.jasåŋhe* 'you may obtain', while HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN assume an omission: *upa.ja<sōiŧ … drao>naŋhō*. It is simpler to emend to 1st singular aorist subjunctive *upa.jåŋha* (for *jaŋha*?) 'I shall come upon'.[32] Other forms of *ja(ŋ)ha* are:

1. 3rd plural aorist subjunctive *jaŋhənti*, Pahlavi *rasēd* in *Videvdad* 2.22: *auui ahūm astuuaŋtəm ayəm zimō jaŋhəntu*[33] "evil[34] winters shall come upon the existence with bones", Pahlavi *abar ō ox ī astōmand ān <ī> wattar zamestān rasēd* "a bad winter will come upon the existence with bones".

30 Thus the editors. Both mss. *sālārīh* 𐭮𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭥 for *sūrīh* 𐭮𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭥, but the usual rendering of Avestan *draonah* is *sūr*.
31 With partitive genitive as opposed to the accusative of goal of motion in *Videvdad* 6.27: *vīspəm ā ahmāŧ yaδōiŧ upa.jasōiŧ iristəm tanūm* "until he comes upon (= reaches) the dead body," Pahlavi *hamē az ān tā ka ēdōn bē rasād ō ōy rist tan* "until he, in this manner, comes to the dead body." Cf. *mā ciš mē áŋhąm zaoθranąm fraŋ°harāŧ* "Let no one consume any (part) of these libations of mine" (*Yašt* 10.122).
32 Less likely, perhaps, "let me devour," cf. *Yasna* 10.15: *yā taŧ yaŧ haomahe draonō nigāŋhənti nišhiδaiti* "she who sits down devouring the *draonah* which belongs to Haoma", Pahlavi *kē ēdōn ān ī hōm sūr ō jōyišn bē nihēd hōm drōn kū nē yazēd ud ōh xwarēd* "'she who puts down the meal of the Hōm to be devoured', (i.e.) she does not offer it up in sacrifice, but eats it in the usual way".
33 Less likely, I think, **jaŋhəntu* "let come!" after Pt2 *zaŋhəntu*. KELLENS 1984, p. 394.
34 The form *ayəm* goes metrically with *zimō* and should be emended to **aya;* no doubt, it has its ending from the preceding words. In manuscript E10, the verb, too, has this ending: *zaŋhəntəm*. Cf. also *Videvdad* 19.30: *hā druuatąm ayəm uruuānō təmō.huua nizaršaite* "she drags the evil souls of those possessed by the Lie down into the darknesses", where *ayəm uruuānō* is either for the nominative *aya uruuānō* or the accusative *ayə urunō*. The form *aya* is found only with nouns in *-a* (singular feminine *daēna*, nominative plural *aiβištāra, yātauua, anāpərəθa šiiaoθna, aniia … šiiaoθna*), except *Yašt* 19.87: *uta aniiāsciŧ aya dužuuaŋdrauuō xšiaonāŋhō*, with its ungrammatical *aniiāsciŧ*. See also SKJÆRVØ 2008b.

2. 3rd singular subjunctive *jahāṯ*[35] in *Niyāyišn* 1.1: *aētaṯ jahāṯ ahurəm mazdąm* "let this (now) come to Ahura Mazdā", Pahlavi *ēdar bē rasēd dādār ohrmazd* "here, Ohrmazd the creator shall come".

Hērbedestān 19.4:
[Av.] *pairi.gərəptaiiāṯ paiti zəmanaiiā nōiṯ aipi.gərəptaiiāṯ*[36] *paiti*
"(shall teach him, but only) in return for payment that has been received, not in return for (payment) to be received afterward."

*abar-bē-grift mizd ēd čāšēd kū *pašt*[37] *pad *ēd <ī> grift ma an-abar-bē-grift mizd kū-š nē gīrēd.*
"He teaches this[38] for 'a fee received up-front'; i.e., the *agreement (was) for this that he has received, (so) let it not (be) for a fee 'not received up-front', i.e. (thinking:) he will not receive (any)."

Hērbedestān 19.5:
[Av.] *cuuaiti še aēša zəmana aŋhaṯ yaθa gāuš frauuaiti*[39]
"How much is the payment for this? As much as a *heifer."

**čand*[40] *ān pad ān [ī] mizd ast čiyōn gāw-*ēw frawād*[41] *mizd ī ēk-rōzīg-ēw.*
" 'How much is the fee for that?[42] Like a *frawād* cow', for one one-day's fee."

Hērbedestān 19.6
[Av.] *vəhrkāi hizuuąm daδāiti yō azrazdāi *mąθrəm*[43] *cašte*
"He gives a tongue to the wolf who teaches the holy word to an unbeliever."

35 The old Xorde Avesta manuscript Jm4 (1352) has *jahāṯ*, which GELDNER (1889) preferred; manuscript F1 has *jiϑāṯ*, followed by BARTHOLOMAE (1904, col. 495), who took the form to be a desiderative (also KELLENS 1984, pp. 197–198 with n. 2, p. 256, n. 10). KELLENS *apud* TARAF (1981, p. 111) also suggested the alternative analysis as aorist optative **jaŋϑāṯ*. HOFFMANN and FORSSMAN (1996, pp. 189, 192) read **jiŋϑāṯ* present subjunctive. At any rate, the assumption that the *-ŋ-* was lost already in the ancestor of all the manuscripts is problematic.

36 The editors' emendation to *a-pairi.gərəptaiiāṯ* is unnecessary, since *aipi-* makes perfect sense. Cf. *Yasna* 29.4: *yā zī vāuuərəzōi pairī.ciϑīṯ ... yācā varəšaitē aipī.ciϑīṯ* (uncertain meaning), Pahlavi *kē-šān warzīd pēš-īz ... kē-īz warzēnd pas* "which they have produced both before ... and which they will produce hereafter". Note the coincidence(?) that the Avestan verb *ciϑ-*, *cōiϑ-* is routinely rendered by *čāš-* 'teach', found also in the Pahlavi version of *Hērbedestān* 19.4.

37 Both manuscripts have *pušt*, retained by the editors.

38 Or, if for *ē čāšēd*, "let him teach."

39 The word is found in *Videvdad* 9.37–38 in a list of what it costs to purify people: a priest for a Dahmā Āfriti, a land-lord for a first-class male camel, a tribe-lord for a first-class stallion, a town-lord for a first-class bull, a house-lord for a fertile cow *(gao azī)*, a house-lady for a heifer *(gāuš paiti frauuaitiiā)*, servants(?) for a draught-cow *(gao vaziiā)*, and the smallest child for a sheep.

40 Both mss. *znd*. Cf. the *Pursišnīhā* passage cited below.

41 TD *gāw a frawād*, HJ *gāw a-frawād*.

42 Here, *ān* renders *še*, and *pad ān* glosses *ān*.

43 Both mss. *meθrəm*.

*gurg uzwān dahēd kē ō ōy ī *arawāg*[44]*-dahišn ī anēr *mānsr čāšēd.*
" 'He gives the tongue to a wolf who teaches the holy word to one who does not give (it) currency', a non-Iranian."[45]

Hērbedestān 19.6.1
ast kē gurg ahlomoy gōwēd.
"There is one who says 'wolf' is an *ahlomoy*."

A more elaborate version of the preceding statement and commentary is found in the *Pursišnīhā*:

Pursišnīhā 6[46]
*Pursišn. mānsr abestāg zand wizīr ud dādwarīh ō wināhgārān ud *abārōnān ud ahlomoyān čāšīdan šāyēd ayāb nē.*
*Passox. nē. čē-š gurg uzwān dād *bawēd. az abestāg paydāg* [Avestan:] vəhrkāi hizuuąm daδāiti yō azrazdāi mąθrəm *cašte *gurg ud ahlomoy uzwān dahēd ān rāy andar gēhān stahmbagtar bawēd kē ō ōy ī ahlomoy mānsr čāšēd.*
"Question. Is it allowed to teach the decisions and judgments of the holy word, Avesta and the *zand*, to sinners and bad people and heretics?
Answer. No! For (as soon as he does) he will have given the tongue to a wolf (as well).[47] It is manifest from the Avesta: 'He gives the tongue to the wolf who teaches the holy word to one who has no confidence in it'. He gives a tongue to the wolf and to the heretic. Thereby, he becomes more oppressive in the world (or: the wolf becomes more oppressive in the herds), he who (= if he) teaches the holy word to a heretic."

Hērbedestān 19.6.1 is then followed by statements about the meaning and implications of the Avestan text and its Pahlavi translation and glosses, much of which is repetition.

First, it is stressed that teaching is permissible only when the priest has no food [cf. § 19.2] and is unable to obtain any *by asking for it*, which, presumably, clarifies the statement in § 19.3.

44 HJ OLE Y ' [new line] 'lw'γ, TD OLE' 'lw'γ. Cf. *Yasna* 0.10: *zarazdātōiš mąθrahe spəṇtahe* "of the confidence in the divine word", Pahlavi *rawāg-dahišnīh ī mānsrspand* "the setting in motion of the *mānsrspand*".

45 Like the 'eater' in *Yasna* 11, who robs the Haoma of its sacrificial offering: *Yasna* 11.3–5 *haomō x*āšārəm zauuaiti ... us mē pita haomāi draonō frārənaoṯ ahurō mazdā aŋauua haŋ*harəne maṯ hizuuō hōiiumca dōiθrəm yō mąm taṯ draonō zināṯ* "The haoma curses the eater ... My father sent forth to me, the haoma, as *draonah* – (he) Ahura Mazdā, sustainer of Order – the cheeks together with the tongue, as well as the left eye. He who robs me of that *draonah* ..."

46 Ed. JAMASPASA/HUMBACH 1971, pp. 14–16. See also *Dēnkard* 6 C28: *ēn-iz ēdōn kū ō wattarān ud ahlomoyān zand abestāg nē čāšišn čē wināh andar gēhān rawāgīh wēš bawēd kē ō wattarān ud ahlomoyān zand abestāg čāšēd* "this too is thus: one should not teach the Avesta with *zand* to bad people and heretics, for, he who teaches the Avesta with *zand* to bad people and heretics – (then) sin will gain greater currency in the world" (SHAKED 1979, pp. 156–157).

47 The construction of the type *dād bawēd* is common in the meaning of "as soon he does one thing, he will have effected another thing, as well".

In such a situation, he is permitted to teach for *up to* the price of a heifer per day [cf. §19.5], which sounds excessive, but may have been considered a reasonable price to exact from infidels and criminals. Alternately, the word no longer has its literal meaning, but is simply used as a word for some sort of payment.

There follows a discussion about the meaning of §19.4, no doubt intended to clarify the implications of the terms *abar-bē-grift* and *an-abar-bē-grift* and their relationship to the eating (of the cow?) and the asking for (food?). According to the main opinion, once he has satisfied his hunger, he has to discontinue the teaching immediately, although there is a dissenting opinion.

Note here the alternation of *ka … tā* and *bē ka …* "except when":

Hērbedestān 19.7 (19.9–13)
ēn az abestāg paydāg
ān bawēd ka[48] *nē nān ud nē gōšt nēst u-š pad anīz*[49] *tis xwāst nē tuwān*
tā ō gāw-ēw ī frawād mizd ēk-rōzag pādixšāy čāšīd
ka bē stad ***tā*** *xwardan nē pādixšā*[50]
ka andar grift pad anīz tis tuwān xwāstan nē pādixšā ***bē*** *ka bē hišt*
ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ay hād pādixšā ka nē hišt
"This is manifest from the *Avesta*: [= this text]
That (case) obtains when he has no bread or meat[51] and he cannot seek (any) by any other means.
(For) up to a *frawād* cow as a one day's fee he is authorized to teach.
(But,) except when he has taken (possession of?) it, he is not authorized to eat (it?).[52]
When it is °undertaken/promised *(andar grift)*, he is not authorized to ask (for any food) by any other means, except when (the pupil) has been let go.[53]
There is one who says as follows: That is, OK, (but) he *is* authorized (to do so also) when he has *not* (yet) been let go."

48 This is a common expression (HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN 1990: "This applies when") and need not be emended to °*any bawēd ka* "it makes a difference if" (KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, pp. 82–83).

49 Mss. *yšn'c* ꬉꬽꬱ. HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN 1990 and KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992 emend to ꬉꬽꬱ <AHRNc> *anīz*, parallel to the expression just below. An emendation to °*gišnag-iz* "even a little bit", with which I toyed, is less likely.

50 TD omits *nē pādixšā*.

51 Compare also *Niyāyišn* 3.10: *dasta gāuš x°āθrō.nahīm* "give … of comfort for the cow!", Pahlavi *u-mān dahēd gōšt ud xwad-sūrīh kū-mān nān bād u-mān az tis ī xwēš bawād* "'and he gives us meat and our own meal', i.e., let us have bread, and let us have some from our own °means!"

52 KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, p. 83: "But when he has accepted it, it is *still* not lawful (for him) to eat it"; HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN (§19.11): "When (the cow/animal) has been taken away from someone else (by the disciple) *then* (the tacher) is not allowed to eat/accept (it)."

53 The terms *bē stad* and *andar grift* may be the normal expressions for the earlier *abar-bē-gərəpta* and *an-abar-bē-grift*, which are etymologizing renderings of *pairi.gərəpta* and *aipi.*

Both HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN (§19.10) and KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK understand *tā ō gāw-ēw ī frawād* as "Then, for (the fee of) one F. cow," understanding *tā* as "then," which is incorrect, as is the assumption that *ō* can express the price. Rather, *tā ō* seems to express the limit of the size of the fee.

To conclude chapter 19, the incrimination the teacher risks in teaching the two categories of sinners, criminals and infidels, is discussed in order to determine which cases are clear and which need to be "tested" specifically.

According to the redactor of the text, the two cases differ: When teaching a criminal ("sinner"), it makes a difference whether he is aware of incurring a sin. If he is aware, he can teach under extreme circumstances. The implication appears to be that if he is not aware, then he can teach, but he risks investigation and may be found guilty. Teaching an infidel, however, always makes him guilty, but can be done under extreme circumstances.

Hērbedestān 19.8 (19.14–16)
ay ēn andar warōmandīh-ēw ka nē dānēd kū wināh padiš kerd ayāb nē
ka dānēd kū wināh padiš kerd ***bē*** *pad margīh ud rištagīh*[54] ***tā*** *nē pādixšā čāšīdan*
tā-y-iz[55] °*dārūg*[56] *juttar nēst*
ō ahlomoγān pad margīh ud rištagīh ***tā*** *nē pādixšā čāšīdan*
This means that (only) this is the one case for testing, (namely,) when he does not know whether a sin is incurred thereby or not.
When he knows that a sin is incurred thereby, he is not authorized to teach, except in (the case of danger of) death and injury (to himself if he does not teach).[57]
Even as long as (there is) a °cure, (the decision) is not different.[58]
He is not authorized to teach *ahlomoy*s (heretics), except in (the case of danger of) death and injury.

54 KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK (1992) read °*raxtagīh* for the manuscripts' *rištagīh* (see p. 33, n. 25). The variant reading <l'htkyh>, which they quote from the *Pahlavi Videvdad* 5.4, does not seem to exist. JAMASP (1907, p. 144, n. 67) ascribes it to SP(RENGLING) and DPS (DARAB PESHOTAN SANJANA, who, in fact, has <lyštkyh> with the diacritic: ꬉꬽꬱꬰꬲꬳ), but the manuscripts have <lyštkyh> or <lštkyh> (both with <š> = <yh>).

55 Both manuscripts have (1st) ꬉꬽꬱ, (2nd) ꬉꬽꬱ.

56 Both manuscripts distinguish this word as ꬉꬽꬱꬲꬳ (TD) and ꬉꬽꬱꬲꬳ (HJ) from ꬉꬽꬱꬲꬳ (HJ ꬉꬽꬱꬲꬳ) in §19.9. The editors emend the former. Conceivably, *šīrōg* could be 'elixir' or similar, but scribes have a tendency to misspell an unexpected and repeated word the first time they have to write it, but then get it right the second (or third) time.

57 Here, KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK (1992) have "except in the case of death and disease" and *tā* as 'note that'; HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN have *tā* 'then'.

58 HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN do not translate the first *juttar*, but render the second as 'otherwise'; KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK (1992) render both as 'other'. The phrase *juttar nēst* is common, however, and means "it is not different (in the case of)." See the references in KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, p. 101. For instance, in §3.5 *andar anīy kerdan juttar nē bawēd*, KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK have "as for acting differently," while HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN (§3.6) "the case is not different." Cf. KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, §11.2 "… does not differ (from the above)".

Hērbedestān 19.9 (19.17–20):
There is a dissenting opinion ascribed to Farrox, in which two exceptions (rather than one) to the requirement for testing are proposed, but the bottom line is that the *only* excuse for teaching a criminal are extreme circumstances, and, for teaching an infidel, even that is not an excuse. Thus Farrox is considerably stricter than the redactor. Note here the alternation *ka … tā* and *bē ka … tā* "except when":

> *Farrox guft ēn pad ēwarīh ka dānēd kū-š wināh padiš nē kerd* ***tā*** *warōmandīh*
> *ay ka dānēd kū-š wināh padiš kerd* ***tā*** *warōmandīh*
> *ay*[59] ***bē*** *ka pad margīh ud rištagīh* ***tā*** *nē pādixšā čāšīdan*
> *tā-y-iz dārūg juttar nēst*
> *ō*[60] *ahlomoyān pad margīh ud rištagīh nē pādixšā čāšīdan.*
> "Farrox said: 'This is a matter for testing, except when he knows with certainty that he has *not* committed a crime thereby.'[61]
> That (also?) means that it is a matter for testing, except when he *knows* that he has committed a crime thereby.
> That is, he is not permitted to teach *except* in (the case of danger of) death and injury.
> Even as long as (there is) a (potential) cure, (the decision) is not different.
> He is *not* permitted to teach *ahlomoy*s (even) in (the case of danger of) death and injury."

To make sense of *ka dānēd kū-š wināh padiš nē kerd tā warōmandīh*, HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN emended it to read **ka nē dānēd kū-š wināh padiš kerd ayāb nē tā warōmandīh* "But if he does not know whether or not an offence was thereby committed, then the case is doubtful," which is the opposite of what they thought the manuscript text has. Perhaps it made no sense to them that the case should be in doubt when the person knew for certain.

The editors have had problems with ascertaining who is dead or injured. HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN assume the reference is to *causing* death and injury and that it is the heretics who have caused death and injury that are not allowed to be taught. KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK treat the phrase as characterizing heretics in general and suggest they may be taught if there is no other way of counteracting their evil influence.

The only mitigating factor for willfully exposing oneself to potential sinfulness, however, must be danger of death or injury to oneself. The existence of a potential cure for the injury does not change anything.

The syntax of this *tā* is like that of the conjunction, as shown by the following three examples, all with *bē ka … tā*:

59 HJ <'y>, TD <Y>.
60 Not TD.
61 Or: Farrox said: This (the following/preceding?) is with certainty: It is a matter for testing, except …"

> *ka pad dast-ēw mard-ēw nasāy bē čandēnēd ud nasāy az ān ī sag dīd* ***bē*** *ān ēwtom ka-š hamāg bē čandēnīd* ***tā****-š pad pixag nē šōyišn* "When a man disturbs a body with one hand and the corpse is one of those a dog has seen, then he *(-š)* need not wash with a *pixag*,[62] with the one exception that he has disturbed the whole (body)" (*Šāyest nē šāyest* 2.71)

> *zan-ēw ka daštān az gāh ul šawēd ud pas rēman wēnēd*
> *ud ka-š ābustanīh ēwar bē ka-š nasāy būdan paydāg ēg-iš pad gōmēz ud āb šōyišn*
> *ud ka-š ābustanīh nē ēwar pad daštān dārišn.*
> *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ay* ***bē*** *ka nasāy būdan ēwar paydāg* ***tā****-š pad daštān dārišn.*
> *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ay ka pad nasāy būdan gumānīg ā-š pad *pixag šōyišn.*
> "If a menstruous women gets up from her seat and then sees she is unclean,
> and if it is obvious that she is pregnant, except if it is certain that she has aborted, she should wash with *gōmēz* and water;
> and if it is not obvious that she is pregnant, she should regard (herself ?) as menstruant.
> There is one who says: The meaning is that, except if it is certain that she has aborted, she should regard herself (?) as menstruant.
> There is one who says: The meaning is that, when there is doubt whether there is abortion, she should wash with a *pixag*. (*Šāyest nē šāyest* 3.22–24)

> *ka rēš paydāg adādīhā sālārīh paydāg* ***bē*** *ka ēwarīh hamist abāg dārēd* ***tā****-š pad sar*[63] *bē *brīnišn*[64] "When an injury is manifest (and) it is manifest that custody was not kept according to the law, except when (= unless) he has (= carries) some evidence (to the contrary?) with him, he should be 'cut on his head'"[65] (*Hērbedestān* 9.8 [9.17])

Parthian *tāž*:
The normal Parthian equivalent of Middle Persian *dā*, *tā (ō)* is *yad (yad ō)*, but a form *tā-ž* <t'c>, is attested a few times that has been compared with Pahlavi *tā*,[66] but could also be directly from a form such as **tāwa-čit* "for so long, so

62 According to KOTWAL (1969, p. 165, no. 747) a nine-knotted stick fitted with a spoon and used during the *baršnūm* ceremony.
63 Cf. the similar use of *pad* in *Dēnkard* 9.21.5: *ud ēn-iz kū ān ī pad kēr ud gund ā-t bē az ābusīh kerd* "And this, too, that, by (removing? his) penis and testicles, you excluded him from having sons," see SKJÆRVØ 2008a, p. 540.
64 Reading 𐭯𐭮𐭫𐭮𐭭 <PSKWNšn'>. Manuscripts: HJ 𐭯𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭭 <pspnšn'>, TD 𐭯𐭮𐭬𐭮𐭭 <psycnšn'>. HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN emend to <'>pspršn', **abēspārišn* (with an impossible <-r-> for <-l->; usually the word is written 𐭯𐭮𐭫𐭫𐭮𐭭 <'psp'lšn'> *abespārišn*) and KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK to **passāzišn* (𐭯𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭭 <ps'c'šn'>). In *Nīrangestān*, chap. 47, however, HJ has <PSKWN-> written correctly several times, but five times in five consecutive lines as <PSPWN-> (fol. 127v1–5; KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 2003, p. 204).
65 HUMBACH and ELFENBEIN: "except when he has definitely kept (the child) with him throughout, until the (child's) final *(pad sar)* reconsignment"; KOTWAL and KREYENBROEK (reading **ēwar-iš*) "except if he has definitely kept (the child) peacefully [*hamist*] with him: then the matters should be examined afresh."
66 BRUNNER 1977, p. 245; SUNDERMANN 1981, p. 171.

much so that" or similar. It is remarkably similar to *tā-y-iz* 'even as long as' in *Hērbedestān* 19.8–9 (above).

According to the editors of the Parthian texts, its function appears to be to express a wish, much like Pahlavi *kāč ka* 'if only, would that',[67] followed by the indicative or subjunctive, although the meaning '(for) as long as' or 'so much so that' could also, conceivably, fit the passages.

Mir.Man. iii, text b 154–9 (= M5815 II Rii 18–23)
*[u-m imīn saxwan] ō tō nibišt čē zānām kū tō pad man kerbag šād *ayē.*[68]*
***tāž** yazd karēnd ud mārī mānī farrah kū āwadīn az ud tō žīwām pad harw šahr ud rōdestāg čē abar pahrβar ispasagā[n] ud āmōžāgān hirzān*
And [I] have written [these words] to you because I know that you are happy with my good deeds,
*as long as the gods and Mārī Mānī's glory make (it so) that you and I will live so long in every land and province over which I shall leave bishops and teachers as guardians!

Mir.Man. iii, text m 45–49 (= M39 Vi 1–5)
[tu]xšēd ašmāh niyōšāgān. nawāg nawāg kerbag aβyāwēd
***tāž** sanēd ō bayān ārām ud bawēd šād pad nawāg šahrān*
Work hard, you hearers! Add ever new good deeds,
*so long so that you will rise up to the peace of the gods and become happy in the new aeons!

MKG 1747–9 (= M5671 + M5055 Rii)
*[tu]xšēnd ud wxā[žēn]d ud [...]ēnd kū **tāž** andar [... w]indād karām*
They work hard and strive and ... (thinking): (we will do it) so long that we shall succeed in finding ... in ...!

MKG 1754–6 (= M5671 + M5055 Rii)
[... tā]ž imīn panǰ [īr]ān kadāž andar im zādmurd windād karēnd
[...] *as long as they shall succeed in finding these five things in this cycle of rebirths.

MKG 723–6 (= M4576 Vi 7–10)
*ud ahrimen pad hō rask burd k[ū]-š **tāž** až kerbag kerdag[ān frām]arag kerd karān*
And Ahrimen envied him, (thinking): *As long as I may succeed in making him forget all good deeds!

MKG 1210–6 (= M4574 Ri 1–7)
wasnāδ ba'at zarād kū čē wasnāδ društ nē būd.
čē was kār nē zānēnd kū ō ba'at maran kāmād.
*haw-iž padičihr wxāšt kū-š **tāž** pad dādestān andarbed karān*

67 DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 321b.
68 I cannot make up my mind how to transcribe <'yy> 'you are'. Older *ahi* (mostly enclitic, no doubt) could conceivably have become *a'ī* or *ay*, although I find it unlikely, and I would expect *-ē* (thus GHILAIN 1939, p. 113). It is more likely, perhaps, that it is an analogical form *ayē* remade from a stem *a-* extracted from *ahēm* (beside *hēm*), etc.

He got angry because of Ba'at, (saying): 'Why did he not become well?'
For many do not know that he wished death upon Ba'at.
Accordingly, he strove (for this, thinking): "As long as I can make him (my) mediator in court!"

The potentialis construction seen in *[w]indād karām* is rare in Parthian and Middle Persian, but it may be of interest to compare an example found in the inscription of Šābuhr Sagān-šāh at Persepolis in a text similar to the one in *Mir. Man.* iii, text b:

ŠPs II 4–9
u-m āfrīn kard kū šābuhr ī šāhān šāh mardān pahlom anōšag ud ǰāwēd-šahr bād
ud šābuhr ī sagān šāh dagr zīyād ud hamē kard kunād *kē yazdān ud šābuhr ī šāhān šāh xūb sahād*
ud an-iz bandag ēd kard kunān *čē yazdān ud awēšān bayān šābuhr ī šāhān šāh kerbag [sah]ād*
And I made a blessing (to the effect) that: May Šābuhr, king of kings, the best of men, be immortal and rule forever!
And may Šābuhr Sagān šāh live long and always succeed in doing what shall seem good to Šābuhr, king of kings!
And may I, too, (their) servant, succeed in doing this which shall seem a good deed to Šābuhr, king of kings!"

In this Middle Persian text, however, no introductory particle is used.

The etymology of the preposition/conjunction was discussed by Nick in his article, who made various suggestions to account for the different forms in Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Choresmian, and Bactrian.[69] For instance, Sogdian *at* could be from **ati* while **atā*, "a contamination of **ati* 'beyond' and **tā* 'until'," would account for Sogdian *atā* and Manichean Middle Persian *dā*.

Middle Persian *tā*, however, would have to be derived from a form with initial *t-*, which is hard to reconcile with its function as subordinate conjunction, since one would expect a preform derived from the relative stem *ya-* or *yā-* as in Old Persian *yātā* 'until'. One possibility is to postulate a **yatā*, which would account for Parthian *yad* and, perhaps, for *tā* if we postulate early loss of the first syllable.[70]

What worries me about this is the survival of the final *-ā* as such in Middle Persian. The same holds for derivation directly from **tā*, although a form **tāt* might survive as *tā*, if *ā-* is from **āt*. More probably, the "restrictive" *tā* is not unlikely to be descended from **tāwat* 'so much' in some special usage. Middle Persian may therefore have had two forms, *tā* and *dā*, which were reduced to one: *tā* in Middle Persian (and New Persian) and *dā* in Manichean Middle Persian.

69 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1975, pp. 137–139.
70 For these various suggestions, see ibid. with footnotes.

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Ein manichäischer Traktat über und wider die Christen*

Werner Sundermann, Berlin

Ich widme diesen Aufsatz einem Kollegen und Freund seit mehr als drei Jahrzehnten, der meine Arbeit stets helfend und fördernd begleitet hat und dessen wissenschaftliches Werk ich als bewundernder Zeuge entstehen und wachsen sah. Eine seiner vielen glücklichen Entdeckungen ist ein christlicher polemischer Text, der sich offensichtlich gegen die Manichäer richtet und der, seiner soghdischen Sprache wegen, einzigartig ist.[1] Heute möchte ich ihm danken mit der Edition eines Gegenstückes, des mittelpersischen manichäischen Textes M 627, der sich gegen die Christen wendet und aus diesem Grunde Gegenstände ihrer Lehre und Kultpraxis bespricht.

M 627[2] ist ein Fragment aus einem Codex-Buch. Es mißt 15,3 × 15,1 cm in Höhe und Breite. Es ist beidseitig zu zwei Kolumnen von je 5 bis 5,4 cm Breite beschrieben. Der Zeilenabstand beträgt nahezu 0,8 cm. Über die Maße des Blattes in seinem unversehrten Zustand lassen sich nur Vermutungen anstellen. Wenn es nicht quadratische Maße hatte und wenn die Blattbreite von 15,1 cm dem ursprünglichen Zustand nahe kommt, dann kann man, das häufige Größenverhältnis 2:1 von Höhe und Breite vorausgesetzt, mit einer Blatthöhe von wenigstens 30 cm rechnen, und von den besterhaltenen Kolumnen müßten mindestens 19 Zeilen gänzlich verlorengegangen sein.

Meine mutmaßliche Bestimmung der Recto- und der Verso-Seite des Blattes ist allein aus dem Inhalt, genauer gesagt, aus miteinander in Verbindung setzbaren Wörtern erschlossen. Meine Überlegung ist, daß die Vorderseite mit einer Beschreibung der doketischen Natur Christi endet. Dabei kommen die Wörter m'yg „Weib", z'd „geboren" und wzrgyb „Größe" vor. Die Rückseite beginnt mit einem Abschnitt, der die Wörter m'yg „Weib", z'ynynd „sie gebären" oder „lassen geboren werden/gebären" und vermutlich wzrgyb „Größe" enthält. Ich vermute, daß mit diesem Teil die Ausführungen über die doketische Natur Christi zu Ende gehen, so daß mit ihm die Rückseite des Blattes beginnt.

* Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst und Christiane Reck danke ich für wertvolle Hinweise und wichtige Richtigstellungen.

1 Sims-Williams 2003.

2 Vgl. Boyce 1960, S. 43.

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Abb. 1: M 627 recto

Spuren einer Zeichnung oder eines ornamentalen Schriftzuges sind in der oberen, linken Ecke der Vorderseite (d.h. am Außenrand des Fragments) erkennbar.

Vom Text des Fragments wurden die Zeilen /V/i/6–13/ von LENTZ publiziert (WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, S. 602) und /V/i/6–9/ von WEBER (1970, S. 17) zitiert. Ich edierte die Zeilen /R/ii/2–17/ (SUNDERMANN 2002, S. 212–213).[3]

3 In allen bisherigen Textbearbeitungen sind die Recto- und die Verso-Seite umgekehrt bestimmt worden. Bei LENTZ und WEBER ist die Zeilenzahl gegenüber der hier angegebenen um zwei größer, weil sie zwei Leerzeilen nach /V/5/ mitgezählt haben.

M 627 enthielt offenbar Teile von drei bis vier Kapiteln, die der Auseinandersetzung mit der Lehre der Christen gewidmet waren:
1. Recto /i/1–10/ Über die christliche Abendmahlslehre,
2. Recto /ii/1–20/, Verso /i/1–5/ Über die doketische Natur Christi,
3. Verso /i/6–18/ Über die Mißachtung der Sonne durch die Christen,
4. Verso /ii/1–13/ Über die göttliche Trinität(?).

Das zweite Kapitel war vom dritten durch zwei Leerzeilen getrennt (zwischen /V/i/5 und 6/), und ebenso scheinen am Ende des ersten Abschnittes (/R/i/10/) Leerzeilen gefolgt zu sein, so daß diese Gliederung des Werkes generell gegolten haben dürfte.

Das dritte Kapitel (Über die Mißachtung von Sonne und Mond) wird in diesem Werk als das sechste bezeichnet. Daraus folgt, daß an seinem Anfang drei ganze Kapitel verlorengegangen sind und daß meine Abschnitte eins bis vier eigentlich die Kapitel vier bis sieben sind.

Leider konnte ich keine ergänzenden Stücke oder auch nur Fragmente, die dieselbe Handschrift tragen, entdecken.[4]

(Recto)

i/1/	[7–9](t)w"n[5]	[ ]
2/	(.)[7–9 yy](š)tg	[*Bro]t
3/	'(.)[5–7]b 'y	[ ] die
4/	'ndr dyn 'ystynd h"n	in der Religion stehen, jene (Gaben(?)),
5/	'y wcydg'n (')[s](t)'nynd	die die Erwählten [ergr]eifen.
6/	'whyc (2–3) ['](g)[r](')yb(?)	So auch (ist) die *(Würde)(?)
7/	'yg yyštg 'wd j'm	des geistigen *Brotes und Kelchs
8/	w'xšyg 'wd 'y yyštg	und des leiblichen *Brotes
9/	'wd j'm 'yg tnw'ryyn	und Kelchs,
10/	['y ']](n)dr 'yn (.)[3–5]št	die in dieser *[Gemeinsch]aft(?)[6] (sind).

(vermutlich zwei Zeilen frei)

ii/1/	[ ](.)	[es lehrt]
2/	[5–7 w](z)[r](g)yb	[daß aus seiner] (Größe)
3/	[4–6 'w](x)yst kw 'c	[Jesus herab]stieg, daß er
4/	m'yg ny z'd 'n'y pd	nicht vom Weibe geboren wurde, sondern
5/	nyš'n nyš'n 'yš xwd	wie immer er selbst es will,
6/	q'myyd "yd 'wd pd dys	kommt er, und den Gestalten,

4 In der folgenden Edition bedeutet Text in [ ] völlig ergänzte Schreibungen, Text in ( ) Teilergänzung und Text in { } Zusatz zur deutschen Übersetzung. * bezeichnet eine angenäherte oder hypothetische Übersetzung.

5 Weniger wahrscheinlich](g)w"n.

6 Darf man hier qwnyšt ergänzen, das syr. knwšt' wiedergibt und als Bezeichnung der Synagoge belegt ist (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, S. 214), dessen syrische Entsprechung aber auch „congregatio, commune" schlechthin bedeutet (BROCKELMANN 1928, S. 335)? Was vom ersten Zeichen erhalten ist, könnte der rechte Rand eines q sein.

7/	dys ʿyš cʾr dṯ	die ihm von Nutzen sind,[7]
8/	m(ʾn)g b(wyd) u dys	wird er ähnlich, und (sogar) der Gestalt
9/	ʾy nsʾhy(n n)cyhy(d)	des Todesleibes. Es lehrt,
10/	qš nsʾẖ ʿy ʾʾz	daß er den Todesleib der Begierde
11/	ny pymwxt ʾnʾš ʾʾwn	nicht anlegte, sondern eine solche
12/	dys ʿstd cʾwn	Gestalt annahm wie
13/	bng ʾwš ʾʾwn ʾywyng	ein Sklave. Und derart
14/	ncyst cʾwn mrdwwhm	lehrte er wie ein Mensch.
15/	ʾwd ʾndr šhr pydʾg bwd	Und auf der Welt wurde er offenbar,
16/	ʾndwm dʾš z(y)ndgʾn ʾc	auf daß er die Lebenden aus
17/	myʾn mwrdgʾn wxt hynd	der Mitte der Toten befreie,
18/	ʾʾwn kw xwybš dʿyn	derart, daß seine Kirche
19/	[m](ʾ)nʾd ʾwš ʾc wys(p)	(fortdauere) und er von allen
20/	[3–5]n ʿz(w)[ʾ](n) ʾ[wd]	[ ] (Zungen und)
(Verso)		
i/1/	ʿ(s)[ ]	[ ]
2/	wzrgyẖ pr(g)[6–8]	Größe [aus dem]
3/	mʾyg zʾynynd ʾy(d rʾy) c(y)	Weibe *lassen sie [ihn] geboren werden,
4/	wycʾryšn ʿy hrw dwnʾn	(deshalb, weil) sie die Deutung
5/	ny dʾnynd oo [oo]	aller beider (Dinge) nicht kennen.
	(zwei Zeilen frei)	
6/	ʾwd (š)šwm ʾndrz ʿy	Und sechstens: die Anweisung[8]
7/	ʾbr ʿymyšʾʾn	über diese
8/	rwšnʾn wzrgʾn ky ʾndr	großen Lichter, die in
9/	šhr ʿspyzynd kwẖ[9]	der Welt erstrahlen, daß
10/	ʾ(wy)n[10] qyšʾn pd xwyyš	(nämlich) jene Irrgläubigen in ihrer
11/	wyptgyẖ ʾwẖ gwynd	Verführtheit so sprechen:
12/	kw yyšwʿ ny prmʾʾd	Jesus befahl nicht,
13/	ʾw ʾydyšʾn nmʾc bwrdn	diese zu verehren.
14/	oo ʾwhyc ʾbr ʿyn xyr	Auch in dieser Sache
15/	gwgʾyẖ pr(h)yd ʿc	(gibt es) viele Zeugnisse aus
16/	[yy]šwʿ dhyn ʾndr (ʾ)[yn]	dem Munde Jesu. Gegen (diese)
17/	(bz)g[11] n[cy](h)yd (k)wš[2–3]	Sünde (lehrt er), daß er[12] [ ]
18/	[3–4](.)[ ]	[ ]

7 Wörtl. „und Gestalt (für) Gestalt, die ihm ein Mittel gibt …"
8 Meine Übersetzung dieser Stelle folgt einem Vorschlag DESMOND DURKIN-MEISTERERNSTS, der zur Bestätigung der üblichen Wiedergabe von *andarz* als „Anweisung" auf das in Zeile 12 erscheinende prmʾʾd „er befahl" verweist.
9 So aus Platzgründen statt kw.
10 Lesung DURKIN-MEISTERERNST.
11 DURKIN-MEISTERERNST schlägt die Ergänzung nbyg „Schrift" vor.
12 Oder „daß sie" (Pl.), falls kwšʾn im Text stand.

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Abb. 2: M 627 verso

ii/1/	(.)[ ]	[ ]
2/	wyw (.)[7–9](.)	Luft[13] [ ]
3/	ny(.)[9–11](.)	[ ]
4/	dwšm[[14] 7–9](x)ɪ[15]	[ ]
5/	byc šh(ry)'ryẖ hynd	aber sie sind die Herrschaft,

13 Bisher nur in einem parthischen Text belegt bei BOYCE 1951, S. 914, n. 4, wo es die Luft der Finsterniswelt bezeichnet (im Gegensatz zu ʾrdʾw frwrdyn der Lichtwelt), vgl. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, S. 360.
14 Erg. dwšm(y)n „Feind" oder eine Ableitung dieses Wortes?
15 Oder](k)ɪ.

6/	'y [pd](gr)['']sm'n oo 'wd	die [im] Paradies ist. Und
7/	yyš(w)['] (xr)[dy]stwm(?)	Jesus hat (auf das weiseste)(?)
8/	'c xwyš dhyn 'br	eigenen Mundes über
9/	'ydyš'n 'yd'wn ncyst	diese so gelehrt,
10/	kw pyd 'wd pws 'wd	daß der Vater und der Sohn und
11/	w'(x)[š yw](j)[d](h)r[16] šhr[y'](r)['n]	(der Heilige Geist die Herrscher)
12/	'y(g)[pd gr'sm'n hynd]	[im Paradies sind.]
13/	(...)[ ]	[ ]

In den Resten des ersten Kapitels fallen die Wörter yyštg und j'm auf, die zweimal erscheinen. j'm ist als „Pokal, Kelch" bekannt (vgl. np. *ǧām*). yyštg ist ein unbekanntes Wort, dessen richtige Wiedergabe durch zweifache vollständige Schreibung sichergestellt wird. Beide Wörter werden durch w'xšyg „geistig" und tnw'ryyn „körperlich, leiblich" charakterisiert. Es liegt nahe, in *jām* eine Umschreibung für den Wein der Eucharistie zu sehen, der Christi Blut verkörpert, und zwar im „körperlichen" Kelch den aus Trauben gewonnenen *Wein*, im „geistigen" Kelch das *Blut* des Heilands. Entsprechend sollte dann yyštg das geweihte Brot sein, das als „körperliches" yyštg das gebackene *Brot* selbst, als „geistiges" yyštg der *Leib* des Herren ist.

Lassen sich für die hier vermuteten Sachverhalte bestätigende Hinweise in der christlichen Abendmahlslehre nachweisen, die über die allgemeinsten Vergleiche oder Erklärungen hinausgehen? Der manichäische Verfasser setzt jedenfalls die symbolische Natur der eucharistischen Gaben voraus, d.h. die wunderbare Präsenz des Leibes und Blutes Christi im Brot und Wein der Opfergaben. Er gibt damit die verbreitete Lehrmeinung der Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte wieder, die die fortbestehende Wirklichkeit von Brot und Wein, ebenso wie auch die Präsenz des Leibes und Blutes Christi in den geweihten Elementen betonte.[17] Ob deren Charakterisierung als „geistig" und „leiblich" auf christlichen Sprachgebrauch zurückgeht, vermag ich nicht zu sagen, doch halte ich es nicht für wahrscheinlich.

Wenn meine Erklärung des ersten Abschnittes zutrifft, so liegt es nahe, yyštg auf ein *yaštag* zu lesendes Wort zurückzuführen und von altiranisch (avestisch bezeugtem) *yaz-* „venerari; sacrare" herzuleiten. Vgl. die avestischen Part.Prät. Pass. *yašta-* und *išta-*.[18] Die Bedeutung von yyštg „geweiht, das Geweihte" und als solches „geopfert, Opfergabe" ergibt sich dann ungezwungen als Adjektivableitung vom Präteritalstamm. Ein Problem ist die Schreibung des Wortanfangs mit yy-. Sie kann jedenfalls nicht für **išta̯g* stehen, denn das müßte 'yštg geschrieben werden, auch wenn in der Orthographie von M 627 yy oft im Wortinneren ein langes *i* oder *e* bezeichnet (tnw'ryyn /R/i/9/, dyys /R/ii/6/, xwyyš /V/i/10). Wenn man die Schreibung des Namens yyšw', d.h. *Yišō'* „Jesus", vergleichend heranzieht, dann spräche das für eine Lesung *yišta̯g*, die man mit *dēw-išnīh* „Dämonenverehrung" und *īzišn* „Verehrung" im Buchpahlavi verbinden kann[19] und wozu gewiß auch np. *īzad* „Gott" gehört, das über ein unbezeugtes **yizad* auf mp. *yazad* zurückgehen dürfte. Allerdings scheint als np. Form des Wortes sonst *yašte* belegt zu sein. Jedenfalls zitiert VULLERS mit Berufung auf das Wörterbuch von F. JOHNSON *yašte kardan* „to pray" und aus dem *Borhān-e qāṭe'*: *yašte šode* und *nā yašte* (dies erklärt als *nā ẖʷānde* „nicht rezitiert").[20]

Nicht unerwähnt möchte ich einen anderen Erklärungsversuch lassen, yyštg nicht auf *yaz-* zurückzuführen sondern auf das ebenfalls avestisch bezeugte *yah-* „sieden".[21] Dazu gehören khot. *jīṣ-* „to boil" (Part. *jīṣṭa-*) und *jṣāñ-* „to make boil"[22] und Pashto *yaš-* „to boil".[23] BARTHOLOMAE verwies auch auf ein neupersisches *jahad*, Inf. *jastan* „eilen",[24] (oder „springen"?). Die soghdische Entsprechung in präfixloser Form entdeckte SIMS-WILLIAMS in den von mir edierten soghdischen Hymnenzyklen als 'yšty (Inf.) und 'yšy-'n(tc) (fem.).[25]

Av. *yah-* wird von einem idg. **ǰes-* abgeleitet, dessen Weiterbildungen in mehreren Sprachen bezeugt sind.[26] Sie können auch die Bedeutungen „fermentieren" (bret. *gòi* „gären", schwed. *esa-* u.ä. „gären") und „fermentum" (engl. *yeast* „Hefe") annehmen. Wenngleich mir eine solche Bedeutungserweiterung aus iranischen Sprachen nicht bekannt ist, so stellt sie doch eine natürliche Entwicklung dar, die auch in iranischen Sprachen erfolgen konnte.

Wenn also yyštg „fermentiert, gegoren" bedeutet, so wäre das eine sehr passende Bezeichnung für die Hostie im nestorianischen Gebrauch. Spätestens seit dem 10. Jahrhundert gilt in der nestorianischen Literatur das *fermentum* als ein wesentlicher, charakteristischer Bestandteil der Hostie. Seine Verwendung wird auf die urchristliche Tradition zurückgeführt und der Praxis der westlichen Christen gegenübergestellt.[27]

Welche der hier vorgeschlagenen Möglichkeiten auch die richtige ist, – ich halte die erste aus formalen und inhaltlichen Gründen für bevorzugungswert – das Wort kann nicht als eine regelrechte persische Prägung gelten, denn diese müßte schon in mittelpersischer Zeit affriziert worden sein, also etwa *jišta̯g*

16 So nur bei enger Schreibung möglich. Kaum šhr.
17 CROSS/LIVINGSTONE 1983, S. 475.
18 BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 1274.

19 NYBERG 1974, S. 63, 106.
20 VULLERS 1962, I, S. 838; II, S. 1556.
21 BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 1281; MAYRHOFER 1996, S. 406–407 s.v. *yas-*. BARTHOLOMAE nahm auch ein avestisches *yašta-* als Part.Perf.Pass. von *yah-* an, das aber problematisch ist. Einziger Beleg scheint *yaštibiiō* (Abl.Pl.fem.) in den *Pursišnihā* (Nr. 20) zu sein, das HUMBACH zu *yaēš ntibiiō* emendierte (JAMASPASA/HUMBACH 1971, S. 34).
22 EMMERICK 1968, S. 35–36, 37, mit Hinweis auf soghd. βy'yš'ntk „boiling".
23 MORGENSTIERNE 2003, S. 100.
24 Bei HORN 1895–1901, S. 139.
25 Bei SUNDERMANN 1990, S. 31, 32, n. 82 und 86.
26 POKORNY 1994, S. 506; RIX 1998, S. 277.
27 DE VRIES 1947, S. 194–197.

gelautet haben. Da das nicht so ist, müßte man eine archaisierende Bewahrung des anlautenden *y-* annehmen oder eine Entlehnung (aus dem Parthischen?).

Es bleibt unklar, was der Verfasser gegen die Abendmahlslehre der Christen vorzubringen hatte. Denkbar ist, daß er die Lehre vom Fleisch und Blut Christi im Sinne seiner manichäischen Lehre von der ins Stoffliche gebundenen Weltseele (um)deutete, die im Gemeinschaftsmahl der Electi erlöst wurde. Erlöst wurden dann, um bei den Begriffen der christlichen Eucharistie zu bleiben, die geistigen Gaben aus den Banden der leiblichen. Die Weltseele konnte bekanntlich auch als der *Jesus patibilis* verstanden werden, d. h. aber als der zu erlösende, nicht als der erlösende Jesus. In dieser manichäischen Deutung würden yyštg und j'm vom Heilsmittel zum Gegenstand der Erlösung werden.

Das zweite Kapitel, dessen wichtigsten und am besten verständlichen Teil ich bereits 2002 in meinem Aufsatz „Das Leiden und Sterben Jesu in manichäischer Deutung" veröffentlicht hatte,[28] betont die doketische Natur Christi und die Wandelbarkeit seiner Erscheinungen. Es wendet sich ausdrücklich gegen die Lehre der Evangelien, die auch die Auffassung der katholischen wie der nestorianischen Kirche blieb, daß Jesus Christus von einem Weibe geboren und Mensch geworden sei. Es beruft sich dabei auf den Brief des Paulus an die Philipper, Kap. 2, Verse 6–7,[29] dessen einschlägiges Zitat tatsächlich im doketischen Sinne mißdeutet werden konnte.

Im dritten Teil des Traktats setzt der Verfasser sich mit der Haltung der Christen zur Sonnen- und Mondverehrung auseinander. Sie war eine in der Antike so weit verbreitete und allgemein anerkannte Kultform, daß die Christen, in ihrer strikten Ablehnung dem jüdischen Monotheismus verpflichtet,[30] völlig isoliert blieben. Selbst Kaiser Constantin, der dem Christentum im Römischen Reich legalen Status gewährte, hatte zeitweise Versuche unternommen, den Sonnenkult zu einem gemeinsamen und einenden Element der religiösen Vielfalt seines Reiches zu machen.[31]

Wie unbedingt sich auch die Christen im Reich der Sasaniden der Verehrung der Sonne und des Mondes verweigerten, das geht am deutlichsten aus ihren Märtyrerakten hervor.[32] All dies sind Zeugnisse in syrischer Sprache. In der soghdischen Literatur der Christen haben diese Überlieferungen ihren Niederschlag gefunden, wie wir durch die Handschrift C2 der Berliner Turfansammlung wissen, deren Kenntnis wir der definitiven, mustergültigen Edition unseres Jubilars verdanken.[33]

28 SUNDERMANN 2002, S. 212–213.
29 „[Jesus Christus], welcher, ob er wohl in göttlicher Gestalt war, hielt er's nicht für einen Raub, Gott gleich zu sein, sondern entäußerte sich selbst und nahm Knechtsgestalt an, ward gleich wie ein anderer Mensch und an Gebärden als ein Mensch empfunden."
30 Vgl. *Hiob* 31, 26–27.
31 BURCKHARDT, S. 251–255.
32 BRAUN 1915, S. 66–67, 118, 152, 167–168, 182.
33 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, S. 34 (5R), 142 (66V), 143 (68R), 144 (68V), 145 (69R), 146 (69V).

Die Manichäer hingegen teilten problemlos die Sonnen- und Mondverehrung ihrer Zeitgenossen. Als sichtbar in Erscheinung tretende, Licht spendende Himmelskörper waren Sonne und Mond für sie sogar Hauptgegenstände der Kultpraxis. Zur Sonne gewandt sollten die Electi und die Laienhörer ihre Tagesgebete verrichten, zum Mond des Nachts beten.[34] Das fand seine Begründung im kosmogonischen und kosmologischen Mythos. Die Sonne galt als das Himmelsfahrzeug, in dem der Dritte Gesandte seinen Sitz hatte und das auch mit der Gottheit selbst gleichgesetzt werden konnte, so wie in der Terminologie der parthischen Manichäer *Mihr* zugleich die Sonne und der Sonnengott, Mithras, ist. Der Mond war so sehr der Ort Jesu, daß er selbst einfach Jesus genannt werden konnte.

Als ein Teil der allumfassenden göttlichen Vierheit stehen Sonne und Mond für den zweiten Aspekt der Göttlichkeit, das Licht.[35]

Die Verehrungswürdigkeit der Lichtschiffe von Sonne und Mond wurde vielfältig betont.[36] Von den acht segensreichen Werken des Sonnen- und des Mondgottes handelt das soghdische Fragment M 143. Da die Sonne und der Mond nur Gutes wirken, so konnten Hitze und Kälte nicht von ihnen ausgehen.[37]

Dem hier veröffentlichten Text steht besonders nahe das 65. *Kephalaion,* in dem es u. a. heißt, daß Satan selbst sich gegen die Verehrung der Sonne wende.[38] An anderer Stelle werden solche, die „Sonne und Mond lästern", verurteilt,[39] ohne daß gesagt wird, gegen wen dieser Vorwurf sich *in concreto* richtet.[40] Das geschieht aber im hier vorgelegten Text. Er wendet sich gegen jene, die sagen, Jesus habe die Sonnenverehrung nicht geboten, und er scheint zu unterstellen, daß zahlreiche Zeugnisse für das Gegenteil stehen. Man kann nur bedauern, daß der Text an dieser Stelle abbricht und uns so im dunkeln läßt.

Die manichäische Polemik ist aber auch interessant durch das, was sie nicht sagt. FRANZ JOSEPH DÖLGER hat in seinem Aufsatz „Konstantin der Große und der Manichäismus. Sonne und Christus im Manichäismus" griechische und lateinische antimanichäische, doch glaubwürdige Zeugnisse für eine manichäische Identifizierung der Sonne mit Christus zusammengetragen. Wir wissen heute, daß diese Identifizierung Ergebnis einer Verdrängung der Gestalt des Dritten Gesandten durch Christus im westlichen Manichäismus und also einer Anpassung an das bereits weitgehend christlich geprägte Umfeld des Manichäismus im Römischen Reich war. Mit Recht bemerkte DÖLGER, daß eine solche Identi-

34 DE BLOIS 2000, S. 49–54.
35 SCHAEDER 1927, S. 135–147, bes. S. 144 [= WIDENGREN 1977, S. 37–47]; MERKELBACH 1986, S. 39–50.
36 Zum Beispiel POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, S. 192, 33, S. 193, 1; GARDNER 1995, S. 202.
37 So 18101 + So 18101a, unpubliziert, vgl. RECK 2006, S. 179–180.
38 POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, S. 159, 1–7; GARDNER 1995, S. 168, mit Verweis auf *Deut.* 17, 2–5.
39 POLOTSKY/BÖHLIG 1940, S. 231, 21; GARDNER 1995, S. 238–239.
40 Man könnte auch an die Mandäer denken.

fizierung sich bei Alexander von Lykopolis noch nicht nachweisen lasse.[41] Sie ist der Urform der manichäischen Lehre fremd und also auch den Zeugnissen des östlichen Manichäismus, wie nicht zuletzt der hier veröffentlichte Text zeigt. Ich halte es daher für nicht richtig, aus dem mittelpersischen Würdenamen Jesu, yyšw' 'spyxt'n, den Schluß zu ziehen, daß damit Jesus als Herr der beiden Himmelswagen Sonne und Mond bezeichnet oder gar mit ihnen identifiziert wird.[42] Vielmehr muß man in yyšw' 'spyxt'n eine Entsprechung des parthisch bezeugten Jesusnamens yyšw' zyw' sehen, dessen zyw' das syrische Wort „Glanz" ist.[43] Es ist gewiß weniger wahrscheinlich, an eine Übersetzung des syrischen, ebenfalls als Epiklese Jesu bei Theodor bar Kōnai bezeugten zywn' zu denken, das „glänzend" bedeutet.[44] Für diesen Teil des Traktats gilt, daß der manichäische Verfasser sich bemüht, Jesus selbst oder doch biblische Texte zu Worte kommen zu lassen und deren Zeugnisse der herrschenden christlichen Glaubenslehre seiner Zeit entgegenzustellen.

Das letzte Kapitel handelt offenbar von der christlichen Trinitätslehre. Die Argumentation des Verfassers kann ich nicht ermitteln, doch immerhin ist so viel deutlich, daß die richtige christliche Trinitätsformel „Vater, Sohn und Heiliger Geist" verwendet wird und nicht eine der manichäischen Varianten wie man sie z.B. im Vorspruch des *Lebendigen Evangeliums* Manis oder des *Sermons vom Licht-Nous* antrifft.[45]

Eine Identifizierung des Werkes, dem der vorgelegte Text zugehört, ist nicht möglich, und auch über Ort und Zeit seiner Entstehung lassen sich keine sicheren Angaben machen. DESMOND DURKIN-MEISTERERNST weist mich aber auf den sorgfältigen und altertümlichen Zustand der Orthographie seiner Handschrift hin. Er schreibt mir: „Da (der Text) ‚alte' Orthographie hat (-ẖ regelmäßig), die Form dṯ enthält und mp. ist, hätte ich ihn für alt gehalten."

41 DÖLGER 1930, S. 310.
42 So WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, S. 601–602.
43 So HENNING 1947, S. 46–47 [= *id.* 1977, II, S. 280–281] und DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, S. 88.
44 SUNDERMANN 1979, S. 117–118 [= *id.* 2001, I, S. 143–144].
45 MÜLLER 1904, S. 25–26 (M 17), 100–103 (M 172) [= PEEK 1985, S. 31–32, 106–109]; BOYCE 1975, S. 32–33. Über die manichäische Fortbildung der christlichen Trinitätsformel vgl. SCHAEDER 1927, S. 154–155 [= WIDENGREN 1977, S. 51–52]; SUNDERMANN 1992, S. 62–63, §1, S. 78.

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Old Iranian Superlatives in *-išta-*

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1. Introduction

Old Iranian[1], and particularly Avestan, contains a wealth of evidence for the formation of superlative adjectives. 'Degrees of comparison' are expressed by sets of suffixes which are cognate with those found in Sanskrit and other early attested Indo-European languages, but the amount of information about superlative forms in *-išta-* (cf. Skt. *-iṣṭha-*, Grk. *-ιστο-*, OHG *-ista-*), and *-tama-* (cf. Skt. *-tama-*, Lat. *-timus*) far outweighs that about comparatives in *-iiah-* (cf. Skt. *-(ī)yas-*, Lat. *-ior/-ius*) and *-tara-* (cf. Skt. *-tara-*, Grk. *-τερο-*, Lat. *-terus*) because the Avestan *Yašts*, in particular, abound in sequences of superlatives describing the deity who is invoked. Yet the treatment of superlative formation in descriptions and grammars of Avestan (Av.) is cursory, if the subject is dealt with at all. The brief notices that do appear[2] give the impression that the inherited Indo-Iranian (IIr.), or even Indo-European (IE) formations are continued unchanged, and diachronic developments are only to be found in Middle Iranian (MIr.) languages. It is true that Old Iranian (OIr.) shows itself to be remarkably conservative in several respects, notably in that the inherited distribution for the suffixes *-išta-* and *-tama-* is maintained, the former appearing only after roots, the latter after nominal stems. However, this paper aims to show that there have been morphological developments even within the archaic-looking *-išta-* class, and that the class contains different layers of forms which must have arisen at different chronological periods.

The fullest description of the Old Iranian *-išta-* superlatives that we possess is by DEBRUNNER in vol. II.2 of WACKERNAGEL's *Altindische Grammatik*[3], and here they are classified according to a system established on the basis of Vedic (Ved.), where it is possible to distinguish two main groups. The first group

1 This paper represents a substantially revised version of my contribution to *Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics* 3 (1998), pp. 105–124. It owes much to generous advice from NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS himself, and it is a great pleasure to be able to dedicate it to him on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

2 Such as BARTHOLOMAE 1895–1901, p. 109; REICHELT 1909, p. 159. The subject is not treated by HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996.

3 WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER 1896–1957, II.2, pp. 445–461.

consists of 'adjectival *nomina agentis*' [4] with elative value based on roots which show finite verb forms *and* make other types of *nomina agentis* (e.g. with a simple thematic stem, or a stem in *-tar*). Just as *nomina agentis* and participles can take verbal prefixes and govern a direct object in the accusative case, so can the forms in *-(ī)yas-* and *-iṣṭha-* based on the same roots, e.g.

Ṛgveda			
finite verb	superlative	comparative	agent noun
hánti 'slays'	*hániṣṭha-*	*hánīyas-*	*hántar-, (vṛtra)-hán-*
gácchati 'goes'	*ā́gamiṣṭha-*		*gántar-, ā́gama-*

The second group is based on roots which make adjectives, most often by means of the so-called 'Caland Suffixes' *-i, -u, -ra, -ma, -ant*, etc. Here the elatives in *-(ī)yas-* and *-iṣṭha-* came to function as true comparatives and superlatives because their value contrasted with that of the other adjectives belonging to the same roots, e.g.

Ṛgveda		
superlative	comparative	positive adjectives
ójiṣṭha- 'strongest'	*ójīyas-*	*ugrá-*
bárhiṣṭha- 'highest, loudest'		*bṛhánt-*
svā́diṣṭha- 'sweetest'	*svā́dīyas-*	*svādú-*

The first group *(hániṣṭha-)* are lost in Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) in Post Vedic times, and even within Vedic there are very few examples that appear after the Ṛgveda (RV). DEBRUNNER[5] commented that, as this type is proportionally more plentiful in the Avesta than the Ṛgveda, it was frequent in IIr.; and, in view of the exact formal correspondence between Avestan *bairišta-* and Greek φέριστος, was probably inherited from the IE parent language. According to this view of the IE situation[6], an elative in **-isto-* could be formed freely from any root and the original distribution of the suffix is preserved only in IIr. All but a few relic forms such as Grk φέριστο- < **bher-isto-* were lost in other branches of IE, including those such as Germanic which productively extended the suffix **-isto-*.

4 The corresponding comparatives in *-yas-* have often been considered original substantives, cf. MEILLET 1937, p. 270; KURYŁOWICZ 1964, pp. 227–230.
5 WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER 1896–1957, II.2, p. 448.
6 DEBRUNNER's view is the traditional one: cf. e.g. BRUGMANN 1904, p.323, §391, 1 and 5; MEILLET 1937, pp. 270–271.

2. The Indo-Iranian evidence

The Iranian class of *-išta-* formations is of crucial importance to the traditional diachronic reconstruction, but when this class is considered in its own right it becomes clear that there are discrepancies even within IIr. Superlatives built with the inherited IE suffix **-isto-* from roots which also make 'Caland type' positive adjectives (which will be called '*mazišta*-type superlatives' in the rest of this paper) are most often attested in both OIr. and OIA, and the match in form and meaning[7] is exact, e.g.

'*mazišta*-type' Superlatives					
Old Iranian			Old Indo-Aryan		
OAv.	*aojišta-* 'strongest'	*ugra-* 'strong'	RV	*ójiṣṭha-*	*ugrá-*
	vahišta- 'best'	*vaŋhav-/vohu-* 'good'		*vā́siṣṭha-*	*vásu-*
	razišta- 'straightest'	*ərəzu-* 'straight'		*rā́jiṣṭha-*	*ṛjú-*
	sraēšta- 'finest'	*srīra-* 'fine'		*śréṣṭha-*	*(a)śrīrá-*
	barəzišta- 'highest'	*bərəzaṇt-, bərəzi-* 'high'		*bárhiṣṭha-*	*bṛhánt-*
YAv.	*dąhišta-* 'cleverest'	*dahma-, daŋra-* 'clever'		*dáṃsiṣṭha-*	*dasmá-, dasrá-*
	hāiδišta- 'most direct'			*sā́dhiṣṭha-*	*sidhmá-, sidhrá-*
	drājišta- 'longest'	*darəγa-* 'long'		*drā́ghiṣṭha-*	*dīrghá-*

In addition there are at least three word-equations between Avestan and Greek[8]:

Old Iranian		Greek	
OAv. *āsišta-* 'swiftest'	*āsu-*[9] 'swift'	ὦκιστο-	ὠκύ-
mazišta- 'greatest'	*mazā́nt-* 'great'	μέγιστο-	μέγας / μεγάλο-
YAv. *fraēšta-* 'most'	*parauu-/pouru-* 'much'	πλεῖστο-	

7 Some of these forms appear in comparable collocations, e.g. YAv. *razištəm paṇtąm* : RV *rájiṣṭham pánthām* 'the straightest path'; and stylistic figures, OAv. *sraēštąm aŋ tōi kəhrpām kəhrpąm* 'your most beautiful form of forms' : RV *idā́m śréṣṭham jyótiṣām jyótiṣ* 'this most beautiful light of lights' (NARTEN 1986, pp. 163–164; WATKINS 1995, p. 241).
8 Also one between Avestan and Latin, if Lat. *ioviste* (Paulus) is the vocative of an inherited superlative that is cognate with Ved. *yáviṣṭha-*, Av. *yōišta-* 'youngest' (cf. *yuuan-/yūn-*), as argued by WATKINS 1975.
9 Cf. also RV *ā́śiṣṭha-, āśú-*.

In the late Avesta superlatives of this type are often replaced by new derivatives in *-təma-* built on the stem of the positive adjective, e.g. *uγrō.təma-* (Yt 3.5) from *uγra-*, *taxmō.təma-* (Yt 15.57) from *taxma-*, replacing *aojišta-* 'the strongest', *tancišta-* 'the quickest'. Alternatively, we find doubly characterized superlatives such as *sraēštō.təma-* 'the very finest' (Yt 3.5), *draējištō.təma-* 'the very poorest' (V 3.19, from *draējišta-* beside *drigu-* 'poor, needy'). Thus all the evidence points to an archaic class of forms which was becoming moribund in Iranian.

On the other hand, when we turn to the group of *-išta-* formations which function as *nomina agentis* with elative value and are associated with finite verbs (henceforth called 'the *bairišta*-type'), it is interesting to note that in spite of their relative frequency in Avestan, there are far fewer exact equations with OIA than for the *mazišta*-type:

	'bairišta-type' Superlatives		
	Old Iranian		Old Indo-Aryan
OAv.	*vaēdišta-* 'best knower, best-provider'[10]	RV	*védiṣṭha-* 'best-provider' *(vid-)*
	(?) *vāzišta-* name of fire (Y 36.3)[11]		(?) *váhiṣṭha-* 'best at conveying' *(vah-)*
YAv.	*θβaxšišta-* 'most active'		*tvákṣīyas-* (comparative) 'very active' *(tvakṣ-)*
	aiβi.vaŋiiah- (comparative[12]) 'victorious over'		*vániṣṭha-*, *vánīyas-* 'best winner' *(van-)*

The scarcity of exact agreements could be the result of chance. It is conceivable that different residual forms were preserved in the two different branches of IIr. However, it is more significant that there are several cases where the same IIr.

10 BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 1321, followed by HUMBACH 1991, II, p. 189, connected *vaēdišta-* at Y 46.19 with *vid-* 'to find', but in the other OAv. passage (Y 32.7) it is translated 'best at knowing'. INSLER 1975 links it with 'to know' in both passages. If the two roots *vid-* are ultimately one from a diachronic point of view (cf. MAYRHOFER 1986–1996, pp. 579–580), it would still be possible to compare the Avestan and Vedic forms even if the meaning is different.

11 It is now considered unlikely that *vāzišta-* belongs with the inherited root 'to convey': INSLER 1996 explains *vāzišta-* as 'most respected' and derives both it and RV *váhiṣṭha-* (as opposed to *váhiṣṭha-*) from the same root as OAv. *uzəma-* (replacing **ūzəma-*) 'respectful', a positive adjective with a 'Caland Suffix'. According to this interpretation *vāzišta-* represents an example of the *mazišta*-type. HINTZE 2007b, pp. 129–139, translates *vāzišta-* as 'most invigorating' and connects it with the Vedic present *vājáya-*, and thus rules out a comparison with RV *váhiṣṭha-*.

12 The procedure of inferring the existence of an Avestan superlative from a comparative in *-iiah* may not completely secure as there are no attested examples of this type where both formations occur (see below).

root is involved, but where the morphology of the formations attested in early Vedic and Old Iranian diverge:

OAv.	*zəuuīštiia-* 'quickest'	RV	*jáviṣṭha-*	*(jū-)*[13]
YAv.	*(ni)jaγništa-* 'best at striking (down)'		*hániṣṭha-*	*(han-)*
	(vī)jaγmišta- 'best at coming (over)'		*gámiṣṭha-*	*(gam-)*
	dāhišta- 'best at giving'		*déṣṭha (< dáyistha-)*	*(dā-)*
	(paiti).γūiδišta- 'best at fighting (back)'		*yódhīyas-*	*(yudh-)*

In the case of OAv. *zəuuīštiia-* the difference from its RV counterpart *jáviṣṭha-* is minor since such extended superlatives are also found in Vedic, cf. e.g., RV *yáviṣṭha-*, *yáviṣṭhya-* 'youngest'. On the other hand, the YAv. examples all show formal differences in the way the root is treated. How should such discrepancies be explained? In the rest of this paper it will be argued that in OIr. the *bairišta*-type, in contrast to the *mazišta*-type, was not entirely residual and unproductive. It must have undergone some development in both branches of IIr., but has evolved differently in each because of the differing synchronic word-formation patterns into which **-isto-* forms were incorporated. It will be shown that the synchronic position of *bairišta*-type superlatives differs considerably in OIr. from that of the corresponding class in Vedic. Then an attempt will be made to trace some of the diachronic processes which led to the creation of new forms.

3. The evidence of the Ṛgveda

First of all the synchronic relations of the RV forms that correspond to the *bairišta*-type will be examined in greater detail. Far from being isolated, a large number of the RV superlatives belong to a system of comparison where an agent noun in *-tar* serves as the 'positive' term, e.g.

Root	superlative	comparative	agent noun
han- 'to slay'	*hániṣṭha-*	*hánīyas-*	*hántar-/hantár-*
yaj- 'to worship'	*yájiṣṭha-*	*yájīyas-*	*yáṣṭar-*
van- 'to win, bestow'	*vániṣṭha-*	*vánīyas-*	*vánitar-/vantár-*
vid- 'to find'	*védiṣṭha-*	*védīyas-*	*véditar-*
vah- 'to convey'	*váhiṣṭha-*	*váhīyas-*	*vóḷhar-*
yam- 'to extend'	*yámistha-*		*yántar-/yantár-*

13 Cf. HOFFMANN 1975–1992, I, pp. 258–261, on the connection of Av. *zauuah-*, *zəuuīštiia-*, *uzūiti-* with this root.

Root	superlative	comparative	agent noun
kṛ- 'to make'	*káriṣṭha-*		*kártar-/kartár-*
dhā- 'to put'	*dhéṣṭha-*		*dhā́tar-/dhātár-*

The connection between the *-iṣṭha-* superlatives and the nouns in *-tar* was recognized in the Indian grammatical tradition: Pāṇini has a rule (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5, 3, 59 and 6, 4, 154) which deletes the suffix *-tar* in order to form the superlative from the *nomen agentis*. This connection has often been noted in modern works, and the early Vedic evidence has been collected by TICHY[14]. Evidence for the parallel use of superlative in *-iṣṭha-* and noun in *-tar* comes from the oldest parts of the RV, e.g.

> RV 6.37.5 *índro vṛtrám* ***hániṣṭho*** *astu sátvā* 'Let Indra be the warrior that **best kills Vṛtra.**'
>
> RV 6.44.15 *índro astu …* ***hántā vṛtrám*** 'Let Indra be the one that **kills Vṛtra.**'
>
> RV 8.66.6 *tvám id dhí brahmakṛ́te* ***kā́myaṃ vásu déṣṭhaḥ*** *sunvaté bhúvas* 'You will become **the best giver of desirable wealth** to the prayer-maker, to the (Soma) presser.'
>
> RV 2.22.3 ***dā́tā*** *rā́dha stuvaté* ***kā́myaṃ vásu*** '**the giver** of a gift, **of desirable wealth** to the praiser.'

However, the association between the two suffixes is clearly not very old: *-iṣṭha-* superlatives of this group are not invariably paired with agent nouns in *-tar*, and TICHY draws attention to a few cases where the two formations contrast in value and appear to represent independent creations, such as *pániṣṭha-* 'most wonderful' vs. *panitár-* 'wondering at', *cétiṣṭha-* 'most conspicuous' vs. *céttar-* 'observer'.

Evidence for such an association is lacking in OIr. The one example that has sometimes been cited occurs in a late Avestan passage about the names of Ahura Mazda (Yt 1.13 *žnāta nąma ahmi žnōišta nąma ahmi* 'I am called the knower, I am called the best knower') where *znāta* follows three other *nomina agentis* in *-tar (dāta, pāta, θrāta)*. Here a range of nominal stems of various types are paired with superlatives, and so this one passage provides no evidence for a specific connection.[15]

14 TICHY 1995, pp. 72–74. STANLEY INSLER has pointed out (e-mail 1997) that the Vedic situation is comprehensible from a diachronic point of view because *nomina agentis* in *-tar* replaced uncompounded root nouns.

15 YAv. employs the suffixes *-išta-* and *-iiah-* in compounds when the second member represents the root (e.g. *gavāzišta-* 'best at driving cattle'), but the fact that in *Yašt* 1 the superlatives to *dūraēdarštar* 'far-seer', *pourudarštar-* 'seeing much' appear as *dūraēdarštəma-*, *pourudarštəma-* rather than **dūraēdaršišta-*, **pourudaršišta-* shows that no connection between *-išta-* and *-tar* existed even at this level of artificiality in late Avestan.

It should be observed with regard to the Vedic situation that many of the systems involving a superlative in *-iṣṭha-* and a positive in *-tar-* show a marked resemblance to those which have Caland adjectives as the positive term (the group which corresponds to the Avestan *mazišta*-type). This is because an s-stem *nomen actionis* also forms part of their 'Suffixverband'[16], and the positive adjectives in *-ra-*, *-ma-*, *-u-*, and the *nomina agentis* in *-tar* occupy the same 'slot' in the system, e.g.

ójiṣṭha- 'strongest'	*ójīyas-*	*ugrá-*	*ójas-*
tápiṣṭha- 'hottest'		*tapú-*	*tápas-*

and

áviṣṭha- 'best at helping'	*avitár-*	*ávas-*
códiṣṭha- 'best at impelling'	*códitar-*	*códas-*

Thus the situation in early OIA for the two groups of *-iṣṭha-* forms is parallel to the extent that in both the formation with elative value has become associated with other sets of nominal derivatives from the same root, which contrast with it in meaning and permit it to function as a true superlative. It is conceivable that just as the category of *nomina agentis* in *-tar* became highly productive in early Vedic, so did the corresponding category of *-iṣṭha-*stems. Within such a 'Suffixverband' new forms could have been created according to old models at any period, and it is difficult to be certain exactly when individual forms arose.

4. The evidence of the Avesta

In contrast the OIr. *bairišta*-type superlatives appear at first sight more isolated, as there is no consistent pattern of correspondence with any type of nominal formation which serves as a 'positive' term. They are even isolated to the extent that there is no attested example of a root which makes both a 'superlative' in *-išta-* and a 'comparative' in *-iiah-* (in contrast to, for instance, RV *védiṣṭha-/védīyas-*, *sáhiṣṭha-/sáhyas-/sáhīyas-*, *rábhiṣṭha-/rábhyas-*). The following occur in OAv.:

16 The synchronic reality of such a 'Suffixverband' is proved by sporadic RV creations such as *kárāṃsi* (RV 4.19.10), an s-stem noun that must have been created beside *káriṣṭha-*, *kártar-* on the model of *códas-* beside *códiṣṭha-*, *códitar-*, etc.

Old Avestan Superlatives	Roots	
aibī.bairišta- 'best at bringing' (Y 51.1)	*bar-* 'to bring'	(Skt. *bhṛ-*)
mairišta- 'best at remembering' (Y 29.4)	*mar-* 'to remember'	(Skt. *smṛ-*)
vaēdišta- 'best at knowing, ? best at providing' (Y 32.7, 46.19)	[1]*vaēd-* 'to know'	(Skt. *vid-*)
	[2]*vaēd-* 'to find, provide'	(Skt. *vid-*)
uruuāzišta- 'most joyful' (Y 49.8, Y 36.2)	*uruuāz-* 'to rejoice'	
zəuuīštiia- 'quickest' (Y 28.9, Y 46.9, Y 50.7)		(Skt. *jū-*)
zrazdišta- 'most faithful' (Y 53.7)	*zrazdā-* 'to have faith, to believe'[17]	

The three based on roots whose verb forms are transitive are employed as predicates, and govern a direct object:

Y 29.4 *mazdā* ***sax^{v}ārā mairištō*** 'Mazda (is) **best at remembering** the sayings'

Y 32.7 *yaēšąm tū ahurā* ***irixtem*** *mazdā* ***vaēdištō*** *ahī* 'of which you, O Ahura Mazda, are (the one who) **knows best the outcome**'. Cf. Y 46.19 ***tācīṯ*** *mōi sąs tuuąm mazdā* ***vaēdištō***

Y 51.1 *vohū xšaθrəm vairīm* ***bāgəm aibī.bairištem*** 'The good power (is) to be chosen, **the best at bringing good fortune**.'

On the other hand, the derivatives from roots whose verb forms are intransitive in value are used in OAv. in the same way as *mazišta*-type superlatives, most often as qualifiers, the difference being that there is no association with a positive adjective, e.g.

Y 49.8 *fərašaoštrāi* ***uruuāzištąm*** *ašahiiā dā̊* ***sarəm*** 'To Frašaoštra grant the **most joyful alliance** of truth'.

17 Two other possible OAv. examples also stand beside adjectives in *-ra-*, and so may belong to the *mazišta*-type: *nąmišta-* 'most venerating' (Y 36.2), adjs. *namra- (namrauuak-), nąmi- (nąmiiasu-)* from root *nam-* 'to bend, to do homage' (Av. *nəmaṇte*, Ved. *námate*); comparative *nāidiiah-* 'very weak', adj. *ādra-* 'lowly' (cf. Ved. *ā́dhra-*) from root *nādh-* 'to be weak, to be in distress' (Ved. *nā́dhamāna-, nādhitā-*). On *vāzišta-*, which may be a similar case, see fn. 11. *rāniiō.skərəiti-* 'joy-bringing' (epithet of cow, Y 44.6, Y 47.3, Y 50.2) probably does not contain a comparative in *-iiah-* at all, as its first member could represent the compositional form of **rāniia-* (cf. RV *rā́nya-* 'pleasing, joyful', which is often used as a neuter substantive; Av. *rāna-* m. also shows a long vowel in contrast to Ved. *rā́ṇa-*). Second member *skərəiti-* may derive from the IIr. root form *skṛ-* (found in the early RV, and also probably in later Av. *garəmō.skarana-*).

Y 50.7 *aṯ vā yaojā* ***zəuuīštiiāŋg auruuatō*** 'I shall yoke for you the **quickest horses**.'

A considerable number of *bairišta*-type superlatives are attested for the first time in the Younger Avesta, and a high proportion occur in only one passage:

Sources	Younger Avestan Superlatives	Roots
in various early *Yašts*	*θβaxšišta-* 'most active' (Y 9.15, Yt 10.98, Y 57.13)	*θβaxš-* 'to stir, to be in motion'
	aiβi.vaŋiiah- (comp.) 'victorious over' (Y 9.4, Yt 5.34, 38, etc.)	*van-* 'to win' (+ *aiβi-*)
once in *Yašts*	*upa.raoδišta-* 'best at obstructing' (Yt 10.126)	*raod-* 'to hinder' (+ *upa-*)
	dāhišta- 'best at giving' (Yt 13.17)	*dā-* 'to give'
	fraoirisišta- 'best at turning towards' (Yt 13.25)	*uruuaēs-* 'to turn' (+ *fra-*)
	raŋuō.aēšišta- 'best at seeking room' (Yt 13.107)	*aēš-* 'to seek'
	paiti.yūiδišta- 'best at fighting against' (Yt 13.107)	*yaod-* 'to fight' (+ *paiti-*)
	pairi.uruuaēšta- 'best at crushing' (Yt 11.2)	*uruuī-* 'to crush' (+ *pairi-*)
	paiti.dārišta-[18] 'best at resisting' (Yt 11.2)	*dar-* 'to hold' (+ *paiti-*)
	nižbairišta- 'best at removing' (Yt 11.3)	*bar-* 'to bear' (+ *niš-*)
	bairišta- 'best at supporting' (Yt 12.7)	*bar-* 'to bear'
	vaēδišta- 'best at knowing' (Yt 12.7, V 18.7)	*vaēd-* 'to know'
	jayništa- 'best at striking' (Yt 12.7)	*jan-* 'to strike'
	nijayništa- 'best at striking down' (Yt 12.8)	*jan-* 'to strike' (+ *ni-*)
	nasišta- 'best at destroying' (Yt 12.8)	*nas-* 'to perish' (? see below)
	nimarəzišta- 'best at sweeping down' (Yt 16.1)	*marəz-* 'to wipe' (+ *ni-*)
	vīmarəzišta- 'best at wiping away' (Yt 1.2, 4)	*marəz-* 'to wipe' (+ *vī-*)
	vījaymišta- 'best at coming over, at reaching' (Yt 1.2, 4)	*gam-* 'to come' (+ *vī-*)
Yasna (Y 12) and *Pursišnīhā*	*paošišta-* 'foulest, most putrid' (Y 12.4, P 40)	*pauu-/pū-* 'to stink'

18 BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 831, for mss. *dārəšta-*; accepted by KREYENBROEK 1985, p. 96.

Sources	Younger Avestan Superlatives	Roots
Nirangistān	*huuōišta-* 'oldest, most important' (N1, 58, F4e)	*hauu-* /*hū-* 'to impel'[19]
Vīdēvdāt[20]	*vī.zōišta-* 'most active, most alert'[21] (V 8.10)	*zi-* 'to set in motion' (+ *vi-*)
	gauuāzišta- 'best at driving cattle' (V 14.10)	*az-* 'to drive'
	paiti.vacišta- 'best at answering' (V 18.7)	*vac-* 'to speak' (+ *paiti*)
	yūiδišta- 'best at fighting' (V 19.42)	*yaod-* 'to fight'

The functional pattern that was noted for OAv. is maintained at least in the older *Yašts*, and a high proportion of the *-išta-* forms are transitive with an object in the accusative. More forms have preverbs, and the same *-išta-* superlative occurs with different preverbs *(vīmarəzišta-/nimarəzišta-)*:

> Yt 12.8 *rašnuuō ... jaŋništa nasišta tāyūmca hazaŋʷhanəmca* 'O Rašnu ... **best at striking, best at destroying (?) the thief and the robber.**'

> Yt 13.106–7 *karsnahe frauuaŝīm yazamaide ... yō ... hamərəθəm paiti.yūiδištō* 'We worship the Fravaši of Karsna ... who ... **best fights against the enemy.**'

These transitive YAv. forms mostly belong to a fairly close semantic class composed of epithets applied to *yazatas* who are described as best at defeating/overthrowing/striking down/crushing the Lie (Av. *druj-*) or creatures of the Evil Creation.[22] Within this group in particular, there are formations in *-išta-* whose

19 According to SIMS-WILLIAMS/TUCKER 2005, pp. 594–596, *huuōišta-* 'most important, oldest' (cf. Khotanese *hvāṣṭa-* 'best, chief', 'teacher', Sogdian *xwyštk* 'teacher', *xwyštr* 'superior', Bactrian χοωαχο, χοωαδαρο 'elder, greater') probably shows an inherited IIr. State II **huaH-* from root *hū-* 'to impel' (< IIr. **sū-*), just as OP *duvaišta-* 'farthest' (and YAv. *dbōišta-*, if it has the same meaning) shows a State II **duaH-* from **dū-* (OP, Av., Skt. *dūrā-* 'far').

20 *xʷarəzišta-* 'tastiest, sweetest' (V 2.28, cf. MMPers. *xw'ryst*, Pahlavi *hw'lyst'*) has been linked with the New Persian verb *xvālīdan* 'to taste', and hence might represent a *bairišta-* type superlative. But NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS points out (personal letter 1997) that later Iranian contains evidence for positive adjectives (Pashto *xōğ/xož* 'sweet', Ossetic *xorz* 'good'), which are likely to continue Ir. **xwaržu-*, and perhaps IE **swlǧ(h)-su-* (cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1974, pp. 72, 97 on the phonology). SIMS-WILLIAMS has also suggested that, although the complex suffix **-su-* which this reconstruction entails is puzzling, the same IE adj. **swlǧ(h)-su-* may conceivably be continued in Armenian *k'alc'r* 'sweet'.

21 The same Iranian superlative was identified by GERSHEVITCH 1979, pp. 292–293, in MPers. *wzyšt*. Avestan verb forms which represent the inherited root *zi-* (Ved. *hi-*, *hinoti*) are aorist subjunctive *vīzaiiaθā* (Y 53.7), and, with a different preverb, present *frazaiiaiiāmi, -āhi* (V 5.16, 18), cf. KELLENS 1984, pp. 149 and 356.

22 This fact provides further grounds for connecting the goddess Cistā's epithet *nimarəzišta-* with the OAv. expression *nī hīm (drujəm) mərəždiāi* 'Let (me) sweep it (the Lie) down' (Y 44.14), in spite of the various meanings shown by reflexes of the compound **ni-marz-* in Middle Iranian (BENVENISTE/RENOU 1934, p. 58, n. 3). It also supports the

root vocalism corresponds to that found in the attested present stem from the finite verb:

Vocalism	Superlative	Present Stem	Root
zero grade	*yūiδišta-*	*yūiδiia-*	*yaod-* 'to fight', Skt. *yudh-*
full grade	*marəzišta-*	*marəza-*	*marəz-* 'to wipe', Skt. *mṛj-*
lengthened grade	*paiti.dārišta-*	*dāraiia-*	*dar-* 'to hold', Skt. *dhṛ-*

In view of the regularity of their occurrence in the manuscripts, and their internal consistency, it seems unlikely that such spellings may be attributed to faults in Avestan transmission. Taken at face value they point to a derivational relationship between coexisting forms of the verb and the superlatives in *-išta-*. That new *-išta-* superlatives could actually be built beside finite verb forms is indicated by YAv. passages such as the following:

> Yt 13.25 *yå auuaδa para fraoirisištå yaθra narō aŝauuanō aŝəm hənti zrazdātəma* '(The Fravašis) who formerly were **best at turning** in that direction where righteous men are most faithful to truth.'

> Yt 13.47 *yatāra vā.diš pauruua frāiiazənte ... ātaraθra fraoirisinti uyrå aŝāunąm frauuaŝaiiō* 'Whichever are the first to worship them ... in this direction **turn** the strong Fravašis of the righteous.'

The present stem *fraoirisiia-* (from the compound *fra-uruuaēs-*) is attested in several other early YAv. passages (e.g. Yt 10.9) and so the derivational process must be in the direction verb stem > superlative. Here we may have a slightly artificial creation, as there is clearly a word-play on the name of the Fravašis, but it nevertheless provides evidence that the composer of this early *Yašt* could derive an *-išta-* superlative (with preverb) from a (similarly prefixed) present stem in *-iia-*.

Superlatives with full-grade root are still numerous in YAv., and, of course, some of these could be inheritances, and the correspondence with the vocalism of the verb stem fortuitous. However, it is cases such as *yūiδišta-* and *(paiti).dārišta-* that are significant, in that the departure from the regular inherited full-grade root for superlatives seems attributable to the fact that *yūiδiia-* and *dāraiia-* were the *only* present stems that existed for the roots in question in the YAv. language. Thus it may be concluded that *yūiδišta-* was derived from the *-iia-* present *yūiδiia-* within OIr., and this is why there is a formal discrepancy with the equivalent Vedic comparative *yódhīyas-*.

derivation by BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 393, of Rašnu's epithet *upa.raoδišta-* (Yt 10.126) from the root *raod-* 'to hinder' (attested in YAv. with preverb *upa-*).

5. The diachronic developments within the Avestan *bairišta*-class

bairišta- corresponds to a simple thematic present and the same is true of all but one *(zrazdišta-*[23]*)* of the OAv. superlatives which belong to the same class:
- *bairišta-*: *bara-* , *baraitī* (Y 31.12, 38.1, 50.6), *ā...barətū* (Y 33.9)
- *mairišta-*: *mara-* , *marəṇtō* (Y 31.1), *marəṇtī* (Y 43.14)
- *vaēdišta-*: *vaēda-*, (middle) *vaēdō.dūm* (Y 53.5), (participle) *vaēdəmna-* (x 5)[24]
- *uruuāzišta-*: *uruuāza-*, (participle middle) *uruuāzəmna-* (Yt 10.34, 73) 'rejoicing'
- *zəuuīštiia-*: cf. RV *java-*, *jávate* 'moves quickly'

Compare the same sort of correspondence for some YAv. forms:
- *aiβi.vaŋiiah-*: *vana-*, *vanaiṇtī* 'they win' (Y39.2), etc.
- *θβaxšišta-*: *θβaxša-*, *θβaxšəṇte* (Yt 10.14) 'stir, are in motion', *θβaxšəmna-* (Yt 5.65).

Because of the formal identity in root vocalism, and their frequent function as predicates, these early superlatives may have been reinterpreted as deverbative formations built on the corresponding full-grade thematic present stems. Verb stem *bara-* → superlative *bairišta-* may then have served as the model for derivations such as *marəza-*[25] → *marəzišta-* in the later language. In the Younger Avestan this process was extended to (descriptively) full-grade thematic stems of other types, such as *(upa.)raoδaiia-*[26] → *(upa.)raoδišta-*, and ultimately to thematic present stems in general including those with different root vocalism, such as *yūiδiia-* and *dāraiia-* → *yūiδišta-* and *dārišta-*. The deletion of the whole thematic suffix rather than simply the thematic vowel in such cases would be motivated by the older forms all of which show an identical structure monosyllabic root +*-išta-*. There are no exceptions to this pattern: even OAv. *zrazd-išta-*, YAv. *jaym-išta-* conform. It is not claimed that all *bairišta-*

23 In the 'late' *Gāthā*, Y 53. The agreement between YAv. *zrazdātəma-* (Yt 13.25) and the series of Vedic superlatives in *-d(h)ātama-* based on nominal compounds in *-d(h)ā-* shows that *zrazdišta-* must represent an innovation.

24 The attribution of these forms to the root 'to find' or 'to know' is problematic, just as it is in the case of the superlative (see fn. 10). Upon the loss of this thematic present in YAv., *vaēδišta-* would have appeared closer to perfect *vaēδa* 'he knows' than to the nasal presents *vīnasti*, *vindati* 'he finds'. This may explain the consistent YAv. sense 'best at knowing'.

25 The thematic present from this root is peculiar to YAv. (contrast Vedic athematic *mārṣṭi*, *mṛjanti*, Grk. ὀμόργνυμι), but it may be old in Iranian as it is widespread across Middle Iranian, cf. KELLENS 1984, p. 111.

26 Rašnu's epithet *upa.raoδišta-* 'best at obstructing (the *druj-*)' must represent the antithesis of *aŋəm upa.raoδaiieit<ɪ>* (P 50) 'he obstructs righteousness', and hence be connected with the *-aiia-* present *raoδaiia-*.

superlatives that are first attested in YAv. are to be explained in this way[27], but such a derivational process provides an explanation for several puzzling cases where a formal difference exists between the Vedic and Avestan superlatives built from the same root.

jaγništa- 'best at slaying', *vījaγmišta-* 'best at coming over' probably owe their existence to the YAv. reduplicated thematic verb stems from the inherited roots *jan-* 'to kill' and *gam-* 'to come': *jaγna-* (cf. Greek thematic aorist ἔπεφνον[28]), which supplies present and preterite forms in YAv., and *jaγma-*, which occurs once in the form *jaγmaṯ* at Yt 19.12.[29] A connection with reduplicated verb stems, which was proposed by BARTHOLOMAE, then by DEBRUNNER[30], is more likely to be correct than HOFFMANN's[31] suggestion that *jaγništa-*, *vījaγmišta-* are based on reduplicated *i*-stem adjectives **jaγni-*, *jaγmi-* (cf. RV *jághni-*, *jágmi-* from *han-*, *gam-*), since the value of the latter differs from that of a superlative and a direct remodelling is hard to believe.[32]

The origin of *dāhišta-* 'best at giving/bestowing' (hapax Yt 13.17 *tā̊ ... upastąm həṇti dāhištā̊* 'Those (Fravašis) are best at giving help') versus RV *dēṣṭha-*, *dhēṣṭha-* appears more problematic, but an OIr. thematic stem with the shape **dāha-* from the root *dā-* 'to give, to put' is attested once in the OAv.

27 Some which first appear even in quite late parts of the Avesta may be ancient. For instance, *pairi.uruuaēšta-* (Yt.11.2) has been identified (HOFFMANN 1975–1992, I, p. 396, II, pp. 506–508) as a derivative from the IIr. root that appears in Vedic as *vlī-*, *vlināti* 'to crush', from which otherwise only one isolated participle form appears in OIr. (Yt 13.13 *uruuīnaitīš*). Likewise the phonology of *huuōišta-* and *vī.zōišta-* points to old formations (see fn. 19 and 21).

Yet others are new creations resulting from independent analogies among nominal forms, e.g. *šāišta-/ašāišta-* 'most happy/unhappy' (V 3.1, V 3.7) after adjs. *šāta-/ašāta-* probably on the analogy of *spāništa-* 'most holy' beside *spənta-*; *xraθβišta-* 'most wise' (Y 26.2, Yt 13.80) beside *aš.xraθβastəma-* 'the very most wise' (Yt 10.141) on the analogy of *aojišta-* beside *aš.aojastəma-* (SCHINDLER 1987, pp. 341–342). Thematic participle *xraθβəma-* (V 4.2) was then backformed from *xraθβišta-* in accordance with the productive pattern which linked *-išta-* superlatives to thematic verb stems.

28 THIEME 1929, p. 34; WATKINS 1995, p. 301, note 9. But, KELLENS 1984, pp. 194–195 does not accept the comparison.

29 HINTZE 1994, p. 122, stresses that in its context the form *jaγmaṯ* must be indicative.

30 BARTHOLOMAE 1904, cols. 602 and 1438; WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER 1896–1957, II.2, p. 446.

31 HOFFMANN 1975–1992, II, p. 396. BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 602, also referred to Vedic *jághni-* and *hániṣṭha-*, perhaps envisaging a blend, but deverbative formations according to the process that produced other *-išta-* forms is more likely.

32 According to TICHY 1995, pp. 239–249, reduplicated *-i-*stem adjectives have iterative or intensive value: in the RV they are often paired, and contrast semantically, with the same *nomina agentis* in *-tar* as the superlatives (e.g. *vṛtrám hániṣṭha-*, *hántā vṛtrám*, *jághnir vṛtrám*). There is also a morphological objection to the hypothesis that only these two inherited reduplicated adjectives in *-i* were remodelled as superlatives in *-išta-*, since inherited *caxri-* (*caxraiiō* Y 34.7, cf. RV *cákri-*) is attested unremodelled in OAv., and the YAv. compound *spənjaγrīm* (V 19.40) probably contains the cognate of RV *jághri-* (HINTZE 2007a, with reference to HUMBACH).

2nd pl. imperative form *(maz)dāŋhō.dūm* < **(mns)-dāha-dvam* 'bear in mind' (Y 45.1). Such a stem must have originated as an s-aorist subjunctive (cf. Vedic *dāsat, dāsathas, dhāsathas, dhāsatha*), and Vedic also provides evidence that this stem was employed to supply imperative forms.[33] Hence, as in the case of *jaŋništa-* derived from *jaŋna-*, the basis of *dāhišta-* appears to be a thematic stem of aorist origin which had developed some functions of a thematic present. The morphology of the hitherto unexplained and isolated YAv. superlative *paošišta-* 'most putrid' likewise points to derivation from the original s-aorist subjunctive stem **pauHš-a-* of *pū-* < **puH-* 'to be putrid, to stink', but in the case of this root there are no testimonies for the function of such a verb stem.

Finally a tentative proposal may be made about the unexpected transitive value shown by YAv. *nasišta*, traditionally translated 'best at destroying, most destructive' (Yt 12.8, quoted above). In the early RV forms of the verb *naś-/aś-(aṃś-)* 'to reach', and especially of its root aorist subjunctive stem *naśa-*[34], are frequently employed for reaching in a hostile sense, e.g.

> RV 2.35.6 *nā́rātayō ví naśan nánṛtāni* 'hostilities shall not reach (him), nor falsehoods.'
>
> RV 6.3.2 *nā́ṃho mártaṃ naśate nā́ prádṛptiḥ* 'neither distress nor madness will reach the mortal.'

If the development of this stem took place in IIr., and if it were continued into Avestan, **nasa-* could have served as the base for the creation of *nasišta-* 'best at reaching, best at attacking'. In other words, this form may belong with the OIr. root *nas- (< *h₁nek-)* 'to reach', not *nas- (< *nek-)* 'to perish'. The superlatives *jaŋništa-, vījaŋmišta-, dāhišta-, paošišta-* and *nasišta-* are thus parallel new formations to the extent that it appears possible to link all of them to original aorist stems in *-a*.

6. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to show that there is evidence within Avestan for a productive extension of one variety of *-išta-* superlative, the *bairišta*-type. The suffix *-išta-* was reanalysed as a deverbative suffix, and in YAv. new superlatives were derived from a range of verb stems in *-a-*. Our evidence for the OAv. language

33 NARTEN 1964, p. 151, fn. 423. A further development to a thematic present indicative is found in the case of the s-aorist subjunctive from two other Vedic roots in *-ā*, *hāsate* 'runs a race' and *abhidāsati* 'shows enmity, ambushes'. NARTEN 1963 discusses which root *dā-* appears in the latter compound: 'to give' is one possibility but not the most likely (Cf. NARTEN 1964, p. 140).

34 According to HOFFMANN 1976–1992, II, pp. 358–364, this stem resulted from the formal falling together of the root aorist subjunctive (cf. indicative *ānaṭ*, subjunctive *našatī*) with the remodelled 3rd pl. root aorist injunctive form (*našan* replacing **ašan* < **H₁nk-ent*).

is extremely limited, but the correlation observed there between full grade thematic verb stems *(bara-, mara-)* and *-išta-* superlatives *(bairišta-, mairišta-)* is unlikely to be the result of chance. A high degree of correlation between the two is also found in the RV (24 out of the 34 superlatives in *-iṣṭha-* which exemplify the *bairišta*-type stand beside Class I present stems) but it is only in the latest books of the RV that sporadic new *-iṣṭha-* forms appear to be derived from the present stem of verbs.[35] Although it seems that the creation of new superlatives on the basis of coexisting verb stems only developed in the historical languages, the patterning that gave rise to this innovation probably already existed at a prehistoric IIr. stage. How far back can this patterning be traced?

If OAv. *bairišta-* and Grk. φέριστος continue an IE proto-form **bheristo-*, this represents a case where an elative in **-isto-* happened to stand beside a full grade thematic IE present, **bhereti*. The formal match between Av. *bairišta-* and Grk. φέριστος is impeccable, yet the sense of the latter, which is employed as a form of address for gods, men, and horses in Homer, and which is conventionally translated 'best, bravest' (a near synonym of ἄριστος), is more difficult to connect with the root **bher-* than the sense of Av. *bairišta-*. Both OAv. *aibī.bairišta-* (Y 51.1, quoted above) and YAv. *nižbairišta-* are employed transitively:

> Yt 11.3 *mąθrō spaṇtō mainiiəuuīm* ***drujəm nižbairištō*** 'The bounteous Sacred Word is **best at removing** the spiritual **Lie**.'

DELBRÜCK[36] argued that there is a closer match between the function of the Homeric vocative φέριστε (Il.6.123, 15.247, etc.) and the vocative *bairišta*, which is addressed to the god Rašnu in the other YAv. context at Yt 12.7:

rašnuuō duraēdarštəma	'O Rašnu who sees best in the distance
rašnuuō ***arəθamaṭ bairišta***	O Rašnu **who best supports ?*arəθamaṭ***
rašnuuō tāyūm nijaŋništa	O Rašnu who best strikes down the thief'

However, here the parallelism in word-order with the following vocative phrase supports BARTHOLOMAE's view that *arəθamaṭ* represents the accusative governed by *bairišta-*[37], just like the accusatives in the other Avestan passages which contain the same superlative form. NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS has pointed out[38] that the widespread Iranian use of the compound **dāta-bara-* in the sense 'judge' (e.g. MPers. *d'dwr*, literally 'bearing the law') suggests that the direct object governed by *bar-* may here have a meaning similar to 'law'. Accordingly, it can be proposed that *arəθamaṭ* n. literally 'what is equipped with an object

35 E.g. 10.165.5 *prá patāt pātiṣṭhaḥ* 'Let the best flier fly forth' (*pātiṣṭha-* is unattested in the earlier RV).

36 DELBRÜCK 1903.

37 According to BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 196, it refers to the plaintiff and this neuter sg. stands instead of acc.sg.masc.

38 Personal letter 1997.

or purpose' refers to the legal cause (cf. *arəθiia-* n. 'cause, lawsuit', Yt 11.5). A description of Rašnu as the one 'who best supports the cause' would accord well with this *yazata*'s role as divine judge.

The syntactical difference between the employment of Av. *bairišta-* and Grk. φέριστος may result from an innovation on the IIr. side, and is not in itself a reason for rejecting the traditional word-equation. It is quite possible that the property of assigning case and transitive syntax developed in OIr. hand in hand with the reinterpretation of *-išta-* as a deverbative suffix; and in OIA as a result of the link with *nomina agentis* in *-tar*. Some Vedic and Avestan superlatives of the *bairišta*-type which have undergone a semantic development in isolation are invariably employed absolutely even though the root from which they derive makes transitive verb forms: cf. *jyéṣṭha-* 'oldest, mightiest' (*jyā-* 'to rob, to oppress'), *rábhiṣṭha-* 'most impetuous' (*rabh-/labh-* 'to grasp, to take'), or Avestan *huuōišta-* 'most important, oldest' (*hū-* 'to impel'). Such examples may preserve the earliest syntactical function of the *bairišta*-type superlatives, which is parallel to that of Grk. φέριστος.[39]

It is conceivable that both the form and meaning of φέριστος might be explained in connection with early Greek deverbative compounds in -φερής[40] such as προφερής 'excellent' (Hesiod Sc.260), literally 'carried before, preferred'.[41] A formal model which might have led to the backformation of such a superlative could have been supplied by pairs such as κύδιστος/ἐρικυδής, ἥδιστος/μελιηδής, κήδιστος/ἀκηδής. However, this was not a productive pattern which produced other new Greek superlatives in -ιστο-, and the set of forms, consisting of superlatives φέριστος and φέρτατος, comparative φέρτερος, is unparalleled in early Greek.[42] The existence of the more frequently attested semantic doublet φέρτατος, which is built with the regular Greek superlative suffix -τατο-, suggests rather that φέριστος is a relic.[43]

39 Cf. WATKINS 1995, pp. 483–487, on inherited figures involving superlatives which are used absolutely.

40 This connection was suggested to me by ANNA MORPURGO DAVIES in 1998.

41 Early Greek deverbative compounds in -ής are most frequently intransitive or passive in value (MEISSNER 2006, pp. 191–194), cf. Hom. ἀελπής 'unhoped for', ἀπευθής 'not ascertained', εὐπλεκής 'well-twisted', εὐτρεφής 'well nourished', etc. The early existence of προφερής is confirmed by the comparative and superlative προφερέστερος, προφερέστατος 'more, most excellent' (Iliad and Odyssey).

42 RISCH 1974, pp. 89–91. The closest morphological parallel is φίλιστος (Attic), φιλίων (Homer) and also φίλτατος, φίλτερος (Homer). But φίλιστος, φιλίων could have been created beside the denominative verb φιλέω, ἐφίλησα following the more frequent pattern seen in ἄλγιστος/ἄλγησα or ῥίγιστος/ῥίγησα.

43 SEILER 1950, pp. 94–97, suggested that φέρτερος, φέρτατος were built on the ppp. φερτός 'carried', and then φέρτατος 'best carried, respected' was remodelled to φέριστος on the analogy of ἄριστος. But a hypothesis that involves a replacement of -τατο- by -ιστο- is not convincing.

If so, the unique equation φέριστος: *bairišta-* may indicate that the IE, and in turn IIr., parent language contained a few forms of the **bheristo-*type,[44] which were the starting point for expansions of this class in the two respective branches of IIr. It is unnecessary to postulate that **bheristo-*type superlatives were lost on a massive scale in all branches of IE except IIr., since a high proportion of the forms attested in IIr. can be explained as new creations that originated independently in early Vedic and Avestan.

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44 A few isolated forms in other branches of IE have been interpreted as relics of **bheristo-*type formations, e.g. Latin *iuxtā, pessimus* (SZEMERÉNYI 1976, pp. 407–408, 416). However, most **-isto-* forms which can be securely reconstructed for IE belong to roots which form positive adjectives, most often in **-u-*, **-ro-*, **-mo-*, that is roots of adjectival meaning, whose verb (if it exists) shows unaccusative syntax. The few reconstructible IE forms of the **bheristo-*type may represent no more than a limited prehistoric extension of the **meĝ-isto-*type. Or the extension may be of IIr. date rather than IE, since IIr. has a number of cases where a thematic present was built to a root which formed 'Caland adjectives': Ved. *prthú-*, *práthiṣṭha-*, *práthate* or *śubhrá-*, *śóbhiṣṭha-*, *śóbhate*, Av. *namra-*, *nąmišta-*, *nəmaṇte* could have served as the model for creating *yājišta-* beside *yájate/yájati*, or Av. *θβaxšišta-* beside *θβaxšəṇte* in the absence of positive adjs. If, after all, φέριστος arose within Greek, OAv. *bairišta-* could be explained via an IIr. process of creation such as this.

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The Triple System of Orography in Ptolemy's Xinjiang

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A part of Central Asia was known to the Greeks: Bactria, Margiana, Sogdiana were within reach of Greek bematists. But a part was not, although it is dealt with in Ptolemy's *Geography* in the same 'scientific' way. This opposition has been known for a long time and a century ago, STEIN warned of

> attempts to utilize Ptolemy's artificially deduced longitudes and latitudes for the determination of ancient localities in distant parts of Asia, where, as we know, the scantiness and unreliable character of the information at his disposal excluded the possibility of even approximately correct cartographic construction. The emphatic yearning uttered by Sir H. Yule (*Cathay*, i. p. cli) on the subject of the deceptive nature of these definitions deserves to be taken to heart by students of Ptolemy's Asiatic Geography.[1]

However, despite this warning, the most complete discussion of Central Asia beyond the frontiers of Alexander's empire according to Ptolemy, that of A. HERRMANN, *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antike*, is entirely based on such an attempt.[2] Some recent progress has been made on the comprehension of the way Ptolemy dealt with his sources: CL. RAPIN has demonstrated for Western Central Asia, that the best way to understand Ptolemy is not to look at the global picture reconstructed from the coordinates but on the contrary to separate the text in paragraphs in order to identify correct regional sets of data. Ptolemy mixed up these regional data by juxtaposing, reversing, moving or turning them, almost as if they were separate tracings on a blank map which could be placed in one way or another according to what Ptolemy regarded, sometimes wrongly, as the main geographical elements.[3] With this methodology in mind it is now possible to reconsider the Northern and Eastern parts of Central Asia, and it is a pleasure to offer these fresh views on a very old problem to N. SIMS-WILLIAMS.

1 STEIN 1907, I, p. 55.
2 According to him, Maes made use of an Iranian translation of Chinese book for traders, but without understanding the li and mixing it with the farsakh and the Greek stade, in a much complicated way (HERRMANN 1939, pp. 109–121). HERRMANN claimed to have discover the system of conversion so that he could mathematically apply it back to all the coordinates and have as a result the 'true' map behind Ptolemy's text.
3 RAPIN 2001.

1) Ptolemy and the Syr Daria

The quality of the data gathered by Ptolemy on the Syr Daria is surprising. The course of the river is quite accurately described, with all its right-bank tributaries: the Arys should be one of the rivers flowing into the Syr Daria from the Aspisian mountains (§ 14.6), while the rivers in Châch should be the ones flowing from the Tapouroi mountains (§ 14.7), a fact confirmed by the description of a great bend of the Syr Daria near them. Ptolemy described only two left-bank tributaries flowing "from the same mountainous region where the Iaxartēs also rises"[4] (§ 12.3) pointing clearly to the Ferghana left-bank tributaries of the Syr Daria, itself taking its origin not from the Naryn river but from the Kurshâb flowing from the Alay range.[5] This range is clearly the Komedai: there is an exact match between the position of the source of the Iaxartes and of the famous ascent to this mountain region of Sogdiana, both situated at 125°/43°, pointing to a road along the Syr Daria to the Terek pass and Daraut Kurgan.

Further to the West it is also well known that Ptolemy, although he failed to differentiate the Aral sea from the Caspian, is the first geographer aware of the fact that the Caspian sea was an inland sea, with a Northern shore and to give a complete list of the rivers flowing in the steppe. It seems quite logical to think that Ptolemy made use of a trading itinerary from the Black Sea to the Syr Daria.[6]

The question of the date of this itinerary is open to debate[7]: the data gathered by Maes Titianos for the south of Central Asia are usually ascribed to the end of the 1st c. AD. As regards the Northern itinerary, however, we might wonder if it is not earlier. It has been known for a long time that the presence along the Syr Daria of the Tachoroi and the Iatioi (§ 12.4), while in Bactria the Tocharoi are mentioned might point to a doublet. The Southern migration of the Tokharoi is established by other, independent, sources, such as Justinus, regardless of whether or not they are to be identified with the Yuezhi.[8] If the Tachoroi on the Syr Daria are not a remnant, the bulk of the tribes having migrated south, then

4 Text and transl. HUMBACH/ZIEGLER 1998, pp. 167.

5 P'JANKOV 1985 has aptly remarked that the name of the river might explain the error of Ptolemy, who placed Kyreschata on it. The various locations of the town in the manuscripts point to the existence of both names, Kyreschata and Kurshâb, in the original, later wrongly united because of phonetic similarity: HUMBACH/ZIEGLER 2002, p. 91.

6 An independent and precise proof of that idea, beside the numerous but vague texts pointing to a road from the Black Sea to India, is the fact that Pliny regarded Crimea as the main trading region for lapis lazzuli, which can only have been carried there through this road, coming from the Badakhshan mountains. See LA VAISSIÈRE 2005, pp. 40–41.

7 RAPIN 2001, p. 217, has suggested that Ptolemy relied on a single source when describing Northern Central Asia.

8 JUSTINUS, prologus libri XLI, prologus libri XLII, liber XLII.II.I: in 124–123 BC the Tochari killed the Parthian king and their kings, the Asiani, and occupied Sogdiana and Bactra.

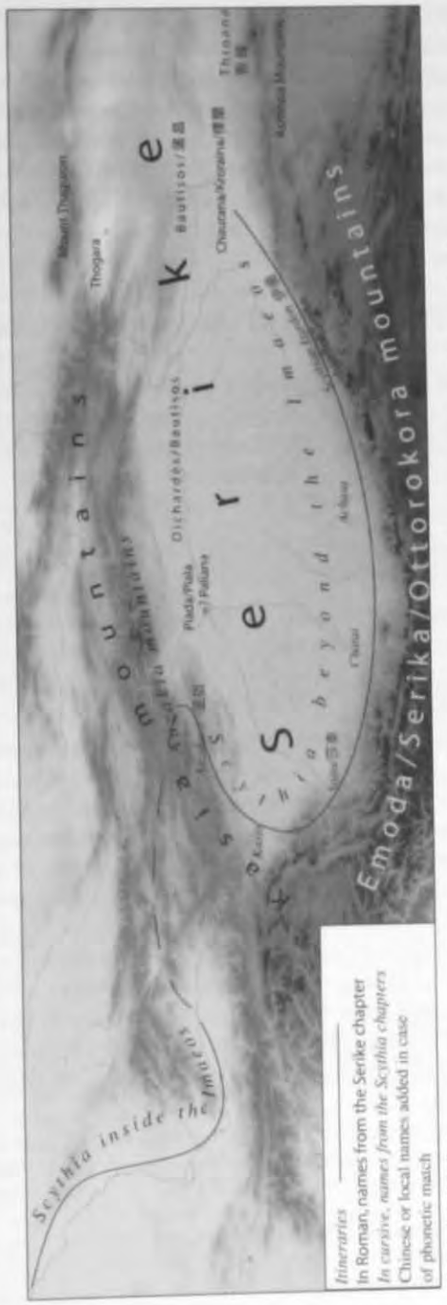
Emoda/Serika mountains
Scythia inside the Imaos
Itineraries
In Roman, names from the Serike chapter
In cursive, names from the Scythia chapters
Chinese or local names added in case of phonetic match

Fig. 1: Northern and Eastern Central Asia according to Ptolemy's Serike and Scythia chapters.

Map: É. de la Vaissière

the doublet should be interpreted chronologically. The mention of the Tachoroi to the north of the Syr Daria would provide a date for this Syr Darian itinerary, the middle of the 2nd c. BC. A further proof of this idea is another doublet, the Alanoi and Aorsoi near the Black Sea and the Caspian, and the Alanorsoi near the Imaeos (the Tianshan), which might point to some recent sources describing the Black Sea and a very old one as regard Northern Central Asia.[9] This would help to explain why most of the tribal names, except the Tachorai and Alanorsoi, sound so unfamiliar.[10]

2) Ptolemy and the Southern Road

Further to the East it is also possible to prove that Ptolemy made use of an itinerary. While most of the research has concentrated on the Serika chapter (16) and Maes Titianos, I consider that his description of Scythia beyond the Imaeos (§ 15.3) can be more clearly understood:

> μεθ' οὓς ἡ Αὐζακίτις[11] ἐκτέταται χώρα καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτην ἔτι παρὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὁρμητήριον ἡ Κασία χώρα ὑφ' ἣν Χάται/Χαῖται Σκύθαι εἶτα ἡ Ἄχασα χώρα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν παρὰ τὰ Ἡμωδὰ ὄρη Χαυρανaῖοι Σκύθαι.[12]
>
> the Auzakitis region and, below it, still close to the trading centre mentioned above the Kasia region below which lies (the district of) the Chatai Skythai, then followed by the Achasa region and below this, near the Êmōdā mountains, by (the district of) the Chauranaioi Skythai.

It has long been known that Kasia is Kashgar.[13] Auzaka should be sought to the North of Kashgar. De Guignes, and everybody since then, had already identified it with Aqsu, but I rather think that it is Uch-Turfan. The ancient name of this town was known in Chinese from the Han period onward, but also in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit texts spoke of H.čyuka, the Tang ones of Yuzhu 于祝, that is yɔtʂiwk in Late Middle Chinese, the Han ones of Wensu 溫宿, that is ·uənsi̯uk. Pelliot supposed an original Üchük behind these transcriptions,[14] while the Han transcription would rather point to Üsük. Auzaka could be a good transcription of the same name. Moreover, the Auzaka mountains are supposed to be the source of the Oichardes river, the Tarim. It is indeed true that the river flowing from the Western Tianshan above Uch-Turfan, the Aqsu river, provides about 70 % of the water of the Tarim. Auzaka is beyond any doubt Uch-Turfan.

9 See on the Alan and Aorsi Alemany 2000, pp. 98–101.
10 For entirely different reasons a 2nd c. BC date for the Sogdiana chapter of Ptolemy has already been proposed by Marquart 1905 p. 240.
11 Or Αὐξακίτις.
12 Text and transl. Humbach/Ziegler 1998, pp. 196–199.
13 *Pace* Shiratori 1957.
14 Pelliot 1923.

Furthermore, it has never been proposed that Chaurana might be a transcription of Kroraina: at the same time, Kroraina was heard by the Chinese Loulan 樓蘭 then pronounced γru-γrân (in Ancient Chinese, according to Karlgren).[15] Chaurana seems to be a quite good transcription of the original name. If these two points are validated, and although I have no idea of what Achasa can be[16], then the Chatai Skythai should be the Khotanese, the final -n being regarded as a Greek declensional ending.[17] If not a single one of these transcriptions is perfect, their list is nevertheless suggestive: the Southern Silk Road is here described, but from the Bedel pass. Furthermore, from the same chapter, only two city names can be added, which confirm the fact that all the data are coming from a single itinerary: Soita is a good transcription of the name of Yarkand (Suoche 莎車 that is swâ-t'iâ according to Karlgren). The second name is Scythian Issedon[18]: Pulleyblank has quite clearly demonstrated that it is the Miran/Charklik region, as Issedon is an attempt to transcribe, in a classical Herodotean disguise, Yixun 伊循 (pronounced ē(∂)-sʊ̀n, later Se-ton in Tibetan).[19] These two towns are indeed expected on the same itinerary, although it is not very clear why Ptolemy mentioned these towns only in the list of towns and not in his list of regions.

Ptolemy's Scythia beyond the Imaeos should be read as a single itinerary, from the Bedel pass in the north-west to Loulan at the oriental end of the Taklamakan (see fig. 1).[20] It should have been something like: "going outside the mountains and turning to the south, with the mountains always on the right, we went through the regions of Auzaka, Kasia, Soita, Chata, Achasa, Issedon and Chaurana." The fact that the mountains slowly turned to the east being unnoticed in the source, Ptolemy reconstructed a north-south list, creating coordinates devoid of any value.

15 The name Kroraina was unknown when most of the works on Ptolemean geography have been written. But Lindegger 1993, p. 49 is still identifying Chaurana with Khotan.
16 Can it be Sāca (Endere) of the Niya texts with metathesis? Brough 1965, p. 592. It would fit very well from a geographical point of view.
17 An old idea here revived: Dutreuil de Rhins 1897, 2, p. 41.
18 Lindegger 1993 p. 51.
19 Pulleyblank 1963, p. 127.
20 This itinerary is different from the one provided by Maes Titianos and, the Bedel pass being to the North, between the upper course of the Syr Daria and Uch-Turfan, there would be a possibility that the Syr Darian itinerary previously identified and this Auzaka-Chaurana part could be a single itinerary. However to go to the Bedel pass from Ferghana, the road went along the upper course of the present Syr Daria, that is the Naryn, while we have seen that the Syr Darian itinerary followed the ancient course, the Kurshab. There is a missing segment here, the Naryn, so that this hypothesis cannot be regarded as demonstrated, although I regard it as quite possible. It should be noted in this regard that the map in one of the best manuscripts (Venetianus Marcianus Graecus 516) has an unamed river flowing into the Syr Daria from the North in Ferghana, with its source in the Tianshan, that is clearly the Naryn (Humbach/Ziegler 2002, fig. 32, a hydrography regarded as fanciful pp. 95 and 97). See the complete itinerary on Fig. 1.

3) Serike

It is possible to apply the same methodology to the Serike chapter of Ptolemy. This chapter is usually regarded as a north-south description, if somehow garbled. But in fact it is far more deeply garbled than usually assumed and this is the result of a very bad merging of various sets of misunderstood data. This is why there are as many identifications as there are articles dealing with the topic: the whole area might be that of the Tarim Basin and the Tibetan plateau, or that of Southern Siberia and the Tarim Basin. There is a Chinese town, Sera Metropolis, on the Far East, which has been identified with Luoyang, Chang'an, Lanzhou or Dunhuang, depending of the system of interpretation chosen, and especially of the values given to the distances in Ptolemy. Two rivers are described by Ptolemy, the Oichardes, identified most often with the Tarim but also with the Ienissei or the Orkhon, and the Bautisos, seen variously as the Tarim, the Tsangpo/Brahmaputra or the Huanghe. The data simply do not fit the various North-South identifications.

The most convincing, and now dominant, interpretation, regards the whole chapter as a description of Tibet and Tarim Basin. It is very clear that Ptolemy made use of a source belonging to the Indian geographical tradition of classical geography: there are many names in this chapter coming from it (Ottorokora-Uttarakuru, Asmiraia-Sumeru,[21] Emoda-Imaeos-Haimota ...). But some are unknown in the authors making use before him of the same geographical tradition, as Plinus or Pomponius Mela: Bautai, Bautisos, Solana, Orosana, Paliana.[22] In this list only Bautai and Bautisos have been identified and regarded as an early attempt to transcribe the name of Tibet, Bod (Bhauṭṭa in sanskrit).[23] The problem is that this interpretation is problematic, to say the least. First of all, not a single manuscript gives the reading Bautai. All of them give Baitai, or Baeitai, or Batai. Ammianus gives Beatae.[24] In other words the text has been corrected by most of the commentators to match Bhauṭṭa-Bod, while Ptolemy predates the next mention of Bhauṭṭa-Bod by more than half a millenium. The only name which might be linked with the old name of Tibet is Bautisos, shortened Bautis in some manuscripts. However Bod in never the name of a river, be it the Tsangpo or another one. The entire hypothesis is based on very flimsy ground, and to be validated needs a whole set of corrections and implicit subhypotheses. This is not impossible, but we might look if there is not another, simpler, possibility of interpretation.

My hypothesis, as illustrated on Fig. 1, is that the Serike chapter is as a whole a doublet, that Ptolemy wrongly juxtaposed in a North-South way two descriptions of the Tarim Basin as if they were two different regions. He did exactly

21 HUMBACH/ZIEGLER 2002, p. 102.
22 HERRMANN 1939, p. 59.
23 See for instance recently BECKWITH 1987, p. 7.
24 HUMBACH/ZIEGLER 1998, p. 208.

the same thing as with the various regions of Bactria or Sogdiana except that for Serike he was devoid of any firm knowledge which could help him to deal with his divergent sets of data, for the case being most probably itineraries. With the Scythia beyond the Imaeos, there are in fact three Tarim Basin in Ptolemy.

The doublets can help to prove this: the most obvious one is the doublet of rivers. The descriptions of the Bautisos and the Oichardes are strictly parallel, only the names are different:

> The other (river) is called Bautisos. This, too, has a source by the Kasia Mountains at 160° 43°, its source by the Ottorokoras mountain range lies at 176° 39°. The branch of the river toward the Ēmōda mountains lies at 168° 39° and its (third) source lies in these at 160° 37°.
>
> One of (these rivers) is the Oichardēs. Its source by the Auzakia mountains is indicated above. Another (source) lies by the Asmiraia mountains at 174° 47°30'. The branch of the river towards the Kasia Mountains lies at 160° 49° 30' and its (third) source lies at these at 161° 44° 15'.

Both have three sources in three mountains, of which one are the Kasia mountains, both have a branch toward a mountain where their third source lies. This cannot be by mere chance.[25] The Huanghe or the Tsangpo do not have three sources or main affluents, while the Tarim is indeed only the result of the merging of the Yarkand, Khotan and Aqsu rivers.

The Bautisos and the Oichardes are depicted as the same river, the Tarim under two different names, flowing from the Tianshan and the Kunlun.[26] It is only by combining the information on the Oichardes and the Bautisos, that it is possible to reconstruct the whole picture: the third source of the Tarim, situated in the far East, slightly to the West of Throana-Dunhuang (Oichardes), and to the south of the mountains (Bautisos), in the Asmiraia (Oichardes) and Ottorokora (Bautisos) is in fact its lower course, an error due to the difficulty of understanding what an endoreic river is. The mountains are completely misunderstood with many doublets: if the Auzakia moutains are clearly the Western end of the Tianshan above Uch-Turfan, as demonstrated above, the Kasia Mountains, being depicted as an angular range, with two Western ends, are covering also the Pamirs and the whole Tianshan, doubling the Auzakia mountains in their central part, reflecting the real angle of the mountain range as seen from the Tarim Basin. The Emoda-Serika-Ottorokora mountains are the Kunlun, as Kroraina is near the Emoda, while the Asmiraia seem to be only its Eastern end, near Throana-Dunhuang.

25 HERRMANN 1939, p. 59 had to suppose that there was a textual contamination between the paragraph on the Oichardes and that on the Bautisos, whithout explaining why.
26 As regard the name, I would suggest the possibility that Oichardes is the name of the Tarim itself, while Bautisos might be an attempt to transcribe the name of its terminal lake, the Lob Nor, transcribed Puchang 蒲昌 (B'uo-t'ś'jang) in Han-time Chinese sources.

The fact that the Kasia mountains are mentioned in the description of both the Oichardes and the Bautisos points to the main source of the errors of Ptolemy. The Kasia mountains seem to have been described twice, "from the south", i.e. for instance in an Indian itinerary originating from the Hanging passages, as the whole mountain range to the North, while it should have been described, maybe by Maes's agent, as a more limited Pamirian limit of the Tarim Basin. Ptolemy was unable to reconcile these diverging descriptions and had to juxtapose them in a North-South way, with the Kasia mountains in the middle.

With this very simple hypothesis, places can then be rightly placed and doublets reunited. Thogara, instead of being placed far away in Gansu, as HERRMANN proposed,[27] is just at the place where it should be, that is the four *twyry* countries of the later Turkish sources, from Qarashahr to Besh-Balik, with the isolated Thaguron mountain, clearly the Bogda shan in the middle of the four *twyry* countries, slightly to the North-East of the Kasia-Tianshan.[28] The Scythian Issedon is identical with the Serike one, between the southern and eastern "branches" of the Oichardes. The two towns of Piada, with their inhabitants written in most of the manuscripts Pialai, and Paliana, one near the Oichardes and the other near the Bautisos, might also be a doublet.

As regards Sera Metropolis, it can only be the Chinese capital, as 7 months of travel, the only precise data we have in Ptolemy, is, according to Benedict Goës at the end of the XVIth century, precisely the time necessary for the 3600km separating the Pamir from Chang'an.

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27 HERRMANN 1939, p. 118, 140.
28 HENNING 1938 p. 550f.

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A Pahlavi Letter from Egypt Re-visited (P. 44)

Dieter Weber, Moringen

The Pahlavi papyrus from Egypt presented here contains a letter and was first published in 1992[1] but not fully interpreted at that time. It is owned by the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen, Germany, and preserved under the signature Or.var.45 (= Orientalia varia, no. 45).

The papyrus is relatively well preserved with original margins on top and on the right and left sides though these are partially torn. Its height is 37.7 cm, its width 15.8 cm; the text, though not complete at the bottom, contains 30 lines on the recto page (↑[2]), the verso page is blank.[3]

Transliteration

1 'L yzd'n-'ḇyd'ṭ' bwlc'ṭwr .[ ]...[ ].....
2 'whrmzd m'zdysnyh mylkyh *nc* d'šṭ'
3 wyhbwṭ W 'p̄'ryk 'NŠWṬ' Y pṭ' štr'
4 ŠRM W drwdsṭyh W KR' pl(h)[wyh] hm'y
5 pṭ' LKWM YḤWWN'ṭ W pṭ.[ ](L)KWM
6 pṭ' drwdsṭyh W l'mšn' .....
7 cygwn' ZK Y dšn' LK MRY' LKWM
8 l'd pṭ' KR' wṭ wš['ṭ'](ḆYN)
9 'p̄'yṭ pṭ'-c ZNH p...ṭ[ ].... 'y
10 YḤWWNyṭ MH 'NŠWṬ' Y pṭ' štr'
11 drwdsṭ' ḤWHnd n'mk' W d'šn Y L MR'Ḥ
12 l'd MN štr' YḤYṬYWNṭ ... [ ]...[ ]BR'
13 ŠDRWNyṭ MH-m MN bwlck' 'ŠMH'ṭ
14 'YḴ-ṭ glṭk' ḤṬYMWNṭ W BR' YCBNHyṭ
15 Y'ṬWNṭn ZK Y mylkyh l'd .[
16 LKWM ḆYN 'p̄'yṭ 'y Y['ṬWN]*ynd* ḤṬ
17 LKWM l'd 'p̄'yṭ Y BYRḤ 'ṭwr W nk's
18 'y YḤSNN*ynd* W MN n'mk' Y wš'ṭ' krṭ'
19 k'l'n(?) 'ṭhš 'y 'ḆYDWN*ynd* LK l'd
20 hwp' krṭ' 'MṬ-m pṭ' [ ].[ ].[

1 Weber 1992, pp. 145–149.
2 This sign denotes the vertical running of the upper fibre of the papyrus.
3 For further details cf. the original publication mentioned in fn. 1.

21 ptg'm ŠDRWNyṭ 'YḴ LK[W]M LṬMH
22 BR' 'y Y'ṬWNyṭ ...[ ]... d'šn .[
23 BR' 'L 'MYṭl ŠDRWNyṭ m[ ] pṭ' ...[
24 ..... gl-... n'm(k)['(?)].[
25 pṭ' YDH L'YṬ' W l's(?) LK y/d-[ ].[
26 'P-ṭ l'd MND'M ('y) ŠDRWNyṭ[
27 ŠDRWN'ṭ drwdsṭ(yh) Y LK[WM(?)] l'd[
28 n'mk' 'ḂYDWN(m)(?) .....[
29 B.... l'd ....[ ].... n'mk' .[
30 BYRḤ 'ṭwr m[ ]....[ ]...[

Transcription

1 *ō yazdān-ayād Burz-Ādur .[ ]...[ ].....*
2 *Ohrmazd māzdēsnīh mēragīh namāz dāšt*
3 *Wehhūd ud abārīg mardom ī pad šahr*
4 *drōd ud drustīh ud harw farrox[īh] hamē*
5 *pad ašmā bawād ud p..... ašmā*
6 *pad drustīh ud rāmišn .....*
7 *čiyōn ān ī dašn tō sax*an ašmā*
8 *rāy pad harw wad wi[šād](andar)*
9 *abāyēd pad-iz im p....[ ].... ē*
10 *bawēd čē mardom ī pad šahr*
11 *drust hēnd nāmag ud dāšn ī man x*adāy*
12 *rāy az šahr āwurd ... [ ]...[ ]bē*
13 *frēstēd čē-m az Burzag āšnūd*
14 *ku-t girdag āwišt ud bē kāmēd*
15 *āmadan ān ī mēragīh rāy .[*
16 *ašmā andar abāyēd ē ā[y]ēnd agar*
17 *ašmā rāy abāyēd ī māh Ādur ud nigāh*
18 *ē dārēnd ud az nāmag ī wišād kard*
19 *kārān(?) ātaxš ē kunēnd tō rāy*
20 *xūb kard ka-m pad [*
21 *paygām frēstīd ku aš[m]ā ēdar*
22 *bē ē āyēd ...[ ]... dāšn .[*
23 *bē ō mādar frēstīd m[ ] pad ...[*
24 *..... ..... nāmag(?)[ ].[*
25 *pad dast nēst ud rāh(?) tō .[ ].[*
26 *u-t rāy tis (ē) frēstēd[*
27 *frēstād drustīh ī aš[mā(?)] rāy[*
28 *nāmag kunēm(?) .....[*
29 *..... rāy ....[ ].... nāmag .[*
30 *māh Ādur .[ ]....[ ]...[*

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Fig. 1: P. 44 (Göttingen Or.var.45), after DE MENASCE 1957

Translation

[1] To *Burz-Ādur*, remembered by (the) god(s) ..... (of) [2] marriage according to the *Mazdean* rite: reverence! Received[4] [3] by *Wehbūd* and the other people in town [4] well-being and health and all fortune [5] over you (pl.) (may) be and ... [6] in health and peace ... [7] like your (sg.) right word on your (pl.) [8] behalf every bad [be dispersed] [9] it is necessary, on this ..., too, ... it [10] should be because people in town [11] are in health. My letter and gift [12] for you (sg.)[5] he(?) brought from (the) town ... [13] For I learnt from *Burzag* [14] that you sealed the bundle[6] and he wants [15] to come because of the young husbandship. [16] They would come if [17] it is fitting for you (pl.) of month *Ādur* and [18] they would watch and from the letter which had been opened [19] (other) people(?) would make a fire, for you (sg.) [20] it was made well. When I by ..... [21] sent a message that you (pl.) hither [22] should come ..... gift ... [23] to the mother was sent [24] ..... letter(?) ... [25] in the hand there is not und the road(?) you (sg.) (?) [...] [26] and on your (sg.) behalf something he should send [...] [27] he will send, because of your (pl.) health [28] I write the letter ..... [29] ..... letter ... [30] month *Ādur* .....

Commentary

When editing the Berlin papyri in 1938, HANSEN was aware of this Göttingen papyrus and announced its publication "as soon as possible" ("baldmöglichst"). But this never happened. Even in 1968 when I contacted him in connection with the other Göttingen fragments[7] he showed no interest in publishing this fascinating piece though he obviously had many notes on it in his papers. He offered to provide me with them but his death (January 10, 1969) interrupted any positive communication with his family. Only in 2004 it was possible, by courtesy of his grand nephew Andreas Hansen (Berlin), to acquire HANSEN's posthumous works ("Nachlass") on the Pahlavi papyri; it is with great gratitude that I use HANSEN's *Notes* in this commentary.

Because of some holes in the material and the incompleteness of the text at the end the letter is not yet fully understandable even today. But it has been possible to make some progress through a comparison with further material to which I am able to refer now.[8] On the other hand the script of this letter reveals a very specific *ductus* unusual in other documents from Egypt[9] and in some respects

4 To be completed by 'may be', line 5.
5 The word *x^{w}adāy* is used in letters to denote the person addressed and therefore may be translated by the 2nd pers. sg.
6 Or: 'bulla', see *ad locum*.
7 Published by me in WEBER 1969.
8 This refers to a better understanding of letters in the Berlin collection, Pahlavi documents from Iran proper preserved in Berlin as well as in Berkeley, and the access to papyri and parchments of the Vienna collection.
9 Sassanian occupation between 619 and 629 AD.

closer to two documents from the so-called *Pahlavi Archive*[10] though not identical with their *ductus*. It seems that our letter shows either a specific tradition of writing letters (perhaps a certain "school") or stands, palaeographically and therefore perhaps also chronologically, between the two documents from the *Pahlavi Archive* on the one hand and other documents of the 7th century on the other. A history of this fascinating development of the Pahlavi script during the 6th and 7th centuries will be given in a forthcoming monograph.[11]

The fact that the papyrus reveals a specific kind of *ductus* is only one reason for re-editing this piece. The other one is the clear reference to a marriage according to the Mazdean rite contained in line 2. We do not know whether the letter was sent to Persia but the use of papyrus shows that it was indeed written in Egypt; this implies a strong Zoroastrian impact on the Persian occupiers as one would, naturally enough, expect. Furthermore it is noteworthy that a gift is given to the young husband, a gift that is described with words[12] that partly re-occur in a magical text on parchment (Doc. 27) from the Berlin Collection of Pahlavi documents from Iran proper. The forthcoming edition of the parchment[13] will also show that it was folded around a kind of gift, perhaps an amulett, which seems to be even mentioned in the text.

Line 2: For ⟨mylkyh⟩ HANSEN supposed a personal name "⟨mysrwy⟩" or "⟨mysrwḇ⟩"; on page 3 of his type-written sketch he questions whether it could be a designation "⟨msrkyh⟩" for Egypt. The original idea that a personal name has to be postulated is in fact well founded because this is very often the case before the following *namāz*; cf. P. 139, 1–2: *ō yazdān hamē farroxtar | kard Yazdānkard* ***namāz*** 'To *Yazdānkard*, made always happier by the god(s), reverence!', or P. 147a 1–2: *ō meh ud weh pad | hazār-anōšayād*[14] *Āštād* ***namāz*** 'To the great and good *Āštād*, (who is) remembered by the thousand *Anaušas*: reverence!' Since the name of the addressee, viz. *Burz-Ādur*, is already mentioned in the very first line the word in question must be something else. In fact, as other examples of addresses show, between the name of the addressee and the final *namāz* some other insertions may accompany the name of the addresse, e.g. P. 137, 1–3: *ō awestwārān | ud widarbedān ī az Kosirinkos | tā ō Tūfis* ***namāz*** 'To the commissioners and passage-chiefs between Oxyrrhinkos and Touphis: reverence!' where the attributive consists of a local designation; similarly P. 172, 1 *(ō) kārframānān ī dar tā ō Šahr-Ālānyōzān*[15] 'To the overseers of the palace

10 One is no. 30 from the Berlin Documents, the other no. 129 from Berkeley.
11 See D. WEBER: *The development of the Pahlavi Script*. Wiesbaden (in preparation).
12 Here particularly line 14; cf. (Berlin) Doc. 27, line 8: *astag ē āwāšēd*, and *ibid.*, line 15: *girdag bandēnd*.
13 See WEBER 2008.
14 The word *hazār* is expressed by the Pahlavi number M here. The earlier reading *anōšbaxt* is now obsolete, see WEBER 2007b.
15 Very probably *nc* followed at the beginning of the second line.

(up) to *Šahr-Ālānyōzān*:[16] [reverence!]' or LA 2, 1–2: *ō xʷadāy Pērōz-Xusrō ī Spihrdād pus | ī aswār ud ēr az *Astōg deh* **namāz** 'To Sir *Pērōz-Xusrō*, son of *Spihrdād*, horseman and hero from the village of **Astōg*: reverence!' These examples show that the address may well contain further syntactical parts that form an attributive to the name of the addressee. Thus, what may have stood between *Burz-Ādur* and *namāz* where the papyrus has some holes could have been such an extension of which only *Ōhrmazd māzdēsnīh mēragīh* at the beginning of the second line (and before *namāz*) is now to be seen. The word in question, viz. *mēragīh*, is attested again in line 15 where *mēragīh* is governed by the postposition *rāy*: this underlines the assumption that the word must be an abstract formation of *mērag* 'young man, husband' (MACKENZIE 1971, p. 55).[17] The tentative interpretation as 'marriage, husbandship' fits the context in both places very well.[18] The meaning of the first two lines would then be that *Burz-Ādur*, as the addressee, who was married according to the *Mazdean* rite received this letter on the occasion of his marriage or shortly afterwards.

Line 2f.: For the usage of *dāšt*[19] after the first formula of reverence cf. P.Pehl. 4, 1–3: ⟨(')L 'nwš'ḏyḇ't m'hyn-'whrmzd *nc* | W d'šṭ L ŠRM KBD W ... ... | W l'mš(n') YḤWWNm ... ...⟩.

Line 3: For the name *Wehbūd* see GIGNOUX 1986, no. 973. Other names with *-būd* as second element are *Anōšagbūd* (*ibid.* no. 103), *Farroxbūd* (*ibid.* no. 357), *Mardbūd* (*ibid.* no. 575), *Mehbūd* (*ibid.* no. 607), *Mēragbūd* (*ibid.* no. 608), *Pusagbūd* (*ibid.* no. 783), *Xʷadāybūd* (*ibid.* no. 1025), also *Māhbū*[*d*] Teheran G, line 3, and ⟨m'hlbwṭ'⟩ = *Mārbūd* in O. 192, 5.[20]

Line 3f.: Cf. *ud abārīg | mardōm ī pad šahr drōd ud drustīh* in Per. 4, 4–5.

Line 4: These readings are in all versions of HANSEN's *Notes*. The phrase *harw farrox[īh] hamē | pad ašmā bawād* has parallels in P. 166, 2–5: *harw | f[arrox]īh ud rāmišn hamē pad xʷad[āy | ... | bawād*, or, similarly, P. 136, 4–6: *hamē | [pad] xʷadāyīg pad abzōn rāy | [ba]wād*, and Per. 1, 4–5: *pad xʷadāyīg [...] | ud pad abzōntar bawād*. Thus the reading *bawād* seems to be the only reliable one.

Line 5: ⟨YḤWWNyṭ⟩ (in all versions of HANSEN's *Notes*) instead of ⟨YḤWWN'ṭ⟩ (thus in the last type-written version); see previous note.

16 The chief tax-collector of the Persians in Egypt between 619 and 629 AD.
17 Cf. already WEBER 1992, p. 149.
18 There is another occurrence of this word in the Berlin Doc. 27, line 17: *pad mēragīh*; this document contains a magical text on behalf the *mēragīh* with an amulett originally enclosed in the parchment.
19 The occurrences in P. 4, 1, and P. 175a 2 are excluded as they show the verb ⟨d'šṭ'⟩ in a different syntactical environment.
20 Vgl. WEBER 1992, p. 109.

Line 7f.: ⟨MRY'⟩ is to be found only in one hand-written note of HANSEN's, in others the place is blank; the reading has not been included in the type-written version. Cf. Per. 3, line 4: ⟨cygwn-š ZK MRY' ['Š]MHWṭ⟩. – The phrase *ān ī dašn tō saxʷan* is equivalent to *tō saxʷan ī dašn*, cf. MACKENZIE 1971, p. 8 (s.v. *ān*). For the whole phrase cf. (Berlin) Doc. 18, 4–6: *ēdōn | bawād čiyōn dašn man ān wadīh rāy | harw wad ī wišād kāmag* 'may it be so as my right wish because of the badness: that everything bad (be) dispersed'. This phrase usually stands at the end of the introductory formulae as in the Berlin document where this is also marked by a circle. The same applies to the document LA 3, 4–6: *ēdōn | bawād čiyōn dašn xʷadāy ō | brād ī tō čand wišād kāmag* 'thus it should be as it is your (*xʷadāy*) right wish towards your brother that so much be dispersed';[21] here again the whole formula is closed by a circle (in the beginning of line 7); cf. also Khal. 129, 10–11: *kū-t hangārišn | dašn* 'that you (sg.) should consider (it) all right'. *dašn* is also attested in the document Berk. 62, line 8, with uncertain context.

Line 11: ⟨d'šn⟩, but ⟨dhšn⟩ in HANSEN's *Notes*.

Line 13: ⟨ŠDRWNyṭ⟩

Line 13: Instead of ⟨ŠDRWNyṭ⟩ HANSEN questioning if ⟨Y'ṬWNyṭ⟩ is to be read in all cases. This is not possible, cf. the striking difference between ⟨ŠDRWNyṭ⟩ in this line and ⟨Y'ṬWNṭn⟩ in line 15. See also the remarks on the script later on.

Line 15: ⟨Y'ṬWNṭn⟩

Line 14: *⟨glṭk'⟩ (perhaps also line 24): reading according to HANSEN.[22] The reading ⟨glynk'⟩ = *gilēnag* 'made of clay' = 'bulla' *apud* WEBER 2007a, p. 960 (§6.2.2.1.11.) after P.Pehl. 373a, 1 and 10.[23] – ⟨YCBNHyṭ⟩, also in LA 4, 3, is a variant of common Pahlavi 𐭩𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭮 (MACKENZIE 1971).[24]

Line 16: For the sequence ⟨'y Y['ṬWN]*ynd*⟩ see *ad* line 18f. The complement is partly erased but on the whole clearly visible. This is the case, too, with the initial character which, at a first glimpse, looks like a ⟨k⟩ or a ⟨b⟩ because of the traces to be seen under the hole in the papyrus, but it must be a ⟨y⟩. This becomes clear by comparison with the first word in line 15. The only reasonable verbal ideogram, therefore, is ⟨Y'ṬWN-⟩ thus, in context, corresponding to *āmadan* in the previous line.

21 GIGNOUX' reading ⟨cygwnš'n'⟩ (1998, p. 68) instead of *čiyōn dašn* cannot be accepted as the enclitic *-šān* is written, in letters and official documents of the 7th century, ⟨-šn'⟩ (always without ⟨-'-⟩ as *mater lectionis*) thus being in contrast to "classical" Book Pahlavi (see MACKENZIE 1971); this feature will be discussed in my article "Minuscula Pahlavica (Pahlavi Notes)", in: BAI 18 (2008), forthcoming.
22 According to an oral communication by SCHAEDER to HANSEN from Gr. γλυπτης.
23 Cf. WEBER 2003b, p. 188.
24 Also attested in letters from Egypt: Per. 1, 19, and Per. 2, 17.

Line 17: For ⟨nk's⟩ HANSEN thought of an older spelling ⟨wk'yyh⟩ resp. ⟨wk'syh⟩ 'testimony' instead of common ⟨gwk'dyh⟩; as this spelling is known not only in Book Pahlavi (cf. MACKENZIE 1971, p. 38) but is also well attested in documents of early Islamic times (*Berlin Documents* and the so-called *Pahlavi Archive* in Berkeley) the only possible reading must be ⟨nk's⟩ = *nigāh* 'look, attention' (MACKENZIE 1971, p. 59). The idiomatic phrase *nigāh dāštan* 'watch, keep' (*ibid.*) used here even survives in New Persian (STEINGASS 1424).[25]

Line 18f.: The last word of this line was read earlier[26] as a proper name ⟨whšṭ'krṭ'⟩ though it is unusual to have the vertical stroke ⟨-'-⟩ at the boundary of the two components of a compound. An alternative reading was given by HANSEN in his type-written sketch, p. 4f., viz. ⟨n'mk' Y wš'ṭ' krṭ'⟩ 'an opened letter'. This reading is accepted here for palaeographical reasons (viz. the vertical stroke discussed above) and on the basis of the contents of the letter since a man called **Wahištkard* is nowhere spoken of and his introduction here seems rather arbitrary.[27] ⟨wš'ṭ'⟩ is attested twice in the "magical text" (Berlin) Doc. 27, in both places directly connected with the "opening" of the document: *ka ēd kust wišād* (Doc. 27, 18) 'when this side (is) open(ed)' and *ud ka girdag wišād* (Doc. 27, 18f.) 'and when the bundle[28] (is) open(ed)'.

The Persian complement in the verbs ⟨'y YḤSNN*ynd*⟩ in line 18 and ⟨'y 'B̲YDWN*ynd*⟩ in line 19 though rather rare has a similar but more elaborate form in P. 137, 7–8[29] where the verb ⟨PLḤWNyh'*ynd*⟩ is split into two lines;[30] its common Book Pahlavi form is 𐭯. It is interesting to note that in all three instances this form is accompanied by the so-called "optative particle". One may ask whether this optative form, in these cases, denotes not a modal form but, as is known from rare cases, a habitative.[31]

Line 19: The first word is tentatively read by HANSEN as ⟨k'rṭ'⟩, without translation or explanation. ⟨k'l'n⟩ seems to be a reasonable reading though the ending ⟨-'n⟩ makes the impression of being somewhat meager; but the verbal form in the plural in fact demands a plural subject.

Lines 21, 23, 26, 27: The verbal forms of the heterogram ⟨ŠD̲RWN-⟩ in these lines are to be distinguished mainly by their syntactical contexts: ⟨ŠD̲RWNyṭ⟩ in line 21 definitely is a preterite (past stem) because of the agent ⟨-m⟩ in ⟨'MṬ-m⟩ of the preceding line thus indicating an infinitive *frēstīdan* (and not *frēstādan*,

25 Cf. already WEBER 1992, p. 149.
26 Cf. WEBER 1992, p. 149.
27 No such name is given in GIGNOUX 1986, that one in GIGNOUX 2003a, no. 336, is from this text and has to be deleted.
28 Or: *ud ka gilēnag wišād* 'and when the bulla (is) open(ed)'; for this interpretation cf. above *ad* line 14.
29 Other clear examples are to be seen in (Vienna) P.Pehl. 320 R 3 and V 3 (unpubl.).
30 For the form of this complement see also BARR 1935–1937, p. 396.
31 Cf. WEBER 1970, p. 59f. (with literature).

cf. MACKENZIE 1971, p. 34). ⟨ŠD̲RWNyṭ⟩ in line 23 is best interpreted as a past though the agent is missing because of holes in the papyrus; this would also fit the text in this place. ⟨ŠD̲RWNyṭ⟩ in line 26 is a 3rd pers. sg. modified by the preceding ⟨('y)⟩ to become a kind of optative distinguished from ⟨ŠD̲RWN'ṭ⟩ of the following line which is, by history, an old subjunctive[32] but to be understood probably as a future.

Line 23: *bē ō* according to MACKENZIE 1971, p. 18, "particle with verbs, ..., of indefinable function".

Line 24: The first word (or two words?) is (are) incomprehensible though most of the characters are relatively clear.

Line 25: The sequence *ud rāh(?)* is highly doubtful because of a missing vertical fibre of the papyrus.

Line 26: Between ⟨MND'M⟩ and ⟨ŠD̲RWNyṭ⟩ some traces of a very short word can be seen which may be read as ⟨'y⟩ thus making the following verbal form modal.

Line 28: For *nāmag kunēm(?)* cf. WEBER 2003a, p. 171f. This phrase is used not only in the sense of 'to write a letter' but rather 'to compose a letter'.

Lines 29f. remain incomprehensible; only ⟨BYRḤ 'ṭwr⟩ is certain.

Some remarks on the script of P. 44

Since this papyrus was discovered in Egypt it can be dated with certainty to the period of the Persian occupation between ca. 619 and 629 AD. It displays, on the whole, the cursive writing of Pahlavi of that time as found in the huge corpus of documents not only from Egypt but also from Iran proper of early Islamic times. In addition, however, it has some specific features that are rare and place our letter in the neighbourhood of two other letters: one in the Berlin Collection, viz. Doc. 30, and the other in the Berkeley Pahlavi Archive, viz. Berk. 129. Though both were found together with documents mainly dated to the 2nd half of the 7th century AD.[33] they in fact do not belong to that group. Both bear no dates but Berk. 129 mentions a king *Ōhrmazd* who could be, as GIGNOUX rightly remarks,[34] either *Ōhrmazd IV* (579–590) or rather *Ōhrmazd V* (631/632). Doc. 30, too, mentions a king but without giving his name. Both documents (letters) show identical handwriting so that one is tempted to assume roughly similar

32 Cf. WEBER 2007a, p. 948 (§4.2.4.).
33 This "early" date is now questioned by G. AZARPAY et al.: "New Information on the Date and Function of the Berkeley MP Archive", in: BAI 17 (2003 [2007]), pp. 17–29.
34 GIGNOUX 2004, p. 37f.

dates for them. Another document of almost identical but obviously older kind of writing is that of the Khalili Collection, Doc. 129, from Afghanistan. All probably testify to a certain tradition of letter writing. This will become clearer when the documents have been published.[35] At any rate our letter from Egypt shows some features of the above mentioned documents and must therefore be put in a comparable tradition.

One major point is that the common demonstrative *ān* is not written ⟨ẐK⟩, i.e. by a defective ⟨Ẑ-⟩ as is usual in most of the Pahlavi papyri from Egypt[36] (= ⟨Y-⟩) but by a clear ⟨Z-⟩; this is easy to see in both occurrences of this word in lines 7 and 15. In the Pahlavi documents from early Islamic times only ⟨ẐK⟩ is used with the exception of Berk. 129, line 4. In our text this clear ⟨Z-⟩ is in contrast to the defective ⟨Ẑ-⟩ in ⟨ẐNH⟩ in line 9.[37]

Berk. 129, line 4

Another interesting feature is the writing of the character ⟨d/y-⟩ at the beginning of a word, see above ⟨Y'ṬWNṭn⟩ in line 15. Again this corresponds to what we have in (Berlin) Doc. 30, e.g. 30a R 17: ⟨YḤMṬWNyṭ⟩ and Berk. 129, e.g. line 6: ⟨YḤBWNṭ⟩. As earlier noted[38] this feature is sporadically to be seen in other Pahlavi documents from Egypt as well as from Iran proper.[39]

(Berlin) Doc. 30a R 17: ⟨YḤMṬWNyṭ⟩

The use of the "vertical stroke" seems to be restricted[40]: it occurs after final ⟨-k⟩ in ⟨bwlck'⟩ (line 13), ⟨n'mk'⟩ (line 18), though not in the word ⟨'p̄'ryk⟩ (line 3);[41] after final ⟨-t⟩ of past stems ⟨wš'ṭ' krṭ'⟩ (line 18) except in heterograms; after final ⟨-n⟩ in the suffix *-išn* like ⟨l'mšn'⟩ (line 6);[42]

Berk. 129, line 6: ⟨YḤBWNṭ⟩

35 For (Berlin) Doc. 30 see WEBER 2008. A palaeographic comparison between Khal. 129 and (Berlin) Doc. 30 was given at the "Bactrian Chronology Workshop" held in Cambridge, England, on 25/26 January 2008. In this connection a publication of Khal. 129 is envisaged. As for Berk. 129 a publication in the near future is uncertain because of the fact that the document must first undergo cleaning, smoothing and glassing, work that has not been done yet.

36 Other examples of ⟨ZK⟩ in the papyri are P. 138, 4; P. 150, 1; P. 152 R 2; P.Pehl. 321 R 3; Oxford 1, 1.

37 ⟨ZK⟩ is not attested in Khal. 129.

38 See WEBER 2003, p. 179.

39 E.g. in (Berlin) Doc. 4, 1: ⟨d-lcyk⟩ where ⟨d-⟩ is connected with the following ⟨-lcyk⟩.

40 The most recent study on it is by PH. HUYSE: "Ein erneuter Datierungsversuch für den Übergang vom Schluß-y der mittelpersischen Inschriften zum Endstrich im Buchpahlavi (6.–7.Jh.)", in: D. WEBER (ed.): *Languages of Iran – Past and Present*. (A Volume of Iranian Studies *in memoriam* David Neil MacKenzie), Wiesbaden (Iranica 8), Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 51–68.

41 This also applies to the occurrence in Per. 4, line 4.

42 This is a common feature of all documents; there are only very few exceptions.

after final ⟨-n⟩ in certain words such as ⟨cygwn'⟩ (line 7) or ⟨dšn'⟩[43] (line 7), and in the word ⟨štr'⟩ (lines 3 and 10). It is neither used after 3rd sg. verbal forms such as ⟨'p̄'yṭ⟩ (lines 9, 16, and 17), nor after the last character of ⟨'ṭwr⟩ (lines 17 and 30). The latter practice is very puzzling because even the most carelessly written documents of early Islamic times and the ostraca from Ray do observe this elementary rule.[44]

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LṬMH 21.
-m: 'MṬ-m 20; MH-m 13.
m'ẓdysnyh 2.
MH 10; MH-m 13.
MN 12. 13. 18.
MND'M 26.
MR'H 11.
MRY' 7.
mylkyh 2. 15.
n'mk' 11. 18. 28. 29; n'm(k)['(?) 24.
nc 2.
nk's 17.
pl(h)[wyh] 4.
pṭ' 3. 5. 6. 8. 10. 20. 23. 25.
pṭ'-c 9.
ptg'm 21.
pṭ.[ ] 5.
ŠDRWN'ṭ 27; ŠDRWNyṭ 13. 21. 23. 26.
ŠRM 4.
štr' 3. 10. 12.
-ṭ: 'P̄-ṭ 26; 'YḴ-ṭ 14.
W 3. 4(*bis*). 5. 6. 11. 14. 17. 18. 25.
wš'ṭ' 18.
wš['ṭ' 8.
wṭ 8.
wyhbwṭ 3.
Y 3. 7. 10. 11. 15. 17. 18. 27.
Y'ṬWNṭn 15; Y'ṬWNyṭ 21; Y['ṬWN]y*nd* 16.
YCBNHyṭ 14.
YDH 25.
YḤSNNy*nd* 18.
YḤWWN'ṭ 5; YḤWWNyṭ 10.
YḤYṬYWNṭ 12.
yẓd'n-'ḅyd'ṭ' 1.
ZK 7. 15.
ẐNH 9.

43 This word has nothing to do with the forms in *-išn* but is etymologically connected with Sanskrit *dakṣinā-*.

44 E.g. (Berlin) Doc. 1, line 4, or O. 19, line 1.

Sigla

Berk.	Pahlavi documents, Berkeley, unpublished
Doc.	Pahlavi documents, Berlin (see WEBER 2008)
LA	Pahlavi documents, Los Angeles, ed. GIGNOUX 1998
O.	Ostraca, ed. WEBER 1992
P.	Pahlavi papyri and parchments, ed. WEBER 1992 (P. 1 – P. 124), WEBER 2003 (P. 125 – P. 343)
Per.	Pahlavi papyri and parchments, ed. PERIXANJAN 1961
P.Pehl.	Pahlavi papyri and parchments of the Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (original inv. nr., mostly unpublished)
Teheran	Pahlavi documents, Teheran (see WEBER 2008)

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–, *Notes = Nachgelassene Notizen zu den Wiener und anderen Pahlavi-Papyri (ms.)*, unpubl.

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Four Tati Sub-Dialects

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The following is a grammatical sketch which applies to four Tati sub-dialects spoken in the Shāhrud and Khoresh-e Rostam counties *(baxš)* in Khalkhāl province *(šahrestān)* situated in the southeastern corner of Azerbaijan, south of Ardebil and north of Miyāneh. They differ from the dialects of more northerly villages (Shāl, Kolur, Derow, Asbu, Askestān) as well as the more southerly villages (Gilavān, Goluzān, and Tahārom) by distinguishing grammatical gender. They consist of the sub-dialects spoken in Karan, Lerd, and Diz in Shāhrud, and Karnaq in Khoresh-e Rostam.

In distinguishing grammatical gender they are in line with the Tati sub-dialects of Kajal, in Kāghazkonān county of Khakhāl, and Nowkiān in the Upper Tārom in northern Zanjān as well as the Rāmandi sub-dialects spoken southwest of Qazvin (Tākestān, Chāl, Esfarvarin, Khiāraj, Ebrāhimābād, and Sagzābād) and Eshtehārd in Sāvejbolāgh; they differ, however, from these dialects by the fact that, except in the case of humans, the application of grammatical gender depends on the number and on whether a noun refers to a countable or uncountable object. I have taken Karani, for which I had ampler material, as the model and have pointed out the nuances in the other three sub-dialects where necessary. Where no indication of the villages is given Karani is meant.

Lerd is the largest of the four villages; in 1950 it had some 350 households or about 1750 souls (RAZMĀRĀ, who had collected his material some 15 years earlier gives the population as 1276 inhabitants[1]); next comes Karan[2] with 656, then Karnaq[3] with 568, and Diz[4] with 386 inhabitants.

All four villages are situated in mountainous areas and their economy is based on cultivation of cereals, particularly wheat and barley, fruits, some animal husbandry, and working in Gilān during the fall and winter mostly as sawyers and carpenters in lumber mills. Some women in the villages weave woolen blankets *(jājim)*. In all the villages Turkish is also spoken and borrowed Turkish words can be found in their speech. All their inhabitants are Twelvers Shi'ites.

In 1963 the villages could not be reached by car, only mule-going paths were available. In 1965, however, when I managed to visit Diz and Karan, the Italians

1 RAZMĀRĀ: *Farhang-e Joghrāfiā'i-e Iran*. Vol. 4. Tehran 1951, p. 474.
2 Spelled Karin, in RAZMĀRĀ 1951, p. 416; the local pronunciation is Karən.
3 RAZMĀRĀ 1951, p. 415.
4 RAZMĀRĀ 1951, p. 227.

who were after old walnut trunks of the area for their furniture factories, had built a hazardous and bumpy dirt road for small lorries to carry walnut trunks from Karan and nearby villages to Herow, the administrative center of Khalkhāl. (A walnut tree takes about 10 to 15 years to bear fruit and in some 30 to 35 years reaches the hight of its productivity. The old walnut trees targeted by the Italians had an average age of 300 years, I was told.) I reached Karan by this road. The stumps of old walnut trees could be seen around the village.

Lerd's agricultural products are mainly wheat and barley, cultivated partly by dry farming and partly by irrigation. It has several good springs, considered to have been made holy *(nazargāh)* by an Imam, and a small river. Its orchards produce especially pears, apples, walnut, and apricots. To store the grass fodder for winter they pile it up on house roofs in the form of long truncated cones. The main fuel is dry dung which they shape into loaves and then dry and store. Some vessels as well as beehives are also made with dung. The locals mentioned some old graves which had been dug up in the hope of finding antique objects. At the time of my visit many of the Lerdis would go in wintertime to Māsāl, Shānderman, etc in Tālesh, and Langarud, Rasht, Fouman, etc. in Gilān for carpentry.

I collected my material on the dialect of the villages in the course of three trips to Khalkhāl in 1950, 1963, and 1965 as well by using a Karani informant in Tehran upon returning from my last trip.

My first informant for Karani was REŻĀQOLI REŻĀ'I, 60, with a rudiment of literacy; I met him first in Herow in the October of 1950. My second informant for Karani was MASHHADI SALMĀN, the superintendent in Karan of Mr. AHMAD KHĀTAMI, one of the Shāhrud landowners. In the summer of 1965 in the course of my third trip when I managed to visit Karan and Diz, I learned of ALMAN YAZDĀN-PANĀH, a Karani who had moved to Tehran. I met him in February of 1965 in Tehran. He had been a farmer as well as a carpenter in Karan; his wife was also from Karan and they spoke Karani at home. He was 35, illiterate, and a born storyteller, who treated me to a long narrative, probably with some embellishments, of some of the events which had occurred in Karan years earlier.

My first informant for Lerdi was NĀṢER BUZARI, an illiterate carpenter of 30 who had moved to Herow for work when he was 15, but each summer would go back to his village. I met him in the October of 1950 in Herow where he worked with other Lerdis, and with whom he spoke the dialect of his village. My second informant for Lerdi was MAJID NAṢIRI, 70, illiterate, who was available to me for three days in Shāl, a village in Shāhrud of Khakhāl; my third informant was a farmer, BERĀJĀN AYYĀMI, 45, illiterate, who was brought to Karan as an informant in August of 1965.

My first informant for Karnaqi was SHOJĀ' KABIRI, 38, an illiterate smith who had left Karnaq three days earlier for Kolur, a village in Shāhrud of Khalkhāl, where I met him in August of 1963. My second informant was KĀSEGOL ERSHĀDI, 35, illiterate, who was brought to Karan as an informant in August of 1965. In the same year, on my third trip to Khalkhāl, following my request the headman of Karnaq came to Karan and served as one of the informants.

My informants for Dizi were AKBAR 'ALIZĀDEH, 38, literate, whom I met in Shāl in early September of 1965, and ZABIḤOLLĀH MOẒAFFARI, 32, literate, both inhabitants of Diz and quite intelligent. On my trip to Karan, I visited Diz, but did not stop there for long.

Phonology

1. *The vowels.* Karani vowels are: *e (ə), ā, a, i, o, u, (ü).*

1.1. Although *ə* is clearly heard in a number of words, e.g., *gənəs(s)an* 'to fall', *pəšt* 'back', *mərāz* 'tool', *izəm* 'firewood', *cəmen* 'my, mine' no contrastive pairs were encountered to distinguish it from e as a phoneme; it appears mostly in the vicinity of labials. In the following, *ə* is transcribed as *e*.

1.2. *ā* has an articulation between a somewhat open */o/* and */a/*; it is particularly round when followed by a nasal. In my notations I have regularly rendered it by *ā*.

1.3. *ü* is heard in a number of words, possibly as a result of Turkish influence, e.g., *büdürin!* 'reap!', but phonemically it is not distinguished form *u*. Occasionally it alternates with *i* apparently by assimilation; e.g., *dürüninde/dürininde* 'they reap'.

2. *The Consonants.* Karani consonants are *p, b, t, d, k, g, q, c, j, f, v, w, s, z, š, x, (x^{w}), h, l, r, y.*

2.1. Plosives, particularly *k* and g, when followed by a high vowel *(i, u)* are pronounced more palatal than when followed by a low vowel, although the differentiation is not as pronounced as in Kalāsuri-Xoynarudi-Karingāni group in the north of Azerbaijan; e.g., *cik'i-rā?* 'for whom?', *kaffā* 'up, above', *ga* 'must'; *e/ə* is treated as a low vowel, e.g., *degenes (dəgənəs)* 'it fell'. In *ka* 'house' and *gavān* 'cowherd', however, *k* and *g* are palatal on account of the original *i* which followed them and of which a trace is still left in careful speech: *k'a, g'avān.*

2.2. *x^{w}* was noted in two words *x^{w}aš* 'well, pleasant' (*xodā x^{w}aš ā?* 'does it please God?'), and the verbal stems *x^{w}ar-/x^{w}ard-* 'to eat', but it does not stand in phonemic contrast to *x*. *q* is a semi-fricative uvular, close to Persian *γ*.

3. *Lengthening.* Lengthening of vowels occurs on occasion apparently as a balancing measure; e.g., *kama* (f.) 'sieve', *ka:mé*, the oblique of the same; *dava* 'camel (Turk.)', *da:vān*, plural oblique of the same.

4. *Gemination.* Gemination occurs frequently, sometimes in compensation for an omitted sound, e.g., *jabba* 'box' < *ja'ba*; *assar* 'mule' < *astar,* but sometimes with no such reason, e.g., *qassam* 'oath' (possibly as a result of intended emphasis?). It is seen frequently in verbs. It seems that the dialect has a tendency to avoid the sequence of an open syllable and a closed one, and that it changes open syllables to closed ones by gemination to establish a balance of length, e.g., *xossem* 'I sleep', *beššend* 'they went', cf. *do(s)so nafar* 'two or three people/a couple of people'.

5. *Assimilation.* Assimilation of both vowels and consonants occur. In vowels, notably the vowel of the modal prefix *be-* and the negative particle *ne-* are often assimilated to the following vowel; cf. *bebe* 'it became', *agar bi-šia* 'if he goes', *bo-xorute* 'he sold', *bo-x^{w}arem* '(that) I eat', *büdürin!* 'reap!'; cf. *su(<so) ruj* 'three days'. This may be a case of *vowel harmony* influenced or strengthened by the Turkish language, which has been spreading in these villages and has already driven Tati dialects out of most villages of Khalkhāl. The dental nasal changes into labial when followed by a voiced labial, e.g., *man xoštan-nam beba* (< *xoštan-nan beba*)'take me with you'. A degree of devoicing occurs in some contexts by assimilation when *g, d, j* and *v* are followed by an unvoiced consonant, e.g., *man kark x^{w}arda* 'I ate chicken', otherwise *karg.*

6. *Intonation.* Three kinds of sentence intonations are observed: rising, falling, and level. In a sentence consisting of a main and a subordinate clause, the subordinate clause ends with a rising intonation, the main clause with a falling one. If in such sentences there are two coordinated main clauses, the second one gets the falling and the first one the level intonation, eg., *con nimāsiri be | hari i bār ābesse | bāma ka |* 'as the sun was setting' (lit. it was sunset) each one packed a load (and) came home'; *vāš-i k(e) dürini | vā nes bekarā | ešte vāšān bāva ka |* 'the grass that you reap, halve (it) there, and bring home your grass (pl.).

Morpho-syntax

8. *Number and case*

8.1. Karani distinguishes two numbers, singular and plural, two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine, and two cases, direct and oblique. Feminine nouns end in an unstressed *-a* in the singular direct case. The gender is not distinguished in the oblique case. The marker for oblique singular and direct plural is the same. The case endings for the substantives are as follows:

	Sing.	Pl.
Direct	m.: *-ø* f.: *-a* (unstressed)	m./f.: *-e* (stressed)
Oblique	m./f.: *-e* (stressed)	m./f.: *-ān* (stressed)

8.2. Oblique in *-r.* The group has retained the oblique in *-r* in nouns of kinship, e.g., Karani: *mā/mār* 'mother', *pe/piar* 'father', *berā/berār* 'brother', *xāw/xāwar* 'sister', *zan/zanar* 'wife', *šü/šüar* 'husband', *zā/zār* 'son', *deta/detar* 'daughter', *amuzā/amuzār* 'paternal cousin'. However, the rule does not apply to *zāmā* 'son-in-law', *véya* 'bride, *xeyvar* 'husband's brother', *irá* 'husband's sister', *bābā* 'grandfather', *māmā* 'grandmother; and Dizi *xasurá* 'husband's father', cf. Karani *pe-m Māsāl-e ku āgardes* 'my father returned from Māsāl', but *cemen piar pul man āde* 'give me my father's money'. Note that in the plural direct of kinship nouns the forms in *-r* are used, e.g., *cemen det-a bešiā Xerā* 'my daughter went to Xerā (= Herowābād, the administrative center of Khalkhāl)', but *cemen berār-e/detar-e bāmenda* 'my brothers/daughters came (back)'.

9. *Gender*

9.1. All nouns are treated grammatically as either masculine or feminine. In nouns denoting a human the grammatical gender follows the natural one. All generic nouns abstracted from individual instances are treated as masculine. All nouns referring to a definite singular item are treated as feminine and take the feminine marker *-a*. All nouns denoting objects which cannot be counted, such as water, sky, fire, milk, charcoal, ash, money, are treated as generic nouns. The grammatical gender is distinguished in the 3rd person singular of verbs by adding a final *-a* in the present tenses and a final *-ā* in the past tenses.[5] The masculine and feminine of 'is' are *-e* and *-ā*, respectively, and those of 'is not' *ni(e)* and *nia*; the 3rd person singular ending *-e* in verbs narrows into *-i* when followed by the feminine marker *-a/-ā*. Examples: *Hasan dalú-e* 'Hasan (m.) is crazy', *Zeynab-a dalu-ā* 'Zeynab (f.) is crazy', *cālá ku degene/degenia* 'he/she falls in a hollow'; *bevazz-e/bevazz-ia* '(that) he/she run', *bām-e* 'he came', *bāmi-ā* 'she came', *Hasan devašta be* 'Hasan had run away', *Zeynab-a devašta biā* 'Zeynab had run away'; *cemen zā beše Xerā* 'my son went to Xerā; *cemen det-a bešiā Xerā* 'my daughter went to Xerā'; *pār nān gerān be* 'last year bread was expensive; *yuz-é akarām bāne ku xošk ābi* 'let's spread (lit. pour) the walnuts (generic singular) on the roof to dry', but *em asíf-a kermjulin-ā* (f.) 'this apple is worm-ridden'; *em yuz-é agi bebar bān-e ku bene, be dā xošk ābi-ā* (f.) 'take this walnut, carry (and) put (it) on the roof to dry'; *ow arzān ne be* (m.) 'water was

5 One of my informants made *-a* farther back, changing it into *-ā* in the present and subjunctive, possibly under the influence of the preterit feminine marker *-ā*, e.g., *Hasan ga devazze* 'Hasan must run', *Zeynaba ga devazzi-ā* 'Zeynab must run'.

not cheap'; *zoqāl nusuje* (m.)'the charcoal is not burning', *izem nusuje* (m.) 'the firewood is not burning', *šet sard ābe* (m.) 'the milk became cold', *xāk sard ābe* (m.) 'the ash became cold'; *cāy qand-e ku arzāntar-e* (m.) 'tea is cheaper than sugar', cf. *ceme(n) cāy-a šira nia* (f.) 'my (cup of) tea is not sweet' (notice that the word for tea in this context takes the feminine ending *-a*), *āru āsmān sāf be* (m.) 'today the sky was clear', *ātaš jigenes qālica sar* (m.) 'fire fell on the rug', *dezz-e pul* (m.) *agat o devašt* 'the thief took the money and fled'; *man zer ow* (m.) *hinta* 'yesterday I drank water'.

9.2. The names of seasons as well as the words for the sun and the moon are feminine as they are conceived as singular, e.g., *zemestān-a bāmiā* (f.) 'the winter arrived', *behār-a bar-šiā* (f.) 'the spring passed'; *mong-a bar-āmiā* 'the moon rose (f.)'.

NB. In *ešte asb-a zanda-y-ā* 'your horse has given birth' the verb *zandan* is treated as an intransitive verb; *-y-* is a connective sound.

9.3. All nouns denoting animals, including birds and insects, take a feminine form when individual, even when the noun refers to a male animal, such as a ram, or when preceded by the modifier *nara* 'male'; e.g., *em béz-a kuk-ā* (f.) 'this goat is fat', *em qôcc-a kuk-ā* (f.) 'this ram is fat', *ešte nara pišī-a garin-ā* (f.) 'your tomcat is mangy', *nara ásb-a lāqar-ā* (f.) 'the male horse is thin', *nar(r)a asb-a māya asbé* (oblique) *behtar-ā* (f.)'the stallion is better than the mare' (a single, definite stallion is meant).

In nouns ending in *-a* and *-ā* their final vowel coalesces with the vowel of the plural oblique; e.g., *pasān* (sing. *pâsa*) *sar āber!* 'slaughter (lit. cut the head of) the sheep!', *cerān* (sing. *cerā*) *dakoš!* 'extinguish the lamps!'.

9.3.1. Exceptions to the above rules are few: *bar* 'door' and *ka* 'house' are treated as masculine even when a single one is meant, e.g., *imi sāli em bar aškāje* (m.) 'next year this door will crack'; *ka xarāb bebe* (m.) 'the house collapsed', *kia-m-i xerria* 'I bought a house'. This is also the case in the dialects of the other villages of the group.

9.3.2. When a noun is modified by *igla/ila* 'a, one' or *-i* 'a, one', or both, the sub-dialects show variation. In Karani and Lerdi they are generally treated as feminine, whereas in Dizi they are generally treated as masculine; e.g., Karani, *igla nān-em rā ku bind-ā* (f.) 'I saw a (loaf of) bread on the way', *igla pas-i xerria-š bi-ā* 'he had bought a sheep' (in ergative construction, as in this sentence, the verb agrees with its object, here *pas*); Lerdi, *man igla xar-i buxurtā* (f.) 'I sold a donkey'; Dizi: *rā-d-em bind ila mādiān bargenes* (m.) 'on the way I saw a mare fall (down a precipice)'. In Karnaqi the examples are mixed, cf. *i xelik-eš-i akat-ā bebard-eš-ā ku* 'he picked up a spade and took (it) to the mountains'[6]; *i yuz-eš-i/kargxā-š-i/cakalu-š-i akat-ā bebard-eš-ā ku* 'he picked up a walnut/an egg/a rooster (and) took (it) to the mountains', but *igla kargxā-m akat* (m.), *rā-degenesim, jegensā* (f.) *beškesā* (f.) 'I took an egg, started off (lit. fell on the

6 The region being mountainous, *ku* 'mountain' generally stands for 'outdoors', 'the fields'.

way), (it) fell (and) broke'. In my examples, however, the feminine treatment of such cases is more frequent than masculine.[7]

9.3.3. When a noun is modified by the numeral two or above, it is treated as a masculine, cf., *xāve-m ku igla asb-i-ˢm bindā* (f.) 'in my dream I saw a horse', but *xāve-m ku do-gla-m/panj-gla-m asb bind* (m.) 'in my dream I saw two/five horses'.

9.4. Exceptions occur. In some cases, a generic noun is treated as feminine, e.g., *la:natia miše xʷaria* (f.) 'lit. snakes (sing.) eat mice (sing.)', *guzā šav xānia* (f.)'frogs sing (during) the night', *kele, âng-a te gazzía* 'girl, a wasp will sting you', *xelik-a cāmā de: ku xia ku gerāntar-ā* 'in our village a spade is more expensive than (a wooden) shovel'. In such cases apparently the speaker envisages one of the kind or else they are symptomatic of the weakening of the rule. On the other hand, in *vājende pārsāl qālica/parda/yuza-dār/xar/pas/gerān be* (m. sing.) 'they say (that) last year, rugs/curtains/walnut trees/donkeys/sheep/were expensive', the rule is followed.

9.5. Feminine nouns change their feminine marker to *-é* in the oblique, e.g., *vey-é dass-é bigir* 'take the bride's hand (*véy-a* 'bride')'; *beša Zeynabé bāva yā!* 'go (and) bring Zeynaba here!' Note that *Fatéma* and *Šarabānu* following the rule do not change in the oblique.

9.6. Nouns ending in a stressed vowel do not change in the oblique singular; e.g., *pašmá biris!* 'spin the wool!', *cerā āgi!* 'light the lamp!', *du parpaši beka!* 'stir the *dugh* (diluted yogurt)!'.

9.7. When a feminine noun is followed by an enclitic pronoun, the feminine marker *-a* is separated from the noun and follows the enclitic pronoun, cf. *i ruj beše ku naccira-bez-eš bezze* 'one day he went to the mountains (and) shot a wild goat', but *em naccira-bez-eš-a (f.) bezzi-ā bārd-eš-ā de:* 'he shot this wild goat (and) brought it to the village'; *gaves-eš-e igla naccira bez-i bezane* 'he wanted to shoot a wild goat'. Notice that as the agent of the verb the enclitic pronoun has come between the stem and the ending of the verb, both masculine and feminine (see 23. and 23.1. for further examples).

10. *Definition*

10.1. Definition has no particular device, but a noun can be made definite by a modifier such as an attributive or a possessive or a demonstrative adjective or by *igla* or *i* (see 9.3.2.).

7 In the following example: *igla pādešā-i be, igla asb-i-š dāšteya* (imperfect, m.), *asb-eš-a (f.) boxorut-ā, do-gla-š assar (m.) aragate* 'there was a king, (who) had a horse; he sold his horse (and) bought two mules', *igla... i* makes *asb* indefinite and therefore masculine, but in the second part, horse, now made definite, is treated as a feminine noun. As for *pādešā*, it is masculine because it refers to a male human, apart from being indefinite.

8 *-i-* is used in this dialect as *yā-e vahdat* in Persian to indicate 'a'.

11. *Adjectives*

11.1. Attributive adjectives precede head nouns and are connected to them by an unstressed *-a*; e.g., *kow-a assar-eš-a bemardā* (f.) 'his gray mule died'.

11.2. Predicative adjectives follow head nouns and do not take *-a*; e.g., *dār-a kow*[9] *ābiā* 'the tree grew green', *dim-eš siā ābe* (sic., one expects *dim-eš-a siā ābiā*) 'his face grew black'.

11.3. When an adjective is used as a substantive, it takes the nominal case endings; e.g., kok-é-š bāva! 'bring a fat one!', kok-é-š xorušesa-nde 'the fat ones have been sold'.

11.4. *Comparison of Adjectives.* For comparison Persian *-tar* is used: *vahar šet-e ku sebi-tar-e* 'snow is whiter than milk', *hama ku kok-tar-a gow* 'the fattest cow (lit. fatter than all cows)'.

12. *The use of cases in substantives*

12.1. *The direct* case is used for 1) the subject of an intransitive verb in all tenses and moods, e.g., *kelle xānde karende* 'the girls are singing (lit. are doing the singing)'; *em bar deterekase* 'this door cracked', *pass-a* (f., sing.) *nāxoš ābiā* 'the sheep became sick', (see 15.ff. for further examples); 2) the subject of the imperative, the present, the subjunctive, the optative, that is, the tenses and moods of the transitive verbs built on the present stem (see 14.1. ff); 3) the direct object of the tenses built on the present stem when generic, uncountable, or indefinite; e.g., *kār šim qand ara-gir-em* 'I am going to buy (hard) sugar' (see 9.1.); 4) the logical object of the verb (= grammatical subject) in an ergative construction (see 23), e.g., *man zer i pas-a sar-āberiā* (f.) 'yesterday I slaughtered a ewe', *man zer panj-gla asif xʷarda* (m.) 'yesterday I ate five apples'; 5) the object of destination, e.g., *beššend beššend tā illā*[10] *raz* 'they continued going (lit. they went, went) up to the orchard'; 6) vocative, e.g., *Hasan, suke sar-āber!* 'Hasan, cut the rooster's head!'.

12.2. *The oblique case* is used for: (1) the genitive; e.g., *bar-e ceft-e jiran!* 'fasten the door's hasp!'; Dizi: *vey-é dass-é bigir* 'take the bride's hand (*véy-a* 'bride')'; (2) direct object of the tenses built on the present stem of the verb when singular and definite (see 14.1.); e.g., *ceman dass-e bigi!* 'take my hand!'; (3) the agent of the verb in an ergative construction: *dezz-é pul agat o devašt* 'the thief took the money and fled'; Dizi: *luās-é karg-eš-a begatā* 'the fox caught the hen', *karg-é xā beka* 'the hen laid an egg', *luās-é karg-ān bexārdand* 'the fox ate the hens' (one expects f. dir. *karge*, the use of obl. *kargān* shows a weakening of the ergative construction); (4) object of a postposition: *decekāmen-eš ka bar-é ku!* 'stick it on the house door!', *karg-é rā dāna ara-ka!* 'pour grain for the hen!'. In Dizi with the postposition *-ade* 'from, in' (Turk.?) the direct case is used, e.g., *otāq-ade/otāq-é-ku* 'from, in the room'.

9 *kow* signifies both bluish gray and green, depending on the context.
10 *Illā*, borrowed from Arab-Persian *elā* 'towards, until, up to', here used tautologically.

13. *Pronouns*

13.1. Four sets of pronouns are used, three freestanding, namely, direct, oblique, and possessive, and one enclitic.

13.2. The direct pronouns are: 1. *az* 2. *te*, 3. *a* (m.), *áva* (f.), 4. *āmā*, 5. *šomā*, 6. *ave*; e.g., *az nāxoš bim* 'I was sick', *ava nāxoš biā* 'she was sick'.

13.3. The oblique pronouns differ from the direct ones only in the first person singular and the third persons: 1. *man*, 2. *te*, 3. *áve* (m./f.), 4. *āmā*, 5. *šomā*, 6. *avān*; e.g., *man āde!* 'give me!'; *man ku āpars!* 'ask me!'; *āmā pas be-košte* 'we have slaughtered sheep'; *man bāte, te bāte, áve bāte* (m./f.), *āmā bāte, šomā bāte, avān bāte* 'I said (was said by me, see 23), you said, etc.'

13.4. The possessive pronouns are: 1. *cemen/ceman*, 2. *ešte*, 3. *ca* (m./f.), 4. *comā*, 5. *šomā*, 6. *cān*; e.g., *a ceman-e* 'that is mine'. They serve also as possessive adjectives, e.g., *ceman dass-e bigi!* 'take my hand!', *ca pus-a xub-ā* 'its skin is good'; *cān puss-e xub-ende* 'their skins are good'; they are used also as objects of the postposition *rā* 'for' : *ceme rā* (i.e., *cemen rā) cāy deka!* 'pour tea for me!', *cān rā bāva!* 'bring for them!'. In Karnaqi the plural forms are: *cemā, šemā, cavān*. In Lerdi the 3rd person singular possessive pronoun is *ca* for masculine and *cave* for feminine; the 3rd person plural is *cavān*. (For examples see 23).

13.5. The enclitic pronouns are: 1. *-(e)m*, 2. *-e(r)*, 3. *-(e)š*, 4. *-mān*, 5. *-rān*, 6. *-šān*. They are used as agents of past transitive verbs and as possessive pronouns; e.g., *bāt-eš-e pe:-š bāyā, man zané* 'she said (if) his father comes, he will beat me (the first *š* is the agent, the second a possessive pronoun). For further examples see the ergative construction, 23.

13.6. Demonstrative Pronouns. Like personal pronouns, these have three forms: direct, oblique and possessive, each divided into proximate and remote; the gender is distinguished only in the singular.

	Sing./Pl.	Direct	Oblique	Possessive
Proximate	sing. m.	*em*	*emé*	*cemé*
	sing. f.	*éma*		
	pl.	*emé*	*emān*	*cān*
Remote	sing. m.	*a*	*avé*	*cema*
	sing. f.	*áva*		
	pl.	*avé*	*avān*	*cemān*

Both demonstrative pronouns are also used as personal pronouns for the 3rd person singular and plural. Examples: *em cāk-e* 'this is good (referring to a ram)', *ema cāk-ā* 'this is good (referring to a ewe)', *eme beba!* 'take this away!', *eme ku āpars!* 'ask this one/him!'; *eme cākende* 'these are good', *emān beba!* 'take these away!', *ceme dass-e bigi!* 'take this one's hand/his hand!', *a cāk-e* 'that is good', *ava cāk-ā* 'she is good', *ave bāva!* 'bring that/him!', *ave nan* 'with that one'; *avān bāva!* 'bring those!'.

14. *The Verb*

14.1. Tenses and moods are built on two stems: the present and the past. Those based on the present stem are: the imperative, the present, the subjunctive, and the optative (used also for the conditional present); those built on the past stem are: the preterit, the imperfect, the past inchoative, the progressive past, the perfect, the pluperfect, and the conditional perfect. In all tenses the grammatical gender is distinguished in the 3rd person singular (see 9.1.). In the present, the subjunctive, the optative-conditional present the gender is marked by adding *-a* to the masculine ending. In the past tenses the marker for the feminine is *-ā* (see 9. and below).

14.2. *The imperative* consists of the present stem and the modal prefix *be-*, if the verb is plain, that is, includes no preverb. The imperative endings (only 2nd persons) are *-ø* in the singular and *-ā* in the plural; e.g, *be-vaj!* 'weave!', *bi-gi(r)!* 'take!', *de-vaz!* 'run!', *de-vazā!* (pl.), *be-nj* (i.e., *be-henj*)! 'drink!'. The final *-r* of verbal stems tend to drop out in the singular, but appear in the plural; e.g., *ara-gi!* 'take, lift!', *ara-girā!* (pl.), *ā-ka!* 'open!', *ā-karā!* (pl.).

NB. The singular imperative of 'to come' is *búre*, the plural *bāyā*. In Dizi the singular may be without ending or may have *-en* as its ending, e.g., *be-xos/be-xos-en!* 'sleep!', *be-bar/be-bar-en!* 'take away!'.

14.3. The prohibitive particle is *ma-*. When the verb contains a preverb, *ma-* comes between the preverb and the verb; e.g., *de-ma-vaz!* 'don't run!', *ā-ma-ka!* 'don't open!'.

14.4. When the preverb is *ara-*, the prohibitive marker splits it into *a* and *ra*, e.g., *ara-gi!* 'take!', *a-ma-ra-gi!* 'don't take!'.

14.5. The negative particle is *na*, the vowel of which is subject to assimilation (*ni, na, nu*; see 5., 5.1.). In verbs with a preverb it comes, like *ma*, between the preverb and the verbal stem, e.g., *de-ne-vaz-em* 'I don't run', *ā-ne-karem* 'I don't open', *a-ne-ra-gir-em* 'I won't take'.

15. *The present* is built with the present stem of the verb and the present endings, which are: 1- *em*, 2.- *i*, 3. *-e* (m.) *-ea/-ia* (f.), 4. *-ām*, 5. *-ā*, 6. *-(e)nd(e)*; e.g., *xos(s)-em, xos(s)-i, xos(s)e/xos(s)ia, xos(s)-ām, xos(s)-ā, xos(s)-end* 'I sleep, you sleep, etc.'. In the 3rd person singular feminine, the ending *-e* tends to narrow into *-i; izéma eškāji-a* 'the firewood cracks (*eškāje*, m.)'; *ārassem de:* 'I reach the village', *agar xára be-ši-a, ā-ne-gardi-a* 'if the donkey (f.) goes, it will not return', *kele, ánga te gazzi-a* 'girl! the wasp (f.) will sting you'. Occasionally the feminine ending in the 3rd person is lengthened, possibly on the analogy of the preterit (cf. note 8), e.g., *xossia/xossiā* 'she sleeps'.

15.1. *The inchoative present* adds a fixed form of *kar-* 'to do', namely *kāri*, as auxiliary to the present, e.g., *az kāri vazzem* 'I intend to run, I am about to run, I am going to run', *az kāri jigenem* 'I am about to fall', *kāri xossem* 'I am about to sleep, I am going to bed', *te kāri vazze* 'you are about to run, you have started running'. Lerdi apparently does not use this tense.

16. *The subjunctive* is built like the present, except that it takes the modal prefix *be-*, when the stem is plain; 1. *az nezānem bevrijem*, 2. *te nezāni bevriji*, 3. *a nezāne bevrije* (m.), *bevrijia* (f.)[11], 4. *bevrijām*, 5. *bevrijā*, 6. *bevrijend* 'I don't know (how) to run, you don't know (how) to run, etc.'; 1. *az ga bevazz-em*, 2. *te ga bevazz-i*, 3. *bevazz-e*(m.), *bevazz-ea/ia* (f.), 4. *bevazz-ām*, 5. *bevazz-ā*, 6. *bevazz-ende* 'I must run away (or jump), you must run away', etc.

17. *The optative* is built with the present stem, the modal prefix *be-* and the optative marker *-ā* which precedes the endings: 1.*-ā-m*, 2. *-ā-š*, 3. *-ā* (m.), *-ā-ya* (f.), 4. *-ā-ymān*, 5.*-ā-yrān*, 6.*-ā-nde*, the endings being a variation of the present of the verb 'to be' (see 21.1.). In the 3rd person feminine singular a connective *-y-* comes between the optative marker and the feminine ending, thus *ā-y-a*; e.g., *xodā ešte piar bi-āmorz-ā* 'may God absolve your father', *xodā xorāsān-er qesmat be-kar-ā* 'may God make (it) your lot (to visit) Khorāsān (i.e., the shrine of the eighth Imam which is in Khorāsān), *yamān-er agerā* 'may you get anthrax (i.e., may you be afflicted by anthrax)', *kur bebāš* 'may you become blind', *kur bebā* (m.) 'may he become blind', *kur bebāya* (f.) 'may she become blind', *dim-er seter, kāfir a-kar-ā-m* 'may I (have the occasion) to pour *sedr* and camphor on your face'[12]; *dimer taxta sare ku bu-šur-ā-ymān* 'may we wash your face on a (wooden)board (i.e., may you die)', *marazin be-b-ā-š* 'may you (sing.) become a leper', *qara yer be-š-ā-š* 'may you go to black earth (i.e., may you be buried)'[13], *cašm-er marda-lāvin be-mān-ā-nde* 'may the corpse-washer close your eyes (sing.)'[14], *xodā makar-ā āfto"a* (f.) *bigirisia* 'God forbid that the sun be eclipsed (lit. be seized)'.

11 In Lerdi *bevrija*.

12 This is a curse meaning 'may I see you dead'; *Seter* is the dialectal form of *sedr*, a powder made of dried leaves of the lot-tree. It is customary to sprinkle the aromatic *sedr* and camphor on the body of the deceased after washing it.

13 Both *qara* and *yer* are Turkish words.

14 The literal meaning of *mān-* is not clear in this example; the meaning of the sentence was given as above.

17.1. Occasionally the subjunctive is used instead of the optative, e.g., *i yagā-y be-mar-i ke bu-r de-gen-ā* 'may you die in a place where you may rot' (lit. 'that [bad] smell may fall on you'; the second verb is the normal optative); *karbalā bi-š-i iššāllā* 'may you go to Karbala (to visit the shrine of the third Imam), God willing'[15].

17.2. Karnaqi has no particular formation for the optative, but uses the subjunctive instead; e.g., *javān bemare* 'may he die young'. However, in the following example the optative form is used for conditional present: *aga tond be-mej-āš geni* 'if you walk fast, you will fall'.

18. *The optative* is used also for the conditional present; e.g., 1. *agar be-vrij-ā-m genem*, 2. *agar be-vrij-ā-š geni*, 3. *agar be-vrij-ā gene* (m.), *agar be-vrij-āya genia* (f.), etc. 'if I run, I fall/I shall fall', etc.' But the subjunctive is also used as conditional present, e.g., *agar bivriji, pā-r-a šegiá* (f.) 'if you run your foot will break'. (Notice that the feminine marker *-a* comes after the second person enclitic pronoun *-r-*).

19. *The progressive present* is built with the past participle of the verb and the present of *kar-* 'to do'; e.g., 1. *az āmia karem*, 2. *te āmia kari*, 3. *a āmia kare* (m.), *ava āmia karia* (f.), 4. *āmia karām*. 5. *āmia karān*, 6. *āmia karend* 'I am (in the process of) coming, you are (in the process of) coming, etc.' (equivalent to Persian *dāram miyāyam, dāri miyāyi*, etc.). Karnaqi: *marda karem* 'I am dying', *del-em-a dassa karia (f.)* 'my stomach is aching'.

NB. The informants could not always distinguish between the inchoative and the progressive present, but from many examples which were elicited the difference became fairly clear.

19.1. In Lerdi the progressive present is made with the past participle of the verb and the endings of the present, a buffer *-r-* connecting the two, and the accent falling on the last syllable of the participle; e.g., 1. *viritá-r-em*, 2. *viritá-r-i*, 3. *viritá-r(-a)*, *viritá-r-iā* (f.), 4. *viritá-r-ām*, 5. *viritá-r-ā*, 6. *viritá-r-ende* 'I am running, you are running', etc. (cf. 21.)

20. *Tenses built on the past stem.* The past tenses and moods are essentially periphrastic, employing the verb 'to be' as auxiliary. Therefore the conjugation of the latter is given first.

21. *'To be'*

21.1. The Present of 'to be' (from the root **ah-*) is: 1. *-im*, 2. *-iš(e)*, 3. *-e* (m.), *-ā* (f.), 4. *-imān*, 5. *-irān*, 6. *-end(e)*; e.g., *az nāxoš-im, ava nāxoš-ā, ave nāxoš-ende*

15 That is *en šāallāh* lit. 'if God willed', but in Persian the Arabic phrase has come to express hope rather than condition.

'I am sick, she is sick, they are sick', *a(v) yetyār-e* 'he is a farmer[16]', *avé/emé yetyār-ende* 'they are farmers', *a šuāná-e* 'he is a shepherd'.

21.2. When the subject ends in a vowel, a connective sound, *-y-* or *-r-*, may intervene before the vowel of the ending; e.g., *a(z) ca zā-y-im* 'I am his son', *yā-r-im* 'I am here', *ave vā-r-ende* 'they are there'.

21.3. The negative present of 'to be' is: 1. *nim*, 2. *niš*, 3. *nie* (m.), 3. *niā* (f.), 4. *nimān*, 5. *nirān*, 6. *ninde*

21.4. A freestanding form of the present of the verb 'to be', based on the secondary stem *es(s)-*, is also used: 1. *essim*, 2. *essiš*, 3. *esse* (m.), *essā* (f.), 4. *essimān*, 5. *essirān*, 6. *essende* 'I am, I exist, etc.'. This form has no negative, for which *nim, niš, nie*, etc. is used; e.g., *yehudi vāje xodā nie* 'the unbeliever says there is no God' (cf. *juhud* 'Jew').

21.5. Other tenses and moods of the verb 'to be' are built on a different base, **bav-*. The tenses built on this base, depending on the context, may mean 'to be', or 'to become', although the proper stem for 'to become' includes the preverb *ā-*, as is the case in similar dialects, e.g., *mariz ā-bim* 'I became sick'.

21.6. The imperative of 'to be" is *be-bāš!* and the plural *be-bā!*; e.g., *jeqelae, xubi bebā tā āmā āgardām* 'be you good, children, until we return'.

21.7. The subjunctive of 'to be' is 1. *bi-bim*, 2. *bi-bi*, 3. *bi-bi* (m.), *bi-biā* (f.), 4. *be-bām*, 5. *be-bā*, 6. *bi-binde*; e.g., *piar-em vāte az xub bibim* 'my father said (that) I should be good'.

21.8. The optative-conditional present of 'to be' is made by adding the optative-conditional marker *-ā* before the endings; e.g., 1. *be-bām*, 2. *be-bāš*, 3. *be-bā* (m.), *be-bā-y-ā* (f.), 4. *be-bāymān*, 5. *be-bāyrān*, 6. *be-bānde*; *marazin be-bāš!* 'may you become a leper'; *agar virājem be-bāš, ji-ni-gini* 'if you should be careful, you will not fall'.

21.9. The inchoative of 'to be' is: 1. *kāri bim*, 2. *kāri bi*, 3. *kāri bi* (m.), *kāri biā* (f.), 4. *kāri bām*, 5. *kāri bā*, 6. *kāri binde*; *kāri bi* 'it is about to be done, it is being done'

21.10. The progressive present of 'to be' and 'to become' is formed as in other verbs, thus: 1. *bia karem*, 2. *bia kari*, 3. *bia kare*, 4. *bia karām*, 5. *bia karā*, 6. *bia karend* 'I am becoming/I am in the process of becoming, you are becoming/you are in the process of becoming, etc.'; *kü bia kare* 'the squash is being done (lit. is becoming)'.

21.11. The preterit of 'to be' is: 1. *bim*, 2. *biš*, 3. *be* (m.), *biā* (f.), 4. *bimān*, 5. *birān*, 6. *bende*; e.g., *vā bim* 'I was there', cf. *mariz ābiš* 'you became/were sick (sing.)'.

16 Cf. Persian *juft-kār*.

21.12. The imperfect of 'to be' is built like the preterit except that it includes the marker *-i* which precedes the endings; in the 3rd person plural, however, it follows the ending. In practice the *-i-* changes to *-y-*; thus, 1. *beyim/beym(e)*, 2. *beyiš*, 3. *beyi* (m.), *beya* (f.), 4. *beymān*, 5. *beyrān*, 6. *bendey*. The negative is *ne beym, ne bey*, etc.

21.13. The perfect differs from the imperfect only in the 3rd person singular and plural, thus, 1. *beym*, 2. *beyš*, 3. *bia(e)* (m.), *biā* (f.), 4. *beymān*, 5. *beyrān*, 6. *biande;* e.g, *do mā-e ku mariz biae* 'it is two months since he has been sick'; *kü biá-e?* 'has the squash been done? (lit. has it become?)'.

21.14. The pluperfect of 'to be' is built from the past participle of 'to be' and the preterit of the same as the auxiliary, thus: 1. *bia bim*, 2. *bia biš*, 3. *bia be* (m.), *bia biā* (f.), 4. *bia bimān*, 5. *bia birān*, 6. *bia bende*.

22. *The Past Tenses*

22.1. *The preterit* of intransitive verbs is built with the past stem of the verb, the modal prefix *be-*, if the stem is plain, and the preterit endings, which are in fact the present of the verb 'to be' even though they differ from it slightly, e.g., 1. *bevrit-em*, 2. *bevrit-iš*, 3. *bevrit* (m.), *bevrit-ā* (f.), 4. *bevrit-imān*, 5. *bevrit-irān*, 6. *bevrit-ende* 'I ran, you ran, etc.'.

22.1.1. The preterit endings in Dizi are: 1. *-eym*, 2. *-ey*, 3. *-ø*, 4. *-eymān*, 5. *-eyrān*, 6. *-end* with the accent falling on the last syllable of the stem; e.g., *be-xót-eym* 'I slept', *ne-xot-eym* 'I did not sleep'.

22.1.2. The preterit of transitive verbs, like all other transitive verbs, follows the ergative construction.

23. *The Ergative construction.* In constructions of transitive verbs in the past the verb accords with its logical object (grammatical subject) and therefore is either singular or plural. If it is singular and refers to an individual object, the verb assumes the feminine ending irrespective of the actual or grammatical gender of the object. On the other hand, if the object denotes a generic or uncountable noun or more than one of a kind, then the verb assumes the masculine ending. If the object is plural no distinction in gender is made. The agent (the grammatical object) of the verb is put in the oblique case. If the agent is a pronoun, the oblique pronoun is used. The pronoun distinguishes the gender in the singular, unless the agent is expressed by an enclitic pronoun. Examples: *man zer xā xʷarda* 'yesterday I ate eggs (generic, sing.)', *man zer yüz xʷarda* 'yesterday I ate walnuts (generic, sing.)', but *man zer i(g)la xā-y* (i.e., *xā-i) xʷard-ā* 'yesterday I ate one egg (f.)', *man zer i(g)la yüz-i-m xʷard-ā* 'yesterday I ate one walnut (f.)', *man zer i asifi xʷard-ā* (f.) 'yesterday I ate one apple', but *man zer panj-gela asif xʷarda* 'yesterday I ate five apples (i.e., five of the kind)', *man zer pass-i sar-*

āberiā 'yesterday I slaughtered a sheep (f. because a singular sheep is meant)', *man zer qóca sar-āberiā* (f.) 'yesterday I slaughtered a ram (f., despite the natural gender)', *man zer pas(s)e-m sar-āberinde* 'yesterday I slaughtered sheep (pl.)', *ow-em hinta* 'I drank water (m., uncountable)', *nun-em xʷarda* 'I ate bread (m., generic)', *karg-em xʷarda* 'I ate chicken (generic, m. lit. hen, despite the natural gender)', *i(g)la karg-em xʷardā* 'I ate one chicken', *man pas be-košte* 'I killed sheep', *man pas(s)-i be-koštā* 'I killed one sheep' (see also 24.1.3.).

23.1. When a noun is defined by a possessive adjective or by a noun which stands in genitive relation to it, if it refers to a single item, it is treated as feminine. However, when a noun is thus specified, but refers to a generic noun, it is treated as masculine, e.g., *Hasan-e cemen gandem beba* 'Hasan took away my wheat (generic, m.)', *Hasan-e cemen bādām-eš bedezzi* 'Hasan stole my almonds (generic, m.)', but *Hasan-e cemen vek(k)a bebardā* 'Hasan took away my kidney' (referring to the kidney of a sheep belonging to Hasan, f.), *Hasan-e cemen jigarbān-eš-a bebard-ā* 'Hasan took away my *jegarband*[17]', *Hasan-e bezze šāx-a beškes-ā* 'Hasan broke the goat's horn (definite and sing., f.)', *Hasan-e cemen xiār-a bedezzi-ā* 'Hasan stole my cucumber (definite and sing., f.)'.

N.B. In past transitive verbs there is a semblance of gender distinction in the first and second persons, e.g., *āftoʷ-em-a bind-ā* 'I saw the sun', *āftoʷ-em-a vinda-y-ā* 'I have seen the sun', but in fact, according to the ergative construction, all verbs are either the 3rd person singular, if the object is singular, or 3rd person plural, if the object is plural (the sun, f., was seen/has been seen by me).

23.2. According to the above, past transitive verbs have only two forms, both agreeing with the object of the verb, which can be either singular or plural (see 23); e.g., *man xalow-em dekarde* 'I put on my clothes', *xelig-em-a* (f.) *agati-ā* 'I picked up my spade'; *giabāne gowe* (pl.) *be-bard-ende cārenesne rā* 'the cowherds took the cows for grazing'; *man gandeme* (pl.) *bida āgatande xarmane kanāre ku* 'I gathered the wheat (pl.) on the side of the threshing ground', *man alu koffā bebarde (-em)* 'I carried the apricots (collective, sing.) up(stairs), (i.e., to the roof to dry').

23.3. A semblance of a conjugation with the enclitic pronouns serving as the agents of the verb (with or without freestanding corresponding oblique pronouns), is formed as in the following examples from Dizi: 1. *(man) bexard-em-e*, 2. *(te) bexard-er-e*, 3.*(ave) bexard-eš-e*, 4. *(amā) bexard-emān-e*, 5. *(šemā) bexard-erān-e*, 6. *(avān) bexard-ešān-e* (*-e* is apparently euphonic), or else *man, te, ave, amā, šemā, avān nān bexard(e)* 'I, you, he, etc. ate bread (lit. bread is eaten by me, etc.)'.

24. *The imperfect* is built with the past stem of the verb plus the imperfect marker *-e* and the preterit endings, of which the initial vowel changes to *-y-*,

17 Combined liver, lungs, and heart of a slaughtered animal.

with stress falling on the last syllable of the stem, e.g., *az har ruja virít-e-ym ka nan te ku* 'I used to run (= I would run) every day from the house to the mountains'; *virit-e-ym, virit-e-yš, virit-e-ya, virit-e-ymān, virit-e-yrān, virit-e-ndey* 'I used to run/I would run, you used to run/you would run', etc. Notice that in the 3rd person plural the marker follows the ending, although sometimes it comes before the ending; e.g., *hešt-e-ynde* 'they would get up'. Judging by the marker in the 3rd person plural, one might say that the imperfect marker is *-ey*, developed from a combination of the marker *-e* and the initial vowel of the endings. The negative is: *ne-virit-eym* 'I used not to run', *de-ne-vašt-eym* 'I used not to flee'[18].

24.1. In Lerdi the imperfect is built with the past stem of the verb plus the preterit endings: 1. *-i-m*, 2. *-i-š*, 3. *-i* [19], which differs from the preterit only in the 3rd person singular; e.g., *az jüe sarek*[20] *ruji sorrā vaštim* 'I used to jump over the stream three times a day' (cf. *az jüe sare bevaštim* 'I jumped over the stream'); *kula ruji sorra berdamesi/viriti* 'the boy used to cry/run three times a day'.

24.1.1. In Dizi the imperfect is the same as the preterit (see 22.1.1.), except that it does not take the modal prefix *be-* and in the 3rd person singular the ending is *-ey*; e.g. (transitive): *pārsāl harruz-em pelā xard-ey* (or *harruz... xard-ey-m-e*) 'last year I used to eat pilaf every day'.

24.1.2. Karnaqi follows the Karani pattern; e.g., *pār har-ru šeym ku* 'last year everyday I used to go to the mountains', *hic nexorus-eym* 'I used not to laugh at all'; transitive: *hiš angir nox^{w}arde-me* (or *angir-em nox^{w}ardi)* 'I used not to eat grapes at all'.

24.1.3. In the transitive verbs only the 3rd person singular and plural are used according to the rules of the ergative construction (see 22.1.2. and 23.); e.g., *avaxti az harruj xābe ku pā hešteym, xalow-em dekardey, nemāzem xāndey, xelig-em-a* (f.) *agateya, šeym raz owa-dāri rā* 'in those times, every day I used to get up from sleep, put on my clothes, say (my) prayers, pick up my spade (f.) (and) would go to orchards (sing.) for irrigation'. In the negative, the marker *ne-* comes between the preverb and the verb, e.g., *avaxti hic-vaxt sabsabā ne-yšteym, nemāzem ne-xāndey, xelig-em-a a-ne-gateya* (f.) *raz ne-šeym* 'in those times, I would never get up in the early morning ..... would not go to orchards'.

25. *The past inchoative* is formed with the imperfect of the verb and the auxiliary *kāri*, which does not change with persons; e.g., *kāri devašt-eym, pā-m-a* (f.) *ālāqes-ā segé, begenessim* 'I was about to run away/I wanted to run away, when my foot hit (a) stone (and) I fell'.

18 No example for the 3rd person feminine occurs in my notes.
19 No example for the feminine was noted (probably *–ia*), or for the plural.
20 *-k* is puzzling; in the next example I have noted only *sare*.

25.1. Lerdi uses what appears to be the oblique of the infinitive for this tense, e.g., *vaqti ke āš-emān patan-é, divār-emān be-serr-es* 'when we were about to cook *āš* (a thick soup) our wall collapsed', *b-ām-em kāqaz nešetan-é, qalam-(e) m-a* (f.) *beškesā* 'I was about (lit. I came) to write a letter (when) my pen broke'.

26. *The progressive past* is formed with the past participle of the verb and the imperfect of the auxiliary *kar-/kard-*; e.g, *viritā kardeym* 'I was running/I was in the process of running' (Pers. *dāštam midavidam*). Karnaqi: *pār del-em-a dassa kardaya* (f.), *marda kardim* 'last year my stomach was aching, I was dying'; *te cekār kardai vārān bebāres* 'what were you doing (when) the rain fell?'.

26.1. In Lerdi the continuous past is built with the past participle of the verb and the imperfect endings, with *-rd-* added in between, e.g., *az beramesā-rd-em/ im pi-m bāma* 'I was weeping (when) my father came', *te beš azir virita-rd-eš?* 'was it you (sing.) yesterday (who) was running?', *a beramesa-rd-e* 'he was weeping', *ava beramesa-rd-ia* 'she was weeping'. The other endings are *-emān, -erān, -ende* (the initial *-e-* of the endings is narrowed, approaching *-i-*; *-rd-* may have developed from *kard*?) Transitive: *man izem ā-škāta-rd-e āsmāna-xorri bebe* 'I was cutting firewood (when) there was a thunder', *man nān x^{w}arda-rd-e pe-m deše* 'I was eating bread (when) my father came in', *šum-em zia-rd-e* 'I was tilling' (lit. 'I was hitting tillage').

27. *The perfect* is built by the past participle of the verb with the stress falling on its last syllable, and the endings, which consist of the present of the auxiliary 'to be', except that when the ending begins with *i-*, the *-a* of the participle changes to *-e* while the *-i-* itself becomes *-y-*, thus, 1. *viritė-ym*, 2. *viritė-yš*, 3. *viritá* (m.), *viritā* (f.), 4. *viritė-ymān*, 5. *viritė-yrān*, 6. *viritá-nde* 'I have run', etc. The negative is: 1. *viritá nim*, 2. *virita niš*, 3. *virita ni* (m.), *virita niā* (f.), 4. *virita nimān*, 5. *virita nirān*, 6. *virita ninde* 'I have not run', etc.; e.g., *te dāssā (< dā assā) omre ku devašte-yš? ba:le, xeyli devašte-ym* 'have you ever (lit. till now) run in (your) life? Yes, I have run much'. Notice that the past participle of intransitive verbs has, as in Persian, a gerundive sense.

28. *The pluperfect* is built with the past participle of the verb and the preterit of the auxiliary 'to be', e.g., *te bāmiš az xotta bim* '(when) you came I had gone to sleep (I was asleep)', *az bāmim te šia biš* '(when) I came you had left', *az bāmim, Hasan šia be (m.)/Zeynaba šia biā (f.)* '(when) I came Hasan/Zeynab had left'.

28.1. In Dizi the pluperfect, which is used also for unreal past conditional, is formed similarly, except that the auxiliary is *beym, beyš, bey*, etc.

29. *The conditional perfect.* Karani possesses two conditional perfects: *the conditional perfect I* is built with the past participle of the verb and the conditional

present-optative of the auxiliary 'to be'; e.g., *aga az virita bām xodā xošta rā zāne* 'should I have run, God knows Himself (lit. by himself)', *aga te virita bāš* 'should you have run', *aga man vāta bā* 'should I have said', *aga devašta bā, āxer-eš girende* 'should he have fled, in the end they (would) catch him'.

29.1. *The conditional perfect II* is built with the past participle of the verb and the imperfect of the auxiliary 'to be', e.g., *aga virita beym* 'if I had run', *aga devašta bey, gulla-šān zey* 'if he had run away, they would have shot (him with) bullet(s)', *aga virita bey pā-š-a šegeseya* 'if he had run, his foot (f.) would have broken (lit. would break)'. Karnaqi: *agar virita bey pāš eškesey(a)* 'if he had run, his foot would have broken'.

30. *Passive and Causative*

30.1. *The passive* is marked only in the past tenses. In the preterit it is formed by adding *-est* to the present stem, e.g., *nun be-xʷar-est* 'the bread was eaten', cf. *ave nun be-xʷārd* 'he ate bread'; *divār āškāj-est* 'the wall got cracked', *oweš bi-gir-est, de-kar-ām kisa* 'when it is drained (lit. 'when the water is taken', referring to the draining of cheese or yogurt), we pour (it in a) bag'; *xub besuj-est, xāk ābi* '(when) it was well burnt it becomes ash'. No example in the present tense could be elicited. In the present tenses the passive is expressed by the auxiliary 'to become' as is the case in Nowkiāni and Persian, e.g., *gol-a kāra ābiā* (f.) 'the flower is about to become (= to open)'.

30.2. *The causative* is made by adding *-āmen* to the present stem; e.g., *be-xur!* 'laugh!', *be-xur-āmen!* 'make laugh!' *be-vrij!* 'run!', *be-vrij-āmen!* 'make run!', *be-xos!* 'go to sleep!', *be-xoss-āmen!* 'put to bed!', *benj* (i.e., *be-henj)!* 'drink!', *benj-āmen!* 'make drink!'.

30.1.1. In a limited number of verbs the causative is formed by adding *-en* to the present stem. In such cases if the present stem contains the vowel *-a-*, it is lengthened to *-ā-*; e.g., *be vaz!* 'jump!' *eme be vāzen!* 'make him (lit. this one) jump!', *de-vaz!* 'run away!', *de-vāz-en!* 'make run away!, help to flee!', *ma-tars!* 'don't fear!', *ma tārs-en!* 'don't frighten!', *teraki* 'you will burst', *beterāk-en!* 'make burst!' Some verbs show both forms; e.g., *ālāqen/ālāqāmen!* 'make hang!'.

30.1.2. In Lerdi the causative stem is made by adding *-ān* to the present stem; e.g., *bu-xur-ān* 'make laugh', *xordane ma-xur-ān* 'don't make the child laugh', *ma-bram-ān* 'don't make cry', *zoqāle ma-sujān* 'don't burn the charcoal', *bi-vrij-ān* 'make run', *ma-rvij-ān* 'don't make run' (< *vrij-* with metathesis).

31. *Verbal non-finite forms*

31.1. *The infinitive.* The infinitive is made from the past stem plus *-an*; e.g., *šeta-sar gat-an-e* (obl.) *balad niā* 'she does not know (how) to make cream (lit. to take milk-top)', *cakma*[21] *nivis-an balad niā* 'she does not know (how) to rock the skin (for making butter)'; *āmian o šian* 'coming and going, socializing'.

31.2. *The gerund.* The gerund is made as in Persian and probably under its influence by adding *-ān* to the present stem, e.g., *nafas zi-ān zi-ān bāma* 'he came gasping (*zi-* 'to hit', *nafas zian* 'to gasp')'.

31.2.1. Karnaqi generally repeats a gerund built from the past or present stem and the morpheme *-an* to indicate a continuous state or activity, e.g., *xorus-an xorus-an āmia kardeynde* 'they were coming (while) laughing', *langes-an langes-an* 'limping', *ca-šān sar arakus-an arakus-an* '(while) knocking on their (own) heads', but exceptionally (it seems) *duš kard-an āmia kardeynde* 'they were coming (while) dancing (lit. making dance). For 'weeping' a different form is used; *beram-āni bāmenda* 'they came weeping'.

31.3. *The agent noun.* The agent noun (examples only from transitive verbs) is made from the present stem of the verb, which is normally preceded by its nominal compliment (accusative); e.g., *pārca-vaj* 'weaver of cloth', *šeta-duš* 'milker of milk', *izem-āškāj* 'firewood cutter (lit. cracker)'; *dāyra-zan-ešān āvarda* 'they brought a tambourine player (generic)'.

31.4. A verbal adjective with participial sense is made by adding *-ār* to the present stem (as in Persian); e.g., Lerd.: *em ādam xruš-ār nia* 'this person is not (a) seller', *xeri-ār nia* 'is not (a) buyer' (i.e., 'is not a buying type, cannot be expected to buy'), *em assar-a zenda-mānār niā* (f.) 'this mule is not remaining alive (too sick to live)', *em ādam pul diār ni* 'this person is not a payer of money', *em cu-a xošk ābiār niā* 'this wood is not a drying (kind, lit. becoming dry)'. Karnaqi: *em gāwa mānār niā* 'this cow is not lasting', *em ādam xorušār ni* 'this man is not a seller'.

31.5. *Verbal noun.* A verbal noun is made by adding a stressed *-i* to the agent noun, thus *pārca-vaj-i* 'cloth weaving', *šeta-duš-i* 'milking', *izem-āškāj-i* 'firewood cutting', *nāna-paj-i* 'bread baking'; Lerdi: *tania derani* 'kindling the oven', *neyra āšādani* 'rocking the churn', *gürua vaji* 'weaving socks'.

31.6. *The past participle.* The past participle is made by adding stressed *-a* to the past stem, e.g, *owjaressa* 'finished (*owjar-/owjares(s)-* 'to finish'; see 27 for further examples).

32. *Personal Names.* The following masculine names were noted: names with *-'Ali*: Baxš-ali, Sombol-ali, Xān-ali, Sabr-ali, Moharam-ali, Zolf-ali, Ešq-ali, Quc-ali, Beyrām-ali[22]; names with Islamic connotations: Aliyār-Mohammad, Xodā-karim, Salmān, Qāsem, Nazar, Sayyādollā (hunting for God?), Gharib,

21 *cakmā* (Persian *mašk*) is the skin used for making butter and storing ghee, cheese, etc.
22 Apparently a form of Bahramali, or else Turkish *beyrām* 'new year'.

Yāsin; Persian names or names having a dominant Persian component: Anuš, Baxtiār, Rostam, Sartip, Firuz, Farāmarz, Gol-āqā, Xoš-sāat, Belbel; Turkish names or names with a Turkish element: Almān, Mehdi-qoli, Rezā-qoli, Bālājān, Bālā-je, Tār-verdi; others: Ketāb, Ādam, Edris, Rašid, Askar, Sāleh, Sabur, Mahmud, Aziz, Yagan, Nāzer, Abusaid, Teymur.

Feminine names. Persian names or names with a Persian element: Gol-tāj, Nim-tāj, Sar-tāj, Cerá (Persian Cehreh), Nur-jahān, Gol-cin, Gol-cera, Delārā, Šar-bānu, Gol-rox, Goli, Eyn-jahān, Gol-bun, Golestān, Farangis, Banoša (< Banafšeh), Kucuk; Arabic names: Effat, Kobrā, Šowkat, Fātma, Latifa, Rahima, Ešrat, Xadija, Sāleha, Halima, Kolsom (< Kolthum), Sari'a, Šamāyel, Jamila, Sakina; Turkish names: Gullar, Asli (a character in a Turkish story); names implying a wish (generally expressing the wish for no more children): Gol-bas, Tāri-bas (in Turkish *Tāri* 'God'), Kin-vas (*kina* 'girl'), Āvān-bas (apparently from **āmān-bas*), Sārā; others: Antiqa (< **atiqa* 'antique?'), Ausāndeq (?).

Turco-Sogdian features

YUTAKA YOSHIDA, Kyoto

Introduction

It is my greatest pleasure to contribute this paper to the volume in honour of Professor NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS's 60th birthday. As one of his earliest students I learned Sogdian from him at SOAS for one academic year in 1981–1982 when we both were still very young. Among the texts which he read with me were a few very late Sogdian texts containing a number of Uighur or Turkish elements. They were subsequently published by him in collaboration with the late Professor J. HAMILTON (*Documents turco-sogdiens du IX^e–X^e siècle de Touen-houang* = DTS).

From the linguistic point of view, this material is quite unique in that the Sogdian dialect or variety found in it not only contains many Turkish names but also shows expressions based on Turkish idioms and constructions influenced by Turkish syntax. That is the reason why SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON called the language "turco-sogdien". As a Sogdianist, I am absolutely certain that this unique variety of Sogdian written in horrible cursive script would not have been at all comprehensible without SIMS-WILLIAMS's profound insight and formidable competence in things Sogdian. In any case I greatly benefited from their results when I myself began to edit three Manichaean Sogdian letters (Letters A, B, and C) discovered at a ruined cave in Bäzäklik, Turfan.[1]

While the idea that Uighur or Old Turkic influenced Sogdian was at that time quite new and astonishing, the opposite direction of influence had been taken for granted.[2] Many Sogdian loanwords are found in Old Turkic and the long-standing symbiosis of the two peoples is widely attested in historical sources.[3] Among other things, the so-called Uighur script is derived from the cursive variant of Sogdian script. Thus, the bulk of studies of the linguistic aspect of Sogdo-Turkish or Sogdo-Uighur language contact has been done

1 My edition was subsequently published in China, cf. YOSHIDA 2000. The expanded and revised English version is in preparation.

2 In this article I follow M. ERDAL in that I refer to Uighur and other old Turkish languages as Old Turkic, cf. ERDAL 2004, pp. 6–22.

3 On the history of the Sogdo-Turkish relationship see now GOLDEN 2006.

by Turkologists rather than by Sogdianists.[4] Here again SIMS-WILLIAMS is an exception in that he made an important contribution to the elucidation of the process in which the Sogdian script was applied to the Uighur language, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981.

Now that the influence in both directions has been recognized the time is ripe for the collaboration of Sogdianists and Turkologists to elucidate the realities of the linguistic contact between Sogdian and Old Turkic.[5] In this paper I will confine myself to the analysis of the Turco-Sogdian texts, that is to say Sogdian texts showing strong Old Turkic influence, and try to collect and classify the features resulting from the contact. However, many of the features discussed in this paper have been noticed by SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON before and I shall just continue a little their groundbreaking researches.

Turco-Sogdian features

In what follows I list those linguistic features which are most likely to represent Turco-Sogdian characteristics. However, we must always be prudent in our identification of such features as Turco-Sogdian, partly because our knowledge of Sogdian is still far from being sufficient to identify 'genuine' Sogdian. Moreover, it is also possible that several Turco-Sogdian features have been overlooked or not recognized as such by the present author, who is not a specialist of Old Turkic linguistics. In my discussion the Turco-Sogdian features are classified as follows:

(A) copying of idioms and collocations,
(B) copying of grammatical/functional morphemes,
(C) copying of non-finite constructions,
(D) code-switching and nonce loanwords, and
(E) pronunciation and spellings.

However, this classification is only for the sake of convenience and no consistency is claimed here. It must also be understood that due to the limited space available I have to confine myself to listing only one or two typical examples under each category.

4 Since virtually every Uighur text contains Sogdian loanwords, it is simply impossible to list all the publications discussing Sogdian elements in Uighur. Some of the most substantial works include VON GABAIN 1977, 1983, SHOGAITO 1978, MORIYASU 1985, pp. 33–34, LAUT 1986, pp. 143–148. In one case a Sogdian numeral is employed for the pagination of a Buddhist Uighur text written in the so-called sūtra-script or Sogdian formal script. Cf. FEDAKAR 1996, p. 191, who mistook it for a numeral in Brāhmī script.

5 The Possibility of loan-translations from Sogdian has recently been discussed by ÖZERTURAL 2005.

A Copying of idioms and collocations

A-1 Idiomatic expressions

The very first scholar to notice Turkish influence on Sogdian was O. HANSEN. As early as 1930 when editing the Sogdian version of the Karabalgasun inscription (= KB) Hansen pointed out that the collocation *tnp'r pryc* "lit. leave (one's) body" attested in the inscription is likely to be based on the Turkish idiom *ät'öz qod-* "to leave (one's) body" which is a euphemistic or honorific expression meaning "to die", cf. HANSEN, p. 29. The passage mentioned by HANSEN reads in my edition as follows:

> *c'nkw pwkw x'γ-'n tnp'r pr'ytδ'rt w'nkw 'lpw xwtl-wγpyl-k' x'γ-'n nysty* (KB 13)
> "When Bögü Qaghan left his body, thus Alp Qutluγ Bilgä Qaghan sat (on the throne)."

In the sentence cited above *x'γ'n nysty* could also be regarded as a Turkism, because *qaγan olor-* is described by Erdal as a Old Turkic set expression meaning "to rule", cf. ERDAL, p. 532.

HANSEN also compared *MN βγγšty prnβyrty* attested in KB with Old Turkic *tängridä qutbulmiš*. The same combination is encountered in several texts: Ch/U 6937b (cf. YOSHIDA *apud* RECK 2006, p. 284), Text G, Letter A, and an inscription on the rim of a jar discovered in Semirechye. On this point see DTS, p. 66.[6]

A-2 Epistolary formulae

Most of the Turco-Sogdian materials presently known are letters, where several expressions belonging to the epistolary formulae are employed mainly towards the beginning of the letters. Those expressions which have no counterpart in the Ancient Letters or the letters of the Mug documents, that is to say in genuine Sogdian letters, but which correspond to those found in Uighur letters are most likely to have originated from the latter.[7] The following phrases have been noted:

a) *prns'r* "to the majesty of (NN)": This combination of *prn* "majesty, fortune" and a postposition *s'r* "towards" follows the name of the addressee. Sims-Williams and Hamilton have already compared it with Uighur *qutinga* appearing in the same position, cf. DTS, p. 54. One example from Letter C reads as follows:

> *kw ... xw'r z-'δ'k' xwšτr mz-yx prns'r* "To the great majesty of (our) elder (named) Khwar Zādag"

6 One suspicious case can be mentioned here. *cw ky* is suspected to be calqued on *nä kim* by SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON (cf. DTS, p. 71), but they also envisage the possibility that the combination is inherited in Sogdian. On this point see also JOHANSON, p. 199.

7 On the traditional Sogdian epistolary formulae see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1991. Cf. also my discussion, YOSHIDA 2000, pp. 250–279.

b) *m'n ps'ty*: In Letter C, just after the name of the addressor one finds *γrβw γrβw m'n ps'ty*. This combination, which is also found in line 22, corresponds almost word for word to *ükü̈š ükü̈š köngül ayïtu* "asking (the addressee's) mind many (times)" occurring in Old Turkic letters, cf. HAMILTON 1986, pp. 52, 99. In ordinary Sogdian letters *γrβ nm'cyw* "much homage/respect = many greetings" appears in the corresponding position and *m'n ps'ty* is likely to have been calqued on the Old Turkic idiom. *γrβ 'ps'ty* (Letter A 124) and *ps'ty* (passim in Letter C) are also encountered.

c) "How many words": In Letter C the main body of the message is preceded by the following phrase: *pr pwsty cw γrβw ptškw'nw rxn'n* "I venture (to send you) what/how many humble messages by (this) letter" (Letter C, 6–7). Again it is in DTS, pp. 54–55 that the similar phrases found there (Texts F and G) are compared with an Old Turkic epistolary formula: *amtï bitigdä nä ükü̈š saβ idalïm*. The Khotanese counterpart (cf. YOSHIDA *apud* DTS, ibid.) is also likely to have been based on Old Turkic.

A few others may also be mentioned: *ôwr z'y pnt m'ny* "from afar (but) near in mind" (Text G) is compared by SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON with Uighur *ïraq yerdin yaγuq köngülin*, cf. DTS, p. 69. *'z-w βnty ms nm' n'my npys prm 'yc't 'skwym'n* (Letter C, 6, see below) "I (your) slave am (lit. (we) are) also well until (the time of) writing this letter" corresponds almost word for word to *yemä bu bitig bitigïnčä ädgü esän+ä erür biz* "par ailleurs, jusqu'au moment d'écrire cette lettre, eh, nous sommes bien et en bonne santé" (HAMILTON 1986, text 20, 5). Text G has *srxwc* "lit. head-good" collocating with *wn'm'skn* "I am doing/sending". In this case the corresponding Turkish expression *baši yaxši* "lit. his head (be) good" is encountered in Text F, where *γrβw pšy yxšy* "many (times) good-head" means something like "many greetings", cf. DTS, p. 54. Accordingly, *srxwc (~ baši yaxši)* is a Turco-Sogdian equivalent of the genuine Sogdian *nm'c(yw)* "greeting, respect".

A-3 Hendiadys and alliterative pairs

Synonymous hendiadyses are characteristic of Old Turkic, cf. ERDAL, p. 533. *γny ZY mrt'nyh* "skill and manliness" attested several times in KB was compared by me with Turkish hendiadys *är ärdäm*. When SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON discussed the same combination found in Text G, they proposed to compare it rather with *alp ärdäm*, cf. DTS, p. 66.[8] I also discovered similar pairs of synonyms in the inscription: *γrβ'y ZY ''p'y* "wisdom and understanding" = *bilgä bilig* "wisdom"; *prn ZY prnxwntkyh* (also attested in Letter A) "fortune and majesty" = *qut qïv* "divine favour"; *prnxwntkyh ZY prnpδy['kh]* "majesty and splendour" = *qut qïv*.[9] The last two Sogdian pairs are alliterate as well.

Alliterating pairs are noted by SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON in Text G: *(MN βyyšty) prnβyrty prnxwnty γwβty γrβ'k šyrn'my š'nwx*. Although they are

8 An unpublished text So 10920 also attests *γny ZY mrt'nyh*.

9 Here, likely Old Turkic conterparts are provided by the present author.

no doubt right in arguing that the three pairs were not calqued on Turkic but composed by the writer of the letter following his own stylistic taste, the employment of alliteration itself betrays the influence of Old Turkic, where it is a common technique, cf. YOSHIDA 1993, p. 371 and ERDAL, pp. 533–534.

A-4 Copying of polysemy[10]

In some cases Sogdian words found in the materials cover the same semantic range as the corresponding Old Turkic. Take for an example *r'δ* meaning "road"; in Text F it does not mean "road" but "times", Fr. "fois" and one may consider the fact that Old Turkic *yol* is polysemous in that it means "times" as well as "road", cf. DTS, p. 55. Similarly, the wide range of meaning covered by *γr'n* "heavy" found in KB is suspected by the present author to be based on the polysemy of Turkish *ayïr* "heavy, much, many, important, very, respectful, valuable", cf. YOSHIDA 1988, p. 31. Examples are: *'rkh šyr γr'n* (line 8) "work (was) very great", *γr'n γny ZY mrt'nyh* (line 18) "much skill and manliness", *γr'n twp'ytc'ny 'sp'ô* (line 19) "mighty Tibetan army", *γr'n wrcy-'w'kw* (line 19) "great peace", *γr'n nm'ck'n* (line 22) "many presents, valuable presents", *γr'n xws'nty'kh* (Frag. 8, line 4) "much happiness", *γr'n yp['k?]* (Frag. 9, line 3) "great anger".

yxwst'y, the past participle of the verb *yxw'y/yxw'st-* "to cut", means "distinguished, outstanding" in KB: *MN s't ''z-'tyty yxwst'y* (line 15) "distiguished among all the nobles". This may be compared with *adruq* found in expressions such as *siz kiši-dä adruq bägräk är közünür siz* "Vous paraissez une person très noble, différente du commun des mortels" (cf. HAMILTON 1971, p. 41, LXVI, 4–6). Like *yxwst'y, adruq* is derived from *adïr-* "to cut, distinguish".[11]

B Copying of grammatical/functional morphemes

B-1 x't as a marker of the subjunctive

In GMS section 652 it is stated that a secondary subjunctive can be formed by adding *x't* (3 sg. subj. of "to be") to the indicative. Four examples are cited from Manichaean texts: *'krtyy '[s]tyy x't* "should have been made", *qô'rmx't* "(if) I have done", *'styy x't* "should be", and *prycť x't* "you should abandon". Although *x't* is treated there along with the other two verbal particles *skwn* and *k'm*, *x't* differs from the other two in that while the latter appear in all kinds of Sogdian texts and show gradual erosion: *skwn* > *skn*, *kn* > *sk*, *k* and *k'm* > *k'n* > *k'*, the former is attested only in some Manichaean Sogdian texts and in our Turco-Sogdian materials. Therefore, it is natural to compare *x't* in this function

10 Although this phenomenon is not a case of combination of words, it is discussed under this heading only for the sake of convenience. It is also to be noted that metaphorical and metonymic extension of word meanings are cross-linguistically common and the examples listed here may just be coincidences.

11 The overlap of the semantic ranges covered by Sogd. *prn* and Turkish *qut* is believed to be the result of a much longer history of contact between Iranophones and Turcophones dating back to prehistoric period. Cf. BOMBACI 1966, pp. 34–40.

with Uighur *ärsär* which, like Sogdian *x't*, is a conditional form of a verb *är-* "to be". The usage of *ärsär* as a kind of particle is described as follows: The form *är-sär* serves as a conditional conjunction added to full-fledged verbal forms, to *bar* "there is" and so forth, cf. ERDAL, p. 320.[12] In a confessional text one finds the following sentence: *ṭym ms p(t)[fs]yy myδ'n[yy] pṭy'ry' šyštrw'ndṭy' frkyrnyk(y)[']qδ'rmx't* (M116 verso 8–10) "If further in the middle of the reading I should have committed carelessness, inattention, (and) indifference".[13] This usage may be compared with *tört yig(i)rmii türlüg baš qïltïm(ï)z ärsär* "If we should have inflicted on him the fourteen-fold wounds" found in the Xwāstwānīft, a Manichaean Uighur text of confession, cf. ASMUSSEN, pp. 171, 194–195. The attested forms of finite verbs combined with *x't* can be classified as follows:

(i) present indicative: *'styy x't* (M116), *'sty x't* (Letter A 94, Letter C 10), *pryct' x't* (M894), *yrβym'n x't* (Letter C 12)[14]
(ii) present indicative durative: *β'wtk x't* (Letter A 59), *βwtk'n x't* (Letter C 5)
(iii) subjunctive: *myr'n x't* (Text F), *β'tx't* (Text E), *wβ't x't* (Text F), *wβ'tw x't* (Letter A, 57–58); *[']*(s)kw't x't* (So 10100v a/4)[15]
(iv) preterite: *kδ'rntx't* (Text G), *qδ'rmx't* (M116), *m't x't* (Letter C, 14)
(v) present perfect: *'krtyy 'styy x't* (M116, cf. GMS section 652)
(vi) imperfect(?): *ptyw'β x't* (Letter A, 105)

While most of the usages have counterparts in Uighur, those listed under (iii) are unique in that their Uighur equivalents would be the non-existent **ölsär ärsär* and **bolsar ärsär*. How this extension of the usage of *x't* has come about is yet to be explained. On one hypothesis see my paper in preparation.

B-2 Enclitic pronouns placed after nouns

As an Indo-European language, Sogdian still largely observes what is called Wackernagel's law. However, in a panegyric to a Uighur qaghan composed in Manichaean Sogdian one comes across the following passages: *frn'š 'βr'znty 'skw'tw tmp'r'š zwk pw r'β pw xw'c* and *βy'y 'wyywr 'xšywny-y frn'š βr'znty 'skw'tw*, cf. YOSHIDA 2001, p. 111–114. Here *frn'š* and *tmp'r'š* can be analaysed as *frn* or *tmp'r* plus *-'š*, the latter meaning "his". This usage of the enclitic pronoun is also attested in a Christian Sogdian text: *dxštc'š* "its building" (C6 recto 4), cf. SUNDERMANN 2002, p. 315, n. 45. However, this usage is not recorded in GMS and is not at all common in Sogdian, where the form attested in ordinary texts is *-šy* or *-šw*, which observes Wackernagel's law. Another possible example is found in Text G: *rwxšny'k(m) βr't'm* "my light (who is) my brother", cf. YOSHIDA 1993, p. 371, differently DTS, p. 67. Here again, the ordinary Sogdian enclitic pronoun of the first person singular is *-my*. Such aberrant placement of the enclitic pronouns may be copied from the Old Turkic possessive suffix: *tängri-m* "my lord, mon-sieur" and *ada-si* "his friend", etc.[16] In this connection one must also bear in mind that *rt(y)* or *'t(y)* which usually stands at the beginning of a clause and supports the enclitic pronoun is largely lost in late Sogdian. Very few enclitic pronouns are found in Turco-Sogdian texts that observe Wackernagel's law.[17]

12 For the wide range of verb forms combinable with *är-* see also UW, pp. 391–409.
13 On the text see BOYCE, p. 10. For the translation see ASMUSSEN, p. 239.
14 *-ym'n* can also be the ending of the 1st pl. optative, cf. GMS section 801. Since Letter C attests *'skwym'n, wynym'n,* and *βtyrm'n*, it seems that a fresh study of the 1st plural ending *-(y)m'n* will be needed. On this ending see also DTS, pp. 72–73. Can it be another Turco-Sogdian feature?
15 This unpublished text contains many Turkish names and must be included in the Turco-Sogdian material.

B-3 m'xt and šm'xt

In Letter C the 1st person plural pronoun appears in two forms, one *m'xw* and the other *m'xt(y)*, the latter having the plural ending *-t*. The same is true for the 2nd person plural pronoun: *šm'x(w)* and *šm'xt(y)*. No functional difference can be perceived between the two forms. From the view point of Sogdian or, for that matter Indo-European languages in general, it is most conspicuous because *m'x* and *šm'x* are themselves plural forms while the corresponding singular forms are *'zw/mn'* and *tyw/tw'* respectively. For *šm'x-t* a Turkism may apply because in Old Turkic the 2nd person plural pronoun *siz* freely alternates with *siz-lär*, cf. ERDAL, p. 195. Nevertheless this explanation does not hold for *m'x-t*, since *biz-lär* is hardly attested in Uighur, cf. *ibid.* One may also consider the genuine Sogdian pronominal forms provided with the plural ending such as: *y'nt/m'nt, š'nt, x'nt/w'nt; wyšnt, myšnt*. Therefore, one may not be absolutely certain that *m'xt* and *šm'xt* came to arise under the influence of Old Turkic.[18] However, since the two forms are attested only in Letter C, which shows a strong tendency to Turkisms in other respects as well, I should rather assume that both represent Turco-Sogdian features. If I am correct in seeing a Turkism here, a creative attitude of the writer of Letter C is to be noticed and considered.

B-4 Adpositions

While Sogdian uses both prepositions and postpositions, Uighur is a consistent postpositional language. Agglutinative case endings are also regarded as postpositions. It is true that when one looks at such typical Turco-Sogdian texts as Letter C, Texts F and G, the employment of prepositions seems to be somewhat

16 New Persian has a similar usage, but influence from there seems to be out of the question. On this point see also note (18) below.
17 One example is *kšymy* "now, my" (Text E, 6). However, the entire text is very difficult to understand. A recently discovered Sogdian document of 663 CE is a fragment of an official report about the Qarluqs submitted to the local Chinese government. It is really astonishing that in this text one finds no *rty (= 'ḤRZY)* or *'ty*, etc. (= *ZY*). Can it be an early Turkism by a Sogdophone under the strong influence of Old Turkic? On the document see YOSHIDA forthcoming.
18 New Persian has comparable forms: *mā-hā* and *šumā-hā*. However, they are late and no historical relationship could be presumed to our forms, cf. *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, 2. Abt., Strassburg 1895–1901 [reprint Berlin/New York 1974], p. 117.

restricted. Thus, for example, *kw* is restricted to the position preceding the addressee of letters, while the dative and allative functions are carried out by a postpostion *s'r*. In the case of Text G the addressee's name is not even preceded by *kw* but is only marked by the postpositional phrase *prns'r*. Similarly, the comitative and instrumental functions are exclusively performed by the postposition *(')pryw ~ prw*, while no *'M* (= *ônn* or *ô'wn*) is encountered in the typical Turco-Sogdian texts. In these cases one may functionally equate *s'r* with the Uighur dative ending *-qa/kä* and *pr(y)w* with *birlä* "together with". On the equivalence of *qa/kä* and *s'r*, cf. also *qutïnga* (< *qut* + possessive suffix + *qa*) corresponding to *prn-s'r*. Originally *s'r* denotes both "towards" and "from", both *kw ... s'r* and *cnn/c'wn ... s'r* being quite common in classical Sogdian texts. In Turco-Sogdian the latter function becomes obsolete and the ablative function is expressed by the compound postposition *'ws'* and *m's'* (< *'wrts'r* and *mrts'r*), cf. *t't'r ôyn k'lmyš* and its Sogdian equivalent *t't'ry ms' ''yty* "(who has) come from Tatar" encountered in Text A.[19]

C Copying of non-finite constructions

The most salient linguistic feature of Turco-Sogdian is no doubt the prolific use of non-finite verb forms, as is stated by SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON, DTS, pp. 10–11:

> Une transformation encore plus fondamentale de la langue se manifeste par les preuves de l'influence turque sur le syntaxe de ces documents sogdiens tardifs, caractérisé par une préférence pour les formes verbales non finies impersonnelles (participes et absolutifs) qui est aussi anomale pour le sogdien qu'elle est caractéristique du turc.

Four or five types of infinite form are considered here: past participles (and preterite), absolutives, future passive participles, and infinitives or verbal nouns.

C-1 Past participles

In DTS special attention is paid to *tw' xrty m's'* (Text F) as reflecting Old Turkic influence. In the context it means "since you have gone" and SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON compare it with a Turkish construction such as *manga kälmišingdä bärü* "since you have come to me", where *kälmiš* is provided with the possessive ending *-ing*. SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON also refer to *t't'ry ms' ''yty* and its Old Turkic equivalent *t't'r-ôyn k'lmyš* and show that Turkish verb forms ending in *-mIš* are functionally comparable to past participles in other languages.[20] Such is also the case in *MN βγyšty prnβyrty* corresponding to Uighur *tängridä qutbulmïš*. Since Turkish forms ending in *-mIš* function both as finite verbs denoting the perfect, etc. and participles or adnominals, *ärmiš*

19 Text A is also interesting in that the Old Turkic case ending *-dA* is copied by the postposition *nβ'nt*.

20 Incidentally, *tt'r-cykw* (Text A, 14–15) is also used for *t't'ry ms' ''yty*.

could also correspond to *(w)m't* (3 sg. preterite). I assume that this ambiguity was the reason why in Letter C the following two aberrant constructions are attested: *'ḤYw m't xw'r z-'ô'k'* "Khwar Zādag who is/was my brother" (Letter C, 1–2) and *'wôy mn' xypô xypô'wnt m't r'ymst βrwy* "Rāymast Farrox who is/was my lord there" (Letter C, 21).

Letter C also attests other sentences which can only be interpreted as based on Old Turkic constructions containing *-mIš* forms: *môy 'ws' xrtyt kwlcy x' snkwn pry-rw'nw nγwš'kt ...* "Sangun of the house of Külči and soul-loving auditors, etc. who have gone from here" (Letter C, 17); *môy-cyk 'wôp'r môp'r šm'xw wyty s't 'yc't 'skw'nt* "All the people here who have seen you here and there are well" (Letter C,18–19); *pryty m'xt yrβty xt'wty* "many of our lords who are remaining, i.e. many other lords of ours" (Letter C, 11–12).

wyty cited above is most strange from the point of view of Sogdian grammar because *wyn* "to see" is a transitive verb and its past participle should not mean "having seen" but "(what is) seen". Therefore, if my understanding of the sentence is correct, one must assume that *wyty* is calqued on Turkish *körmiš* "having seen". *xrtyt* and *pryty* can be compared with Old Turkic *barmïšlar* and *qalmïš* (< *qal-* "remain") respectively. For the latter cf. the German gloss "übrigbleiben" given by TEKIN for *qalmïš* attested in the Maitrisimit, cf. TEKIN 1980, p. 92.

One also finds the following combination in Letter C, 14: *pwsty βš'mty 'ym* "I have sent a letter". In this case the Old Turkic expression corresponding to it would be **bitig ïdmïš ärür män*. For the combination of the *-mIš* form and *är-* see ERDAL, pp. 268–269 and UW, pp. 402–403. Since *βš'm* is a transitive verb, *βš'mty* literally means "(having been) sent" rather than "having sent" and *βš'mty 'ym* should have been translated as "I have been sent", which does not make any sense in the context. Expressions based on the Turkish construction *-mIš är-* are also encountered in Texts E and F: *pršty m't* "he has/had escaped" (Text E, 9) and *xrty m'tym* "we have/had gone" (Text F, 16–17). The corresponding Turkish forms seem to be *-miš ärti*, e.g. *xrty m'tym = barmïš ärtimiz*.

C-2 Absolutives

The recognition or discovery of the absolutive in Sogdian is one of the most striking contributions made in DTS. In pp. 45–46 all the forms attested by that time are collected and analysed.[21] In light of its attestation in non-Turco-Sogdian texts such as Buddhist Sogdian and Christian Sogdian it is clear that the absolutive had existed in Sogdian long before the period when Turco-Sogdian came to be written. On this point cf. also the Yaghnobi cognates mentioned by SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON, cf. DTS, p. 46. In the meantime several other foms have come to be noticed: *'wštky* (Letter A, 66), *''sky* (Letter C, 15), *ô'rky*,

21 One may add another occurence in a Mug document, cf. YOSHIDA *apud* GRENET/DE LA VAISSIÈRE: *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* VIII (2002), p. 187, n. 33.

w'βky (Letter C, 23), and possibly *xrynkw* (cf. SUNDERMANN 1996, p. 110, n. 53), and *βyrky* (So 20226, 2: unpublished).[22]

Nevertheless, the prolific use of the form in Turco-Sogdian is noteworthy and one is justified in comparing it with the Old Turkic converbs ending with *-Xp* or *-A/I/U/yU*, cf. VON GABAIN sections 230 and 232. Comparison of *w'βky* "saying" with *tip* "id." and *wynky* "*st*' receive (it) after examing" (cf. DTS, p. 45) with *körü al* "id." supports this assumption. For the use of *w'βky* "saying" to quote direct speech like Uighur *tip* see the following example: *'ltwn yk'ny x'ny sty w'βky ptyɣwšw* (Text F, 8) "I heard that he is at Altun Yegän's house". Johanson draws special attention to the use of *w'βky* to introduce final clauses: *w'ry n' β't w'βky β'š'm'w* (Text G) "I sent (it) so that it might not be empty", cf. JOHANSON, pp. 198–199. This usage also has its counterpart in Old Turkic *tip: quruɣ bolmazun tip* "so that it might not become empty", cf. JOHANSON, ibid. and ERDAL, pp. 491–492.

C-3 Others: -y forms, -'mnty βw-, and present infinitives

In Text A *''sy xw* "(it) is to be taken/received" occurs several times and in one case corresponds to *''lyw p'r (alyu bar)* of the Old Turkic sentence. SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON call the form of the present stem followed by the suffix *-y* the gerundive or future passive participle. Another example *βyry (nyst)* occurs in Text F. However, as they argue (cf. DTS p. 26), there is no reason why the gerundive should be unique and restricted to the Turco-Sogdian variety. In fact in a Buddhist Sogdian fragment SI Kr IV/879 one finds *'sp'ync nyzty pcm'ry xcy* "is he to be regarded as *parivarjita*?", cf. LIVŠIC 1996.

In Letter A, there is a phrase containing a verbal noun ending with the suffix *-'m'nty: srδy sry pw(šnw nw)[y] myδ tys'm'nty prnxwnty ZY 'my'kcykw wβ'tw* (lines 71–72) "in the beginning of the year, may the entering of the new day of (the month of) Pušnu (i.e. the first luni-solar month) be fortunate and happy!" The construction is also found in M 6330: ... *c(wpr) pšpr'mndyy (wβ't)* "May there be establishment upon ...!" (verso 8–10) "; *ɣryw rwxšny βr'zndtyy ... 'wšt'mntyy wβ't* "May the soul be light (and) brazing ...!" (verso 11–14). A very similar construction consisting of the Old Turkic infinitive ending with *-mäk/-maq* is encountered in a Manichaean Uighur text: *yïl bašïïh ... kün kirmäkii qutluɣ qïblïɣ bolmaqïï bolzun* "in the beginning of a year ... may the coming of the day be fortunate and lucky!", ZIEME 1976, pp. 28, 132–135. On this usage see also ERDAL, p. 281: e.g. *toɣmaqï bolzun, tägmäkimiz bolzun*, etc. Therefore, the Sogdian construction is most likely to be based on the Turkish idiom.

Finally, one Sogdian sentence mentioned above may be cited again: *'zw βnty ms nm' n'my npys prm 'yc't 'skwym'n* (Letter C). It has an exact counterpart in Old Turkic: *yemä bu bitig bitigінčä ädgü esän erür biz*, cf. A-2 above. The *npys prm* "until writing" corresponding to *bitigінčä* sounds a bit odd in Sogdian,

22 If *xrynkw* is correctly read and understood, the suffix *-kw* representing [-ak] shows an erosion or reduction such as that encountered in Chr. *swdq* and *prwrtq*, cf. DTS, p. 46.

where the meaning "until I write this letter" would be expressed with a subordinate clause such as **kwδ prm ('zw) mwnw pwsty ny npys'm*, cf. *qw pn ny txyzt xwr* "until the sun sets", cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, pp. 74–75. It seems fitting to assume that this construction is also based on an Old Turkic model.

C-4 Isomorphism or metatypy

The last section gives us a chance to explore yet another area of the Old Turkic influence on Sogdian: word order. For example the way direct speech introduced by *w'βky* is so different from the ordinary word order in Sogdian: *pr'w m'δ 'PZY w'n'kw pt'yɣwš 'kw šyβkwšh knδh ZY 'wyn šβ'y xwt'w z'tk ''z'yt* "beacuse I heard that in the town of Shivagosha, a son was born to King Shibi" (BENVENISTE 1946, p. 30, 61c–63c) vs. *'ltwn yk'ny x'ny sty w'βky ptyɣwšw* just cited above. The tendency of the Turco-Sogdian variety to prefer infinite constructions brings about the following sentence, which would have been construed with a relative clause in ordinary Sogdian: *prɣty m'xt ɣrβty xt'wty n'm L' ɣrβym'n x't s't s'r ps'ty krmšxwn'w pcwyzt'* "(If) there should be many other lords of ours whose name we should not know, to all of them send our greetings (lit. send what is being asked and absolution)" (Letter C, 11–12). In idiomatic Sogdian it would have been worded as **rty kw s't p'rykt m'x xypδ xwt'wt s'r 'kyZY-šn ZKw n'm L' ɣrβ'ym rty-šn ''prywn pcwyzt'*.

As a result the two languages, typical Turco-Sogdian and Old Turkic, are semantically and syntactically largely intertranslatable while each of the two has retained its own lexical material. The situation may best be exemplified by the following pair of sentences attested in Text A.[23]

Turco-Sogdian:	*'lp*	*'yrkyny*	*nβ'nt*	*'δry*	*krmyr*	*ryzy*	*''sy*	*'xw*
Old Turkic:	*tymcy*		*-δ'*	*pyr*	*xyzyl*	*x'rs*	*''lyw*	*p'r*

"By Alp Irkin/Temči three/one red woolen cloth(s) are to be taken."

D Code-switching and nonce loanwords

It is true that many Old Turkic forms are found in Turco-Sogdian materials. In fact, apart from the religious names of Manichaean or Christian monks, personal names are mainly Turkish or non-Sogdian: *'yl p'rs xwtlwɣ 'lp, 'ltwn yk'n, xwrc, 'yl ''smy, 'yl p'rs, cwr* (Text F), etc.[24] Titles are also Turkish: *trx'n* (Text F), *tnkr(y)m, tyr'k, x'twn* (Letter C), etc.

23 SIMS-WILLIAMS once argued that in the latest stage of Sogdian as attested in the manuscript C5, the nominal inflection is becoming more and more agglutinating in that every noun inflects in two cases (direct and oblique) regardless of whether the stem is light or heavy, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1982, p. 70. It is not easy to see whether this change is due to Turkish influence or not.

24 Some names are Chinese, e.g. *ly s'm* (李三), *tnk* (鄧), etc. in Text A. These are names of business partners and are different from those attested in Texts F, G and Letter C, to whom the messages are addressed.

Difficult are the cases of ordinary nouns and adjectives of Old Turkic origin. One such loanword, *'(')rxyš* "caravan", is found in several texts, e.g. Texts E, G and Letters, A, C.[25] Most of the others, e.g. *''ō'šm* "my friend" (Text F), *'yδwx* "sacred", *p'l'k* "present, gift" (Text E), *pšy yxšy* "lit. one's head good, i.e. greeting" (Text F), *pyr'k* "present" (Text G), etc. are nonce forms and are not proper loanwords because they have not been fully naturalized in Sogdian. They are, as it were, intrasentential code switching in which elements of another language are interpolated into a matrix language, though, in this case, interpolated elements are not sentences or phrases but single words.[26] One interesting case is encountered in an unpublished text: *xr'pwδn n'β cwpr ryẓ-kry ZY šw'm(w) ['xš'k] mz-yxy' βyrky o* ... (So 20226, 1–2) "(One who is) sovereign over people and is eloquent, having obtained greatness ...". Here a Turkish word *qarabodun* "common people" is followed by the Sogdian equivalent *n'β*.

Real code switching is found in Text A, where Sogdian and Old Turkic sentences alternate freely without any discernible reason. Thus lines 14–18 read as follows (the Old Turkic parts are in bold):

> (14) ... *δβtykw ms tt'r-* (15) *cykw ''my' 'δry 'spyty ryzy pr 'δw' krmyr s'r tnk x'* (16) *wxwšw 'spyty pr ctβ'r krmyr* ***ly s'm ''lty <ywrwnk> x'rs twyrt*** (17) ***xyzyl-x' tynk x̌'*** ***''lty ywrwnk x'rs twyrt xyz-*** (18) ***yl*** *tynk x̌' βwcyn nw' 'spyty ryzy pr wxwšw s'r*
>
> "Par ailleurs, (auprès de) l'amga originaire de Tatar (j'ai échangé) trois razyi blancs pour deux rouges, (et auprès de) la famille Tnk, six blancs pour quatre rouges. **(Auprès de) Ly S'm, six qars (= razyi) blancs pour quatre rouges. (Auprès de) la famille Tynk, six qars blancs (pour) quatre rouges.** (Auprès de) Bwcyn de la famille Tynk, neuf razyi blancs pour six (rouges)."[27]

E Pronunciation and spelling

In view of the above-mentioned massive Old Turkic influence on Sogdian, one may reasonably ask whether the phonology was affected as well. Since it is not easy to see from the written texts how words were actually pronounced, it is difficult, if not impossible, to say anything definitive on this matter. Nevertheless, the insertion of the letter aleph before an initial *r-* attested in a Christian Sogdian text is mentioned by SIMS-WILLIAMS (1992, p. 54), who rightly considers it a clear case of Old Turkic influence. On the other hand, aberrant spellings such as *'ntyšny* (Text G) for **'nδyšny* and *syδ'* (Text D) for *syt'* may be Turkisms because *d* and *δ* fluctuate in Old Turkic, cf. ERDAL, pp. 67–69. However, isolated cases like these hardly prove that Turco-Sogdian was affected also in the field of phonology.

Nevertheless, one orthographic feature deserves special attention. In Turco-Sogdian texts one finds many forms where a short vowel [a] is spelt with ' (aleph) even in the middle of words. Thus, *''yt* [ā́yat] "have come, came" is spelled *''y't* in Texts F and G. Similar cases are encountered in Letters A and B: *n'-pr'y'tw* (Letters A 27, B 19).[28] Texts F and G attest *m's'* for *ms'* (< *mrts'r*) and the same spelling is found in Letter C. The adverb *ms* is spelled *m's* in Text E. One finds some other examples such as *xw'r* for *xwr* [xwar] and *c'my* for **cmy* (< *čšmy* "eye", cf. Christian Sogdian *cym-* "id.") in Letter C. It is noteworthy that the plene writing of an aleph appears in the vicinity of sonants such as *m*, *r*, and possibly *n*, cf. *ps'msk'n* (Text F) for *ps'mskn* (< **ps'm-skwn*).[29]

Conclusion

Remarking on the Turco-Sogdian variety, SIMS-WILLIAMS 1992, p. 56 states: "... the writers, even though they wrote in Sogdian, were more accustomed to thinking in Turkish". R.M. DAWKINS 1916, p. 198 describes the modern Greek language influenced by Turkish in a very similar way: "... the body has remained Greek, but the soul has become Turkish". The description of the bilingual Sogdians living in Balāsāγān by Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī in the 11th century is also very similar: "... They are from Soγd which is between Bukhara and Samarqand, but their dress and manner is that of Turks", cf. DANKOFF/KELLY, vol. I, p. 352. Apparently, those bilingual Sogdians resident in Balāsāγān were more accustomed to thinking and behaving in Turkish ways, just as the souls of some Greeks in modern Turkey became Turkish. The Turco-Sogdian texts discussed in this paper seem to betray the language of the Turkicized Sogdians living in the West Uighur Kingdom.[30]

25 Names of commodities may also be counted as loan words. But they are of Chinese origin, e.g. *lypky* (立機 Text F), *š'mtsy* (衫子 Text B), *c'ntsy* (盞子, cf. HUANG WENBI: *An archaeological tour of Xinjiang (1957–1958)*, Beijing 1983, plate XXVIII, 1 [reproducing two documents written in Turco-Sogdian on wood]). Incidentally, I recently argued that *pwtysβt* (<< Skt. bodhisattva) found in the unpublished Sogdian version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* was borrowed from Buddhist Uighur, cf. YOSHIDA 2007, pp. 67–78.

26 It is difficult to assess the forms alleged to be Chinese by the authors of DTS, such as *cwn*, *kwrpyy*, etc. Even they themselves are not absolutely convinced of their identifications. For my discussion of them see YOSHIDA 1994, pp. 308–305.

27 In a glossary fragment where Manichaean Middle Persian or Parthian terms are explained in Sogdian, *['brwǰ'gyn* is glossed with Old Turkic *y'lyncyy* rather than Sogdian, cf. W.B. HENNING: *Sogdica*, London 1940, pp. 29–30. This may also be regarded as another case of code-switching. In this connection I should like to mention M6610. It is a fragment of a Sogdo-Uighur glossary, where one item reads: *mzyx βyy: uluy ilik* "great lord". Sogdian words are written in Manichaean script while the Uighur counterparts are in Uighur script.

28 *'wyẓ-t't* of Letter C may be a 2nd person plural imperative form comparatble with C2 *wntt'* and *prptt*, cf. C2. p. 193.

29 Forms such as *wnx'r*, *cynt'r*, and *msy't'r* attested in Manichaean Sogdian texts may also be due to Uighur influence, cf. YOSHIDA 1993, p. 368.

30 I am hoping to discuss the historical and socio-linguistic background in which the Turco-Sogdian variety arose on a different occasion.

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Die Preisung des Lichtreichs nach einem alttürkischen Fragment in London

Peter Zieme, Berlin

Einstieg

Die Vorstellung eines kleinen Bruchstücks aus der Sammlung Sir M. Aurel Steins ist zwar nur ein bescheidener Beitrag zur Ehrung des Jubilars, doch das besonders schön geschriebene Textfragment verdient wahrhaftig eine gesonderte Betrachtung, schließlich handelt es sich bei diesem um einen Lobpreis auf das vom Vater der Größe beherrschte Lichtreich. H.-J. Klimkeit schreibt:

> Unsere Texte [gemeint sind iranische liturgische Texte] über den Vater des Lichts und das Lichtreich sind grundsätzlich Preishymnen. Der Sänger redet den Lichtvater mit lobpreisenden Anrufungen an. Vor seinem geistigen Auge enthüllt sich die glorreiche Lichtwelt mit ihren strahlenden Erscheinungen und vollkommenen Gestalten. Denn die Schönheit, die das Reich des Vaters kennzeichnet, impliziert, daß es in edelster Weise gestaltet ist. (...) Zwar wird die Gestalt des Vaters nirgends beschrieben, denn er ist die Quelle und der Ursprung aller himmlischen Wesenheiten, er ist der „allgestaltige Höchste"; dennoch wird deutlich, daß auch er von strahlender Schönheit und glänzender Gestalt ist, obgleich unermeßlich, alles Sichtbare übersteigend.[1]

Das Fragment

Das Londoner Fragment Kao α 01[2] (s. Abb. 1) gehört zu den Funden, die Sir Aurel Stein aus der Ruine α von Gaochang = Dakianussähri = Qočo erworben und mitgenommen hat. Heute wird dieses Bruchstück unter der Signatur Or. 12452A/6[3] in der British Library aufbewahrt.[4] Wenngleich die preußischen Expeditionen ebenfalls sehr aktiv in der alten Hauptstadt waren und weit mehr

1 Klimkeit 1989, S. 57.
2 In *Innermost Asia* erwähnt A. Stein nur einige Funde aus Gaochang, auch der vorliegende Text ist nicht genannt. In der Übersicht „Conversion table (Uighur and other fragments)" der British Library steht: Kao. α. 01 = 12452A (6).
3 Jetzt: 12452D/6. Vgl. digitale Aufnahme im International Dunhuang Project (IDP).
4 Ich danke Susan Whitfield und Barbara Borghese für die Bereitstellung der Photos und die Möglichkeit, das Fragment hier zu Ehren des Jubilars vorzustellen.

Texte aus derselben Ruine nach Berlin gelangten, so läßt sich dennoch das hier zu edierende Fragment mit keinem Berliner Text direkt zusammensetzen.

Der Text ist in einer sehr schönen uigurischen Schriftvariante geschrieben. Ähnliche Schriftdukten lassen sich unter den Berliner manichäisch-türkischen Texten finden, auf einen von diesen wird weiter unten hingewiesen.[5]

Das erhaltene Bruchstück bildet die untere Hälfte einer Seite aus einem Codexbuch. Die Zuordnung von Vorder- und Rückseite ergibt sich aus dem Inhalt. Wie viel fehlender Text zwischen Vorder- und Rückseite anzunehmen ist, ist nicht ganz klar.

Der Text in Transliteration

recto

01 1 [///]z [ ]
02 2 kwyrk : 'wycwnc 'dkw yyd :
03 3 twyrtwnc tw twyrlwk svyklyk
04 4 kwyk 'kzyk : pyšync y'nky
05 5 y'nky ''lqyšyn ''lq'p tnkryl'r
06 6 'wqwl'nyn twqwrm'q plkwr[///]
07 7 : : ym' 'zrw' tn[///]ynk
08 8 'wyzy syny q'm'q tnk[///]d'

verso

09 1 [ ]nc[/]
10 2 q'lty kwyvrwk 'wyny kl'pnk
11 3 'wynynt' 'wlwqr'q pwlwrc'
12 4 : : ym' 'zrw' tnkry nynk
13 5 'yky twyrlwk s'vy q'mq tnkryl'rd'
14 6 s'nsz s'qyšsz 'wylkwswz qwlwswz
15 7 'wl : /// kntw q'mq tnkry yyrynk'
16 8 'wyz t[///]k'ty k'dylyp 'rwr :

Der Text in Transkription und Übersetzung, eingeteilt nach Sinnabschnitten

01 [ikinti] 02 körk :
üčünč ädgü yıd :
03 törtünč tu[6] türlüg s(ä)viglig 04 kög ägzig :
bešinč yaŋı 05 yaŋı alkışın alkap t(ä)ŋrilär 06 ogulanın tugurmak b(ä)lgür[mäk]
07 : :
ymä äzrua t(ä)n[gri-n]iŋ 08 özi sını kamag t(ä)ŋ[rilärdä ärür (?)]
(Lücke)

5 Vgl. den Text BT V, Nr. 10 (U 262).
6 An anderen Stellen ist *tu*, allerdings mit zwei waw, belegt, das vielleicht als Verstärkungswort zu erklären ist, aber hier könnte auch ein nicht getilgter Fehler vorliegen.

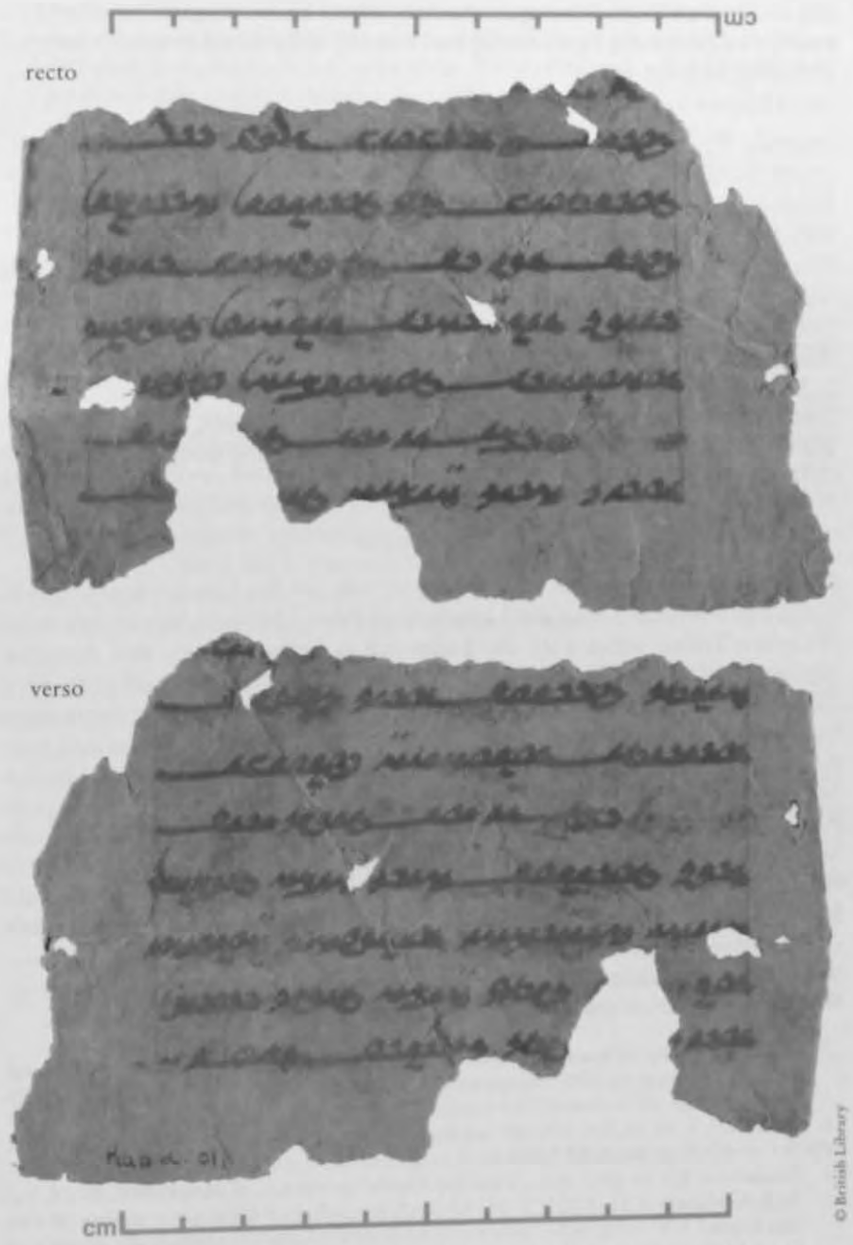

Abb. 1: Fragment Kao α 01 (Or 12452A/6 bzw. 12452D/6) recto und verso

09 [ ] ınča 10 kaltı küvrüg üni k(a)lab(i)nk 11 ünintä ulugrak bolurča 12 : :
ymä äzrua t(ä)ŋrï-niŋ 13 iki türlüg savı kam(a)g t(ä)ŋrilärdä 14 sans(ı)z sakıšs(ı)
z ülgüsüz kolusuz 15 ol :
[kim] k(ä)ntü kam(a)g t(ä)ŋrï yeriŋä 16 özi[ŋä tü]käti kädilip ärür :

[Erstens: .....]
[Zweitens: schöne] Gestalt.
Drittens: guter Duft.
Viertens: allerlei liebliche Melodien[7] und Lieder.
Fünftens: Durch das Loben mit immer wieder neuen Lobpreisungen das Gebären und Hervorbringen von Göttersöhnen.
Und des Gottes Zurvān Wesen und Körper [ist] in allen Göttern [...].
(Lücke)
[...] so wie der Ton der Trommel lauter als der Ton des *kalaviṅka* ist.
Und es sind die zweierlei Worte des Gottes Zurvān zahlloser, unermeßlicher als alle Götter, [denn] er selbst ist durch das ganze Götterland und durch sich selbst (?) [vo]llständig präsent.

Kommentar

Augustins *Contra Faustum* (15.5–6) beruft sich auf das *Canticum amatorium*, das in den höchsten Tönen das Lichtreich schildert.[8] In zentralasiatischen manichäischen Texten selbst wird das Lichtreich in Lobpreisungen und Anrufungen vorgestellt, doch ist uns keine umfassende Beschreibung erhalten, weil diese der Hymnenrolle („Preisung der Lichtwelt, in achtundsiebzig vierzeiligen Strophen"[9]) entsprechenden Passagen nicht belegt sind. In den *Kephalaia* ist die Beschreibung des Lichtreichs ein wichtiges Thema, doch sind die entscheidenden Stellen auch hier nur sehr mangelhaft erhalten.[10] Für die hier sehr schematische Abhandlung, eine Liste von fünf Eigenschaften des Lichtreichs, läßt sich somit keine direkte Vorlage finden. Doch kann man *Kephalaion* XXI („Über den Vater der Größe, wie er befestigt und angeordnet ist") heranziehen, wo von „fünf großen Quellen des Lobpreises" die Rede ist: 1. Licht, 2. Wohlgeruch, 3. lebendige Stimme, 4. [...]heit, 5. „große [...], herrliche [...]".[11] Das folgende *Kephalaion* wäre noch viel wichtiger für den Zusammenhang, aber von ihm sind nur wenige Wortreste erhalten. *Kephalaion* LXIII („Über die Liebe [ἀγάπη]") schreibt:

7 Vielleicht ist *kög* zu lesen. Die Herkunft des Wortes ist nicht einwandfrei geklärt, vgl. BT V, S. 59 (Anm. zu 604). Hervorzuheben ist die kirgisische Form *küy* „melodija dlja muzykal'nogo instrumenta" (JUDACHIN 1965, S. 459b).
8 BAUR 1831, S. 16, 18, 314, 323, 348. Ich danke WERNER SUNDERMANN für diesen Hinweis.
9 SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, S. 44–52.
10 *Kephalaion* XX ist ganz dem „Vater der Größe" gewidmet, cf. LINDT 1992, S. 5ff. Vgl. auch *Kephalaia* XXI–XXII, S. 64–65 (nach freundlicher Auskunft von CHR. RECK). Das Kapitel XXII trug in der nicht mehr rekonstruierbaren Überschrift die Worte "[...] Land des Lichts".
11 *Kephalaion* XXI.

> Die Liebe ist der Vater der Größe, der in seinem herrlichen Lande wohnt. Die ganze Gottheit hat sich [in] ihm offenbart. Ein einziger lebendiger Leib (σῶμα) sind diese Zwei, der Vater und seine Liebe. Denn er hat sich selbst für alles (hin) gegeben, indem er sich in seinen Äonen befindet.[12]

Der Text beginnt mit dem letzten Wort der zweiten Eigenschaft: *körk* „Gestalt", das ich zu „[schöne] Gestalt" ergänzt habe, ohne eine genaue Vorlage zu besitzen.

Drittens: „guter Duft". „Duft" ist ein häufig erwähntes Merkmal der Lichtwelt.[13] In der chinesischen Hymnenrolle lesen wir: „ein unvergleichlicher Duft umweht die Gärten".[14] In einem von N. SIMS-WILLIAMS veröffentlichten Text heißt es: „sweet-smelling Paradise"[15]. Man könnte weitere Beispiele anführen, doch genügt es hier, auf die allgemeine Feststellung hinzuweisen, die A. VAN TONGERLOO gibt: „Thus the Divine is not only in the possession of a transcendental beauty, but a heavenly sweetness and fragrance are characteristic as well."[16]

Viertens: „allerlei liebliche Melodien". Aus der Hymnenrolle lassen sich Parallelen in den Zeilen 305 und 309 angeben.[17] Welchem koptischen oder mitteliranischen Terminus das alttürkische Kompositum *kög ägzig* genau entsprechen könnte, steht nicht fest. Man vergleiche jedoch H.-CH. PUECHS allgemeine Ausführungen „Musique et hymnologie manichéennes".[18]

Fünftens: „Durch das Loben mit immer wieder neuen Lobpreisungen das Gebären und Hervorbringen von Göttersöhnen." Dieser Passus gibt ein zentrales Anliegen der manichäischen Lehre wieder: „Engel und Götter und Heilige zu gebären"[19].

Zurvān, der Lichtvater, der oberste Herr des Lichtreichs, wird dadurch charakterisiert, daß er in allen Göttern (oder: über allen Göttern) sei.[20] E. WALDSCHMIDT und W. LENTZ resümieren:

> Dadurch nimmt der höchste Gott gegenüber allen übrigen Gottheiten eine Sonderstellung ein (...). Dies ist auch der Grund dafür, daß der Lichtvater schon äußerlich in unserer Aufzählung besonders gekennzeichnet ist.[21]

Dabei entspricht das Kompositum *öz sın* „Selbst und Körper" wortwörtlich dem chinesischen Terminus 自身 *zìshēn* „personally, for one's own use"[22], doch

12 *Kephalaion* LXIII, 1–5. Vgl. LINDT 1992, S. 7.
13 Vgl. ARNOLD-DÖBEN 1978, S. 84ff.; VAN TONGERLOO 1993; ASMUSSEN 1980, S. 152ff.: „ihr Geruch gut, der beste Geruch"; S. 268 „Lichtreich duftend"; RECK 2003, S. 338: „komm zum duftenden, wunderbaren Paradies".
14 SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, z. B. Zeile 299ff.
15 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976, S. 46–47, Fragment 4.
16 VAN TONGERLOO 1993, S. 250.
17 Auch für diesen Hinweis danke ich CHRISTIANE RECK.
18 PUECH 1979, S. 179–233, insbesondere auch S. 189. Für diesen Hinweis danke ich WERNER SUNDERMANN.
19 ASMUSSEN 1980, S. 152ff.
20 Cp. VAN TONGERLOO 1994, S. 333–339.
21 WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, S. 538.
22 MIKKELSEN 2006, S. 97b.

hier ist wohl eher 自性 *zixing* „original/own nature“[23] gemeint. Beide Wörter sind hier offenbar als eine Einheit zu verstehen, die das Wesen des Gottes zum Ausdruck bringen sollen. Dabei ist interessant, daß nicht *ät'öz*, das übliche Wort für „Körper“, gebraucht wird. Das Wort *sın* ist mehrfach belegt, meist in dem Kompositum *bod sın*[24], einmal aber auch als *sın tin*[25]. Im letzteren Fall dürfte es sich bei dem zweiten Wort um das neupersische Wort *tan* „Körper“ handeln. Am üblichsten ist das Kompositum *sın supurgan* „Grabanlage, Friedhof“, in dem *sın* vermutlich aus „Körper“ > „(toter) Körper“ > „(abgelegter toter) Körper“ > „Grab“ zu erklären ist.

Der Vergleich zwischen dem Laut eines *kalaviṅka*-Vogels und dem der *küvrüg* "Trommel" soll die Macht und Pracht des Gottes Zurvān verdeutlichen. In der Hymnenrolle lesen wir:

> Des großen barmherzigen Vaters des unvergleichlichen Lichts
> Von ihm versammelten guten Söhne haben ihres Ahnherren Kraft;[26]
> Sie läuten die Glocken und schlagen die Trommeln, um allen Lebewesen zu verkünden,
> Daß die Zeit der Befreiung des Lichtkörpers von Fesseln naht.[27]

V. ARNOLD-DÖBEN hat bereits auf die Trommel im buddhistischen *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* hingewiesen, wo die Trommel insofern eine wichtige Rolle einnimmt, als sie die Lehre verkündet.[28] Das Wort *kalab(i)nk* ist eine bisher nicht bezeugte Variante des letztendlich aus dem Sanskrit entlehnten *kalaviṅka*. Dies ist der Name eines Vogels, der in zahlreichen buddhistischen Texten vorkommt.[29] Soweit mir bekannt ist, ist das Wort hier der erste Beleg in einem manichäischen Text. In den alttürkischen buddhistischen Texten ist das Wort einige Male belegt, und zwar auch in unterschiedlichen Schreibweisen: a) *kalavaŋke*[30]; b) *kalavink:* Suv 646/6; BT XIII, Nr. 5.23. Für das Mongolische vgl. GY. KARA: „**galabingga** Mvy ‚name of a bird, the Indian cuckoo‘, *esrua kiged kalabingka-yin dayun* AQ IX 61b, < Uyg. *kalavink* Suv << Skr. *kalaviṅka*; it may have also come via Tibetan.“[31]

Einen schwierigen Passus stellt der folgende Satz dar, in dem von den *iki türlüg savı* „zweierlei Worten“ des Lichtvaters (Zurvān) die Rede ist. Sind damit die „beiden Prinzipien“ gemeint?

23 MIKKELSEN 2006, S. 97b.
24 SHŌGAITO 2003, S. 330, Z. 225: *bod sın b(ä)lgülärı*; häufig auch im *Kutadgu Bilig*.
25 Ch/U 8205 (zu BT XIII, Nr. 4), verso 7. (?)
26 Es sollte heißen: „Die vom großen barmherzigen Vater des unvergleichlichen Lichts versammelten guten Söhne haben ihres Ahnherrn Kraft.“
27 SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, S. 40, 232.
28 ARNOLD-DÖBEN 1978, S. 142. Vgl. RASCHMANN 1997.
29 Vgl. z. B. EDGERTON 1953, S. 172a.
30 BT III, Z. 980.
31 KARA 2001, S. 93.

Das Verb *kädilmäk*

Eine gewisse Parallele zum Satz *[kim] k(ä)ntü kam(a)g t(ä)ŋrı yerıŋä 16 özi[ŋä tü]käti kädilip ärür* kann man in Mainz 360 (T I α)[32] verso (?) 1–2 sehen: *[... : äzrua] t(ä)ŋrı : kamag t(ä)ŋrılärkä kädilip ärür sız* „Gott [Zurvān], Ihr seid durch alle Götter präsent.“ Dem hier belegten Verb *kädil-* „angezogen werden“ hat Z. ÖZERTURAL einen Aufsatz gewidmet. Nach ihrer Auffassung sind die Belege für *kädil-* im Grunde genommen auf den Manichäismus beschränkt, Belege in buddhistischen Texten sind als ein manichäischer Einfluß zu interpretieren.[33] In der Hami-Version der *Maitrisimit* lesen wir:

> (56)–(59) *uluštakı n(a)ndasini (?nandaširi) elig bägig korkıtıp kutgarkalır üčün kadar kašlag tomlug yüzlüg bars ät'öziŋä kädilip käntü ät'özin bars b(ä)lgürtüp kutgaru y(a)rlıkadı* „Um den König Nandasena (?) des Reiches [....] zu erschrekken, geruhte er in den Körper eines grimmigen, kaltblütigen Tigers zu schlüpfen, seinen eigenen Körper als Tiger erscheinen zu lassen und (ihn so) zu befreien.“[34]

Ein Berliner Text

Der oben edierte Londoner Text steht in einer gewissen Beziehung zu einem Berliner Text, der bereits in BT V[35] ediert wurde. Auffälliges Merkmal ist, daß auch die Schrift sehr ähnlich aussieht. Die von mir vorgenommene Zuordnung von recto und verso sollte nach J. WILKENS[36] umgestellt werden. Hier sei der Text nur in einer Übersetzung zitiert:

(Überschrift verso + recto, in rot, teilweise verblaßt): „[...] gesegnete, siegreiche ... im Götterland“

(recto)
Und ferner ist da das lichte, strahlende, vajrafarbene, gepriesene Land, das die festen und starken, die unerschütterlichen und unbeweglichen Orte und Stätten aller Götter bildet. Und es ist in fünf Teile aufgeteilt: das Glied ‚Glück‘ ist in der [Mitte] des ganzen Götterlandes, das Glied ‚Verstand‘ im Süden, das Glied ‚Sinn‘ im Osten, das Glied ‚[Denken]‘ im Westen, das Glied ‚[Einsicht]‘ im Norden.
(Neuer Textabschnitt, in rot, nur Wortreste erhalten)
[...] göttlich [...], [...] Lobpreis [...] [...] großer König [...]

(verso)
in [...] stehen sie. Und fünftens: Aus den Ländern und Palästen des Gliedes ‚Glück‘, das innerer und höher als alles ist, hat er die 500 Myriaden von

32 WILKENS 2000, Nr. 273.
33 ÖZERTURAL 2005. Vgl. VATEC (Internetseite): „sich inkarnieren“.
34 GENG/KLIMKEIT 1988.
35 BT V, Nr. 10 (U 262); WILKENS 2000, Nr. 206.
36 WILKENS 2000, Nr. 206.

göttlichen Jünglingen und göttlichen Jungfern geschaffen und hervorgebracht, die wie des Thrones Herz und Mitte, Platz und Sitzstatt geworden sind. Der große, [königliche], himmlische Herr, Gott Zurvān, ist es, der darin angesiedelt ist. Gott [...] in der Mitte [...]. (Eine nachträgliche Zeile in Kursivschrift, Name des Schreibers (?): Ich, Yaŋa Arya[man]).
(Neuer Textabschnitt, in rot)
Gott Zurvān [...] schönes Buch [...] predigt. Großer [...] schöner [...].

Wie gelangt man in das Lichtreich?

Das alttürkische Fragment Ot. Ry. 1110 der Ōtani-Sammlung der Bibliothek der Ryūkoku Universität[37] gibt wie viele andere mitteliranische Texte darüber Auskunft. Da es in einer gewissen Beziehung zu dem *Daēnā*-Text steht, den CHR. RECK ediert hat,[38] möchte ihn hier anfügen.

Ot. Ry. 1110 recto[39]

Transliteration

01 [ ] twyrlwk tnkry tyzykyn [ ]
02 [ ]n 'lkynt' "lty k'l[ ]
03 'wyzwtk' pyr'wr 'lkyn twtwp 'yl'yty[ ]
04 tnkry yrynk' tkwr'wr : ym' [ ]
05 twmlyγ "cm'q swvs'm'q [ ]
06 'wylm'k ywq 'mr'qlwq [ ]
07 ym' "nyγ qylynčlγ kyšy [ ]
08 "nyγ qwrqwr 'ync' s'q[ ]
09 'dkw 'rm'z 'wyls'r tm'wd[ ]
10 'wyzy 'wyzw*tk*' [ ]
11 ym[ ]

Transkription

01 [ ] türlüg t(ä)ŋri tizigin [ ] 02 [ ]n älgintä altı käl[ür] 03 üzütkä berür älgin tutup elitip [ ] 04 t(ä)ŋri y(e)riŋä t(ä)gürür : ymä [anta isig] 05 tumlıg ačmak suvsamak [ig karımak] 06 ölmäk yok amraklug [ ]
07 ymä anıg kılınčl(ı)g kiši [ ] 08 anıg korkur inčä sak[ınur] 09 ädgü ärmäz ölsär t(a)mud[a] 10 özi üzü*tkä* [ ]
11 ym[ä ...]

37 Vgl. digitale Aufnahme im International Dunhuang Project (IDP).
38 RECK 2003.
39 Die Rückseite trägt einen buddhistischen Text, der dem Ende eines Werkes zuzuordnen ist.

Übersetzung

... die [drei]erlei Götter[40] nahmen den Schmuck, [das Kleid und die Krone] in ihre Hände, bringen und geben (sie) der Seele. (Sie) an der Hand haltend führen und geleiten sie sie in das Götterland.
Und [dort] gibt es [weder Hitze], Kälte, Hunger, Durst, [Krankheit, Alter] noch Tod.[41] Liebevoll [ist man gegenseitig].
Und der böse handelnde Mensch fürchtet sich sehr [vor der Hölle], er denkt so: [Sünde] ist nicht gut. Wenn man stirbt, [wird man] in der Hölle [geboren]. Er selbst der Seele [...]
Und [...]

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40 Vgl. RECK 2003, S. 331. Oder ist hier *täŋri* als „göttlich" aufzufassen? Dann wäre der Abschnitt eventuell als durch die Jungfrauen eingeleitet zu verstehen.
41 Vgl. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, S. 45, 274: „Es gibt dort weder gegenseitige Verwundungen noch Anklagen, Geburt und Tod, Vergänglichkeit und Unbeständigkeit. Dies alles gibt es nicht in der Welt des Lichts." In BT V, Nr. 16 erscheinen diese Übelstände als eine Reihe von „sieben Nöten" *(yeti) türlüg ada)*, jeweils mit vorangehender Ordinalzahl und in leicht unterschiedlicher Reihenfolge: 1. Hunger, 2. Durst, 3. Kälte, 4. Hitze, 5. Krankheit, 6. Alter, 7. Tod.

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